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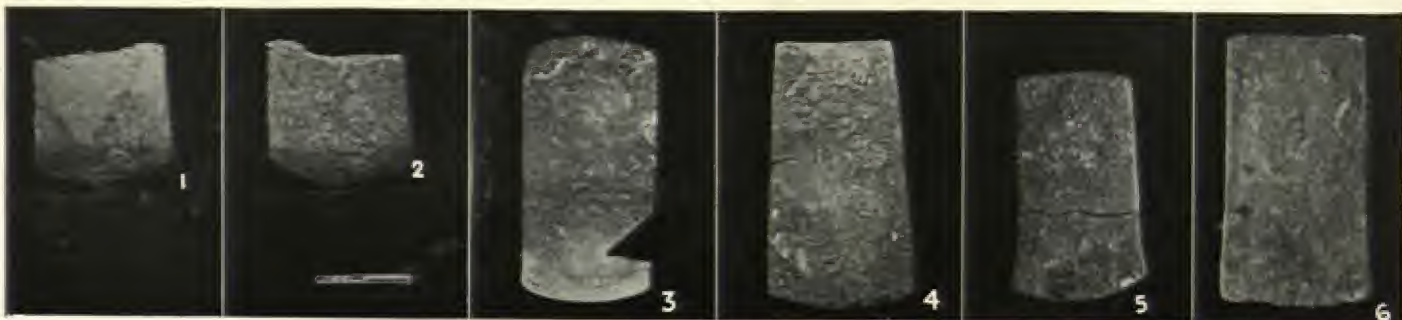




(a) Spouted pot with potter's mark on the shoulder (flaring rim reconstructed); (b) Bowl with carinated belly



(c) Spouts with black bands; (d) A spout, a carinated part of a bowl and sherds with hatched triangles or squares and bands, from Nasik, layer 6



(e) Bronze axes (see also fig. 1)

OBJECTS FOUND AT JORWE AND NASIK



# FLAT BRONZE AXES FROM JORWE, AHMADNAGAR DISTRICT, DECCAN\*

by

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**I** Copper and bronze objects have been rarely found hitherto in India, south of the Vindhyas.<sup>1</sup> In fact, except for a copper chisel and two small rods, one of copper and the other of bronze, found at Brahmagiri,<sup>2</sup> nowhere have any copper or bronze objects been found in a cultural context, free from iron and other later antiquities. This article announces the discovery at Jorwe of six tin bronze axes and a copper bangle.

Jorwe is a small village, about 5 miles north-west of Sangamner in Ahmadnagar District. Both the village and the town are situated on the river Pravara. At Jorwe, there is a low but fairly extensive mound—so extensive, in fact, that since 1947 the villagers have been living on it. From the time of its occupation a number of objects came to light in the course of digging the foundation of houses. These objects chiefly consist of pottery vessels and microliths. Except for large storage vessels which are unpainted, though very well made, other vessels are extremely well baked, thin-walled and painted with black geometric patterns on a red-slipped body (Plate Aa). Many of them have spouts, and carinated bellies. The spouts have a black band painted along their length, or at their mouth, or at their junction with the body of the vessel. (Plate Ac.)

It is said that the axes described here were found inside one of these painted vessels. Before these were discovered, we had twice explored the area, and collected a large amount of microlithic material, including a few fine fluted cores, parallel-sided one-edged and two-edged blades, as also obliquely blunted blades and lunates. We were also lucky in our first trial dig in recovering three complete pottery vessels.

Excavation later (February, 1951) at the same site yielded similar material: hundreds of sherds of the pottery mentioned above, and a few also of large grey urn-like vessels. The latter have a high flaring rim and a globular body, resembling in shape and even in fabric the urns of Brahmagiri IB culture.<sup>3</sup> However, no complete vessels or any copper objects were found in our small-scale excavations. These conclusively showed that about eight to nine feet of occupation debris had grown up on the original surface, consisting of greyish black, at times gravelly, sticky soil. Though this deposit was divisible into three layers, it all belonged culturally to one period.

Jorwe is thus a one-period site, and the axes and the bangle which were found just before we started our dig in a painted pot should belong to this period, most probably to its latest phase. The exact date of this period cannot yet be determined, but its relative position may be indicated.

At Nasik (120 miles northeast of Bombay) we found a considerable quantity of painted and unpainted pottery and

microliths in the lowest layer of our trench. This layer is five to six feet thick and consists of heavy sticky black (cotton) soil. It rests on the huge layer of river silt and gravel forming a terrace of over 60 feet above the bed rock on which the water flows at present (January, 1951). Now not only are the microliths—fluted cores, and short straight blades and lunates—identical in type with those of Jorwe, but among the sherds, there is one spout with a broad black band along its length, a carinated part of a vessel with oblique lines on its side, and other sherds of red ware having hatched triangles or rectangles in black. (Plate Ad).

This black soil layer lies 18 feet below five other layers and is separated from them by a weathered horizon. Layers 5, 4, and even 3 yield the famous Northern Black Polished pottery—in all 28 sherds—and a large amount of a pottery which is almost identical with black and red megalithic pottery. From these and other associated objects, these layers can be dated to a period between A.D. 100 and 300 B.C., when the Andhras or the Satavahanas ruled in the region. Layer 6 and its associated objects, which represent a distinct culture, should be pre-300 B.C., and may go as far back as 1000 B.C. or more.

The Jorwe objects, including the axes, should thus belong to this period.

With this background in view, we can turn to the bronze axes (fig. 1). In all six were found. Four of these (Nos. 1-4) are in the Deccan College Collection, and the others (Nos. 5 and 6) are in the collection of the Department of Archaeology, Western Circle, Poona.<sup>4</sup>

The weights and measurements of the axes are as follows:

No.	Weight in ounces	Length mm.	Breadth mm.	Thickness mm.
1	11.8	69*	73	12
2	13	66*	75	12
3	26.2	142	72	13
4	21.9	143	78	10
5	25.3	120	66†	13
6	23.3	144	71	9

\* Broken

† Ancient break

Excepting Nos. 1 and 2 which are broken almost in half, the axes do not differ much in size or in weight. All may be described as flat with a section biconvex at the edge, nearly so towards the butt, but comparatively thick in the middle. The ends are thus tapering, but more towards the edge than at the butt. The sides are straight, but slightly narrower in Nos. 4 and 5. The edge is almost convex, in all cases, but in No. 6 looks less so, because it is uneven owing to use. There are two large concavities in the edge of No. 4. The butt end in No. 3 has one corner rounded, while in No. 4 it is perfectly straight and in No. 5 nearly so.

All the axes when discovered were covered with a fine thin green patina.

\* With Plate A and a text figure



At the instance of my former colleague Dr. M. G. Dikshit, Messrs B. R. Pathak and M. K. Medhekar of the Engineering College, Poona, kindly examined axe No. 3. Microscopic examination and chemical analysis of this piece and of the bangle showed that the axe was cast from

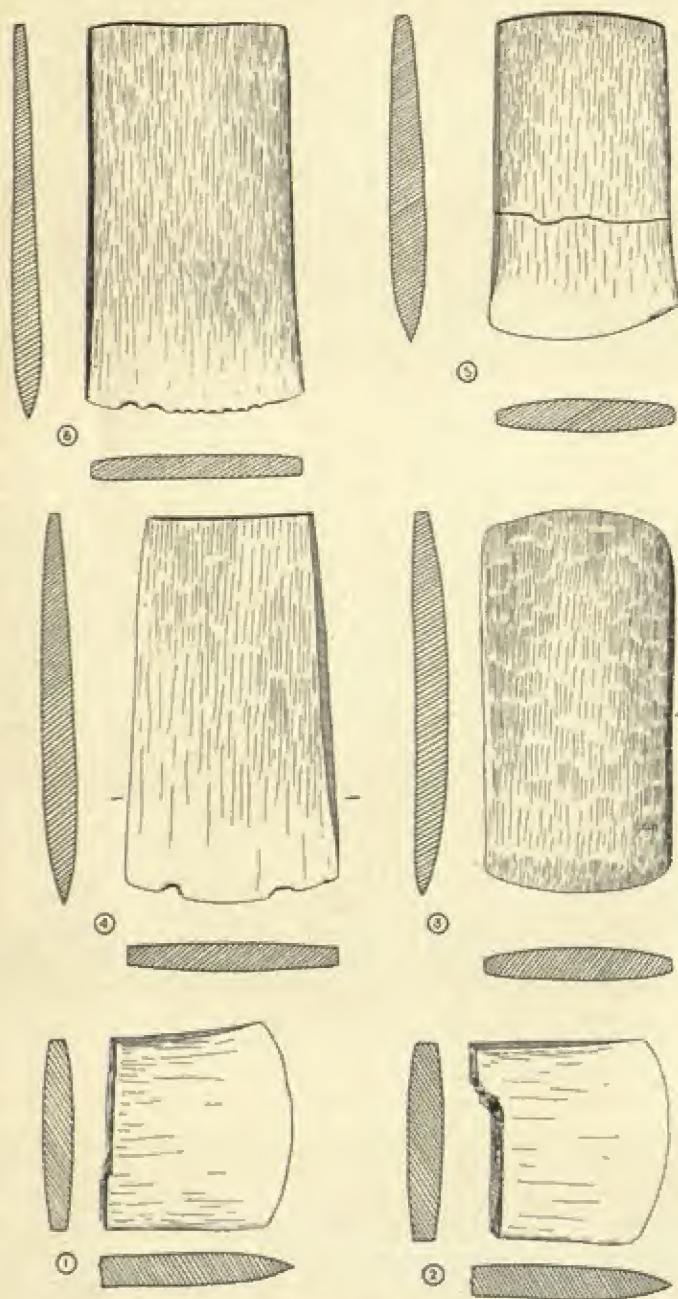


FIG. 1. BRONZE AXES FROM JORWE  
(See also Plate Ae)

molten metal. It has 1.78 per cent. of tin (gravimetric method) and 98.40 per cent. of copper (volumetric method). They therefore conclude that the axe is a low-grade bronze alloy. Though the outside surface is slightly oxidized and has a thin greenish patina, the freshly cut surface is reddish yellow.

Nowhere, except in the Indus and Baluchistan sites,<sup>5</sup> have copper axes been found in a stratified context. A study<sup>6</sup> of those hitherto recorded indicates that those outside the Indus area are thick-sectioned, with a narrow butt, and a wide blade, while those from the Indus sites have nearly parallel sides and a thinner section.

If we now compare the Jorwe axes with those from these two main groups, all would compare favourably with the Indus type, except Jorwe No. 4, though the average thickness of their section is at least 2 millimetres more than that of the axes in the Indus group. Even in axe No. 4, the sides are only slightly narrowed, but not so narrow as in the Chanhudaro specimen,<sup>7</sup> and the edge is not flaring. Even at Mohenjodaro<sup>8</sup> and Harappa<sup>9</sup> there are instances where the edges are flaring and sides slightly indented.

From the extra-Indus Indian sites, the specimens with which the Jorwe axes may be compared are from the U.P. sites, particularly those from the districts of Bijnor, Mainpuri and Bithur published by Vincent Smith<sup>10</sup> and Hiranand Sastri.<sup>11</sup> In many of these axes, the sides are nearly parallel, and the edges convex or crescentic, though in section they may be thicker.

There is nothing particular to report about the copper bangle. It is of pure copper, and ring-like in shape.

From the limited nature of the evidence noted above, it seems that it is difficult to draw more definite conclusions regarding the age of the various copper axes on the basis merely of typology. For the present it may be said that the Jorwe axes belong to a (late) prehistoric phase, on which more light is likely to be shed by the evidence of pottery. Already, besides Nasik and Jorwe, identical pottery has been found near Sinnar, Kopargaon and Nevasa,<sup>12</sup> (all in Ahmadnagar District) and Bahal (East Khandesh).<sup>12</sup> Everywhere it is associated with fluted cores and short blades. Particularly significant is their stratigraphical position. It underlies the Andhra and NBP layers. Thus a fairly wide belt of painted pottery and fluted-core-and-blade cultures, embracing the valleys of the Godavari, Pravara and Gurna, has emerged since 1950. This belt may be related with that on the Narmada,<sup>13</sup> in the north, and Krishna-Tungabhadra<sup>14</sup> on the south.<sup>15</sup>

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> D. H. Gordon, 'The Early Use of Metals in India and Pakistan,' *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol LXXX (1950), p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> R. E. M. Wheeler, 'Brahmagiri and Chandravalli 1947,' *Ancient India*, No. 4, fig. 41, p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 20, p. 227.

<sup>4</sup> H. D. Sankalia, 'Ancient and Prehistoric Maharashtra,' *J. Bom. B. R. Asiat. S.*, Vol. XXVII (1951), Plate Xa.

<sup>5</sup> Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Ernest Mackay, *Chanhudaro Excavations, 1935-36* (1943). Plates LXX, 30, LXXVI, 4.

<sup>8</sup> John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, Plates CXXXIX, 4, CXXXVIII, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Madho Sarup Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. II., Plate CXXIII.

<sup>10</sup> Vincent Smith, 'The Copper Age and Prehistoric Bronze Implements of India,' *IA.* XXXIV (1905), pp. 229-244, Plates I, II and IV.

<sup>11</sup> Hiranand Sastri, 'Recent Additions to our Knowledge of the



Copper Age Antiquities of the Indian Empire,' *J. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XI (1915), pp. 1-6. Plates I-V.

<sup>11</sup> The excavation at Bahal was conducted in 1951-52 by Mr. M. N. Deshpande, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Western Circle, Poona. Through his courtesy I had an opportunity to study the material *in situ* as well as the collections at Poona. The observations at Nevasa were also made by him. The Kopergaon finds are partly with him, partly in the Deccan College.

<sup>13</sup> One of the richest sites here is Navda Toli, opposite Maheshwar.

<sup>14</sup> The hitherto well-known site is Brahmagiri, but surface collections are made from many other sites.

<sup>15</sup> Excavations at Navda Toli (1952-53) and Nevasa (1954-55) have more than confirmed this expectation. Technologically the microlithic industry is identical at all the three sites, whereas at Nevasa were found, in addition, polished stone axes, including two workshops, and four urn burials of Brahmagiri IB type.

## AN EXAMPLE OF A 'MIXED' SYSTEM OF DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

by

BARBARA E. WARD, M.A.

2 According to the data presented by Spieth<sup>1</sup> the systems of descent and inheritance practised by the Ewe-speaking people of the southern parts of Togoland and the south-eastern Gold Coast are strictly patrilineal, a man following his father's lineage and inheriting his father's property. The data given by Westermann,<sup>2</sup> however, present a somewhat more confused picture, indicating that in at least two Ewe groups, the Glidi and Anglo, there are different rules for the inheritance of personal property which suggest a certain superficial resemblance between these people and the Yakö of the Cross River as described by Forde.<sup>3</sup>

Among both the Glidi and the Anglo personal property (*i.e.* property acquired by a man's own efforts, such as land cleared by him from previously unclaimed bush) as distinct from property rights acquired simply by virtue of his membership of a particular patrilineage, is transmitted through the maternal line, a man's heir being his sister's son. At the same time both groups have a system of patrilineages; the matrilineal bond does not form the nexus of a corporate group and there are therefore no co-existing matrilineages as among the Yakö. Lineage land remains in the hands of the patrilineage as a whole, each member having the right of access to it during his lifetime in the ordinary way. Thus it appears that the Glidi and Anglo systems of descent and inheritance provide examples of the 'few exceptions' to the general rule that the 'transmission of property follows the same line as the transmission of status' suggested by Radcliffe-Brown.<sup>4</sup>

From this inconsistency between the rules of descent and inheritance there follow certain consequences. Every member of an Ewe lineage has the right to farm freely on lineage land provided that he or she does not trespass on the rights of other members, and no member can establish exclusive rights to any portion of the lineage land. The feeling that this whole category of land is a sacred trust handed down from the ancestors is very strong, so that alienation by sale or mortgage is very rare; as Westermann's chief informant, Bonifatius Foli, remarked: 'Our lineage land belongs to our whole lineage as its heritage; such land will be sold by nobody, it belongs to everybody.'<sup>5</sup> If, however, there is some particularly severe economic crisis which has caused the whole lineage to suffer, lineage land can be sold

provided that the consent of all the members be obtained. But this, as Spieth points out,<sup>6</sup> would only occur as a last resort—in the old days it would have been the indebted members themselves, rather than the land, who were pawned or sold. Foli himself suggested that there were differences in the frequency of such alienations between the coastal areas of Eweland, such as his own Glidi, where land was short, and the inland districts where there was no such pressure of population.<sup>7</sup> According to him the tendency towards the individualization of land rights was also much less advanced inland (at least in his day, about 50 years ago) than near the coast, and for the same reason.

Now it is well known that the increased individualization of land rights is not necessarily connected solely with pressure upon land resources for the needs of subsistence, but is often connected with the existence of tree-borne crops, especially if these are of economic value. The example of neighbouring Ashanti may be quoted here; until the establishment of the cocoa industry at the beginning of this century individually held land rights were rare in Ashanti, most of the cultivated land being lineage land, worked for food crops on the system of so-called shifting cultivation essentially similar to that followed in Eweland. But the introduction of 'orchard' trees which might occupy the same tract of land for 20 years and more, and which brought in an annual cash income, led to marked changes. A cocoa farm in Ashanti is usually made in previously uncleared bush by an individual with the help of his close relatives by birth and marriage. The cocoa is thus individually owned property, and although it may be jointly owned by a group of siblings it is never lineage property to begin with. This being so, the legal rules which apply to all property acquired by a man's own efforts apply to it: alienation by sale or mortgage is not subject to lineage control and gifts (by presentation or testament) can be made, outside the ordinary rules of inheritance. If no will is made, then such property is inherited within the close range of kin, descendants of the deceased's own mother (the Ashanti, of course, follow a matrilineal system). Over a period of time, then, the control of cocoa in Ashanti may take one of two courses: it is possible for it to remain outside lineage ownership, changing hands through sale, mortgage, gift or testamentary disposition. When this



happens, then, owing to the semi-permanent nature of cocoa as a tree crop, there is a tendency for the land in which it is planted similarly to remain outside lineage control; 'individualization' takes place. On the other hand, the cocoa (and the land) may descend matrilineally to the close kin of the deceased and in the next generation be handed on again according to the ordinary rules of matrilineal inheritance, thus becoming lineage property in time. Few cocoa farms in Ashanti have yet existed for more than about half a lifetime, and although at present it seems likely that the former process will triumph, it is too early to predict which of these two tendencies will finally prevail.<sup>8</sup>

In Eweland the system of ownership of tree crops seems to have a considerably longer history. Spieth<sup>9</sup> describes the importance of oil palms in Ho, and quotes his informants as saying that a palm grove 'never dies.' Palms were either found growing wild or deliberately cultivated. A wise farmer cultivated palms not only on land cleared by himself from virgin forest, to which he had a personal claim, but also on his portion of the lineage land. It appears that the rules applied to palm trees in Ho were similar to those applied to cocoa in Ashanti—the trees belonged to the cultivator to alienate or dispose of as he would. If, however, they were allowed to follow the ordinary rules of (in this case patrilineal) inheritance obtaining in Ho, then in the course of time palm groves would become lineage property and inalienable. This seems to have been the frequent, possibly usual, occurrence, for Spieth and his informants several times mention 'ancestral palm land' ('*togbuideve*') and describe its administration as similar to that of ordinary lineage property ('*togbuimi*').

After the digression we can return to the situation in Anglo and Glidi. We have seen that in both these Ewe groups personal property does not follow the patrilineal line, which is the line of descent, but is transmitted matrilineally. Palm groves, then, cannot become the property of the patrilineage, but continue to be handed on matrilineally. This will also be true of all land cleared by a man's own personal effort, unless, presumably, he chooses to will or give it to some patrilineal successor. In these circumstances the possibility of 'breaking up' lineage estates, and the so-called 'increased individualization' are obvious enough, and it is likely that it was this rule of matrilineal inheritance in a patrilineal descent system, as much as the actual pressure on land, which was responsible for the individualization which Westermann's informant remarked.

There is evidence that both Glidi and Anglo people attempt to deal with this problem of land division by the careful regulation of marriage. The Glidi practise rigid clan exogamy, but some Glidi clans follow a system of bride exchange. Two clans make a compact (Westermann's account<sup>10</sup> suggests a deliberate transaction) so that a marriage between a son of clan A and a daughter of clan B is 'cancelled out' later on by a marriage between a son of clan B and a daughter of clan A, and so on. It appears that the Anglo have rather a different solution. Though not compulsory, marriage within the clan is said certainly to be enjoined. Discussions with Anglo informants in London, however, have made it quite clear that this does not extend to

marriage within the lineage. Each Anglo clan may comprise several lineages, known usually each by its own 'family name' which is transmitted from father to child and used precisely as an English surname. Marriage between bearers of the same surname is forbidden, but marriage between members of the same clan but different family names is encouraged. Cross-cousin marriage is considered good, but between first cousins it is often said to be 'too close' and second-cousin marriages are therefore 'better.' Frequently lineages of the same clan enter into marriage compacts like those described for the Glidi, for the purpose of exchange marriage. Marriage within the clan is not obligatory, and marriage compacts may be made between member lineages of different clans with the result that there is a network of kinship links across the clan 'boundaries' which strict endogamy would make rigid.

The effect of following these marriage preferences would, in both groups, be to keep rights, lineage and personal, within as narrow a range as possible while avoiding lineage endogamy. The existence of clan endogamy in West Africa is, however, so exceptional as to raise doubts as to the complete validity of the existing literary material: further field research is necessary.

The combination of patri-descent with matri-inheritance throws light on what appears at first sight to be a curious piece of information given by Westermann concerning pawning.<sup>11</sup> The custom of pawning kin, or handing them over as security for loans, has now been abolished by law, but in the old days it was common all along the Guinea Coast. In Glidi a man had the right to pawn (in this order): (1) his sister's children, (2) his own children, but only with the consent of their mother's brother and if they were willing to go, (3) himself, (4) a married sister (this case is rather special as the woman would stand as security for a loan from her own husband), (5) a slave. At first sight this is an unexpected selection; a man goes outside his own lineage for a pawn as a rule, and his own children, who are only a second choice, cannot be pawned without the consent of their mother's brother. On the other hand, a consideration of the rules of inheritance shows that the immediate pawns on this Glidi list are just those people who would inherit the pawner's personal property (if he had any) on his death. They would also inherit his debts, which are included in the category of individual property acquired by a man's own efforts. Westermann quotes informants from other Ewe groups in which individual property is inherited by the sons or patrilineal kin of the deceased, and matrilineal relatives have no claim; in these groups, too, an individual's debts are inherited by these heirs of his personal property. There is no written evidence, and unfortunately I omitted to enquire into this matter when in Eweland in 1946, but it is my suggestion that in these groups a man would not have had the services of any matrilineal kin as pawns, nor would he have required the consent of his wife's brother before he could pawn his own children.

Finally, it is interesting to note the way in which the traditional Anglo theory of procreation fits in with this 'mixed' system of patri-descent and matri-inheritance. The



belief is that both parents contribute similarly and in equal proportion to the creation of their child. There is a saying to the effect that a child has two arms, they are the same, and one comes from the mother, the other from the father. It is perhaps worth mentioning that this theory was told to me by an educated Anglo who at once went on to use it to rationalize the mixed system of descent and inheritance followed by her own people.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> J. Spieth, *Die Ewe Stämme*, Berlin, 1906, *passim*.

- <sup>2</sup> D. Westermann, *Die Gldiyi Ewe in Sud-Togo*, Berlin, 1935, *passim*. (The *ng* in 'Anglo' is pronounced as in 'singer'.—Ed.)  
<sup>3</sup> D. Forde, 'Kinship in Umor,' *Amer. Anthropol.*, Vol. XLI (1939), pp. 543ff.  
<sup>4</sup> Radcliffe-Brown, 'Patrilineal and Matrilineal Succession,' *Iowa Law Review*, Vol. XX (1935).  
<sup>5</sup> Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. 272.  
<sup>6</sup> Spieth, *op. cit.*, p. 112.  
<sup>7</sup> Westerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 278f.  
<sup>8</sup> M. Fortes, 'The Ashanti Social Survey: A Preliminary Report,' *J. Rhodes-Livingstone Inst.*, Vol. VI (1948).  
<sup>9</sup> Spieth, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 112, 113, 118, 123, 356-362.  
<sup>10</sup> Westermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 51ff. and 136.  
<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 266, 286.

## OBITUARY

## Neville Jones: 1880-1954

It is with profound regret that we have to record the death of Dr. Neville Jones, the well-known Rhodesian archaeologist. He died after a short illness on 24 October in Bulawayo at the age of 74, and is buried at Hope Fountain, which he loved so well. His death has severed the last link with the early pioneer work on the prehistory of the Rhodesias.

Neville Jones was born in London on 8 July, 1880, and was educated at Dulwich College and the Yorkshire United College at Bradford. After serving for three years as assistant Home Secretary of the London Missionary Society, he went to Southern Rhodesia in 1912 as a missionary at Hope Fountain Mission, near Bulawayo. He rose to become Superintendent of the Mission, and in 1918 founded the Hope Fountain Native Girls' Institution.

His interest in prehistory long antedated his arrival in southern Africa. As a small boy he was keenly interested in geology and used to spend his holidays collecting fossils in the south of England. It was on one of these occasions, he said, that he picked up in a gravel pit his first handaxe, and his life-long interest in prehistory started from that moment. When he first arrived in Rhodesia he found that, apart from a few implements picked up at the Victoria Falls a year or two before, nothing was known of the Stone Age succession there, or even whether Palaeolithic man had ever existed in those parts. This was so discouraging to him that he was almost persuaded to take up entomology as a more fruitful field for research. As he travelled his district on foot or with mule and Cape cart, however, he soon began to find an abundance of prehistoric material in the form of stone implements and of cave paintings in the so-called Bushman caves of the Matopos hills. He discovered the now well-known cave at Bambata, and with Dr. George Arnold carried out in 1918 the first excavation of a Stone Age deposit in Rhodesia.

From then on he set about discovering and establishing the Stone Age succession in Southern Rhodesia, and how well he succeeded in doing this can be seen from his latest and most comprehensive book *The Prehistory of Southern Rhodesia*, published in 1949, a year after he had retired. This book is the standard work on the Palaeolithic in the Colony, and the magnitude of his achievement is all the more remarkable when we realize that he was entirely self-trained. Although he enjoyed the friendship of many well-known prehistorians, human paleontologists and geologists, he was for many years a lone worker, and until 1936 his archaeological work had to take second place to his work as a missionary.

In 1918 he discovered stratified deposits containing Fauresmith and Middle Stone Age implements in the banks of the dry Harts River at Taung in the Northern part of the Cape Province and in

1919 he wrote his first paper on these finds. Thereafter, his name is associated with a number of carefully prepared papers setting out the results of his investigations during the following 36 years. In 1927 he produced his first book, *The Stone Age in Rhodesia*, which had the effect of directing the attention of archaeologists to Southern Rhodesia as a fruitful field for future research, and resulted in the setting-up by the British Association in 1929 of the Rhodesian Archaeological Expedition. In 1927 also he was elected President of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science, and in his address he showed clearly his appreciation of the problems confronting archaeologists at that time when he said: 'It behoves us, however, to remember that we are as yet only at the beginning, and the greatest riddles lie before us. There are pitfalls and traps all along the road into which some of us (I speak for myself) have fallen, but it has been for our soul's good. They have been falls upward rather than downward. . . . And he went on to predict what with his assistance has since been so very fully demonstrated, that South Africa would one day make a substantial contribution to the sum of knowledge of the past history of the human race.

Those who have succeeded him are indeed fortunate that he brought to each new problem an objective and unbiased mind, uninhibited by preconceived ideas on cultural connexions and classification. In his treatment of the still enigmatic 'Hope Fountain Culture' problem, and of the association of core and flake elements in his Bambata Culture, to take but two instances, he gives us the plain facts as he found them and never confuses the issue by false selectiveness. His excavations at Bambata, Nswatugi and other caves in the Matopos hills, and his work in collaboration with Dr. G. Bond and Mr. R. F. H. Summers at Sawmills, Lydiate, Lochard, Khami and Bumbusi, are his best known field researches. He also conducted the first year's excavations at Mapungubwe in the northern Transvaal.

In 1936 Neville Jones was appointed to the staff of the National Museum of Southern Rhodesia as Keeper of the Department of Antiquities. His own extensive Stone Age collections, which he had presented to the Museum in 1932, formed the basis for the Museum's archaeological exhibits, and during the time that he was Keeper he built up very extensive national collections illustrating the history of man in the Colony from the early Pleistocene, through Bantu material culture, to the present day.

Dr. Neville Jones was also the moving spirit behind the formation of the Southern Rhodesia National Monuments Commission, and was its Secretary, and later its Chairman, until a year or two before his death. Not a few of the sites in Matabeleland now protected by the Commission were discovered and excavated by him.



He was awarded the O.B.E. for his very considerable contribution to the knowledge of the prehistory of Rhodesia, and in 1953 the University of the Witwatersrand conferred upon him an honorary doctorate in recognition of his life's work. The same year he was elected President of the South African Archaeological Society.

Although he had retired he never lost his interest in the prehistoric research which he had started in the Colony, and he was always ready and happy to discuss fresh problems with those who were carrying on this work. One of his last acts shortly before his death was to discuss with his colleagues *The Excursion Guidebook*

for Southern Rhodesia, to be used at the Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory which meets in the Rhodesias in July, 1955.

His profound knowledge of the African and his ways, his methodical fieldwork, and his kindly and unassuming personality, endeared him greatly to all, both African and European, who had the privilege of working with him and experiencing his friendship. His death leaves a gap that for many of us, not only in Rhodesia but much further afield, will be very hard to fill, and our deepest sympathy goes out to his three children and particularly to his widow, who shared with him so many of the trials and troubles of the early fieldwork in Rhodesia. J. DESMOND CLARK

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

**Reports of the Ancient Mining and Metallurgy Committee: Analyses of Three Continental Axes and of 4 Specimens of Irish Ores.** By H. H. Coghlan, A.M.I.Mech.E., F.S.A., Chairman of the Committee. With a text figure and three tables

In accordance with the policy of gradually obtaining analyses of all metal axes in the Borough of Newbury Museum collections, Mr. W. F. Bennett has very kindly furnished the analyses given in Table I.

TABLE I

OBJECT	Flat Axe	Socketed Axe	Socketed Axe
LOCALITY	Italy (Tarquinia, near Corneto)	Austria (Vienna)	France (Nîmes)
MUSEUM NO.	OA 59	OA 62	OA 64
Silver . . .		<0.06	<0.06
Gold . . .	<0.05		
Zinc . . .	<0.25	<0.15	<0.15
Cadmium . . .	<0.02	<0.02	<0.02
Aluminium . . .		<0.015	<0.015
Tin . . .	0.1	6	5
Lead . . .	0.1	0.6	36
Arsenic . . .	<0.05	0.05	0.25
Antimony . . .	<0.1	0.1	0.12
Bismuth . . .	<0.25	<0.1	<0.1
Molybdenum . . .	<0.02	<0.02	<0.02
Manganese . . .	<0.02	<0.02	<0.02
Iron . . .	<0.05		
Cobalt . . .	<0.25	<0.07	<0.07
Nickel . . .	<0.07	0.4	0.4
Silicon . . .	0.4	<0.04	0.04
Calcium . . .	<0.25	<0.15	<0.15
Strontium . . .	<0.02	0.04	<0.03
Barium . . .	<0.03	<0.02	<0.02
Titanium . . .	<0.1	<0.03	<0.03
Vanadium . . .	<0.1	<0.03	<0.03
Magnesium . . .	<0.02	<0.02	<0.02
Tungsten . . .	<0.25	<0.1	<0.1
Beryllium . . .	<0.1	<0.04	<0.04
Chromium . . .	<0.25	<0.07	<0.07

All figures in the table are expressed as percentages.

Concerning the axe from Nîmes, No. OA 64, Dr. Helmut Otto, Dr. Sc. Nat. Physiker, Leuna, has kindly contributed the following note:

The analysis of the axe from Nîmes gives an unusual composition. In Roman times many coins were made from similar metal, as the analyses of Comaille, Phillips, Bibra, and others



FIG. 1. THREE CONTINENTAL AXES

Flat Axe from Italy, Tarquinia, near Corneto (top left); socketed Axe from France, Nîmes (top right); socketed Axe from Austria, Vienna (below). Drawn by Mrs. M. E. Cox, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

show. For the production of coins, the use of such metal is to be explained by the fact that the coins are not put to severe service. For normal objects of use, the metal is much less suited. However, in spite of this we find a whole series of similar metallic analyses in the literature. Of these, I have given some in the accompanying table (see Table II), including a number of socketed axes, some with a similar composition. I also know of isolated analyses from Egypt and Asia.

Of the production of such alloys one can say but little. Lead bronzes with such high lead content are quite unusual. It appears probable to me that they are to be accounted for by the addition of lead glanz, or of lead which has been smelted from this mineral. The content of silver, nickel, arsenic, antimony, bismuth and zinc, would point to the addition of lead glanz.



Analyses available to me from the literature for various crude leads from Belgium, Mecklenburg, the Harz, Hungary, and Laurion, have similar impurities in a like degree as in the axe from Nîmes. Unfortunately, I cannot as yet find any analyses of lead as a metallurgical product from France. Other lead ores do not come into the question since the quantity of tungsten, vanadium, chromium, etc., is too small.

TABLE II

	Cu	Sn	Pb	Fe	Others
Chassaigne-Chauvet, <i>Analyses de bronzes anciens du Département de la Char- ente, Ruffec, 1903:</i>					
210 Finistère (Ploumélour), Socketed axe	65.89	3.20	29.90		
212 Finistère (Ploumélour), Socketed axe	54.28	0.85	43.90		
209 Finistère (Clohars, Carnoët), Socketed axe	63.40	6.30	28.00	Trace	
223 Nantes, Socketed axe	66.93	9.56	23.22	Trace	
Vénat, Socketed axe	67.68	10.25	21.00	0.65	Zn 0.20
199 Cher (Petit Vilate), Sword	70.72	8.01	21.22		Ni 0.13
174 Charente (Cachette de Vénat), Ring	66.66	7.80	25.00		
Muspratt, <i>Tech. Chemie, Vol. IV, Brunswick, 1893:</i>					
Merovingian Bronze (analysed by Girardin)	45.1	14.0	40.9		
von Fellenberg, <i>Analysen von antiken Bronzen, Mitt. naturf. Ges. Bern, 1860:</i>					
5 France, Small looped- socketed axe	65.05	4.91	29.58	0.46	
92 Muttentz, Molten metal (cake)	69.77	7.19	22.81	0.10	Ni 0.13
90 Kastaniotissa (Eubæa), Buckle	70.70	7.47	21.44	0.17	Co + Mn 0.22
197 Muri near Berne, Foot of statue	68.62	6.77	24.46	0.13	Ag 0.02
Reinglas, <i>Chem. Techno- logie der Legierungen, Leipzig, 1919:</i>					
Saalburg, Bronze	73.96	2.37	24.17		
Hungary, Chisel (analysed by Loczka)	71.44	5.74	23.04	0.17	
Krzyzankiewicz, <i>Chem. Unters. Schweizer. Bronze- funde der Latène-Zeit, Posen, 1909:</i>					
Giubiasco (Grave 179), Fragment of brooch	67.48	4.04	26.56	1.71	Ag + Ni & As 0.21
Münsingen, Belt chain	66.28	9.34	22.69	1.51	Co 0.18

Let us revert to the celt from Le Puy, Haute Loire, France (Newbury Museum No. OA 57), which was published in MAN, 1953, 150, with analysis and report by Professor Thompson. This celt has the substantial silver content of about two to three per cent. Dr. Otto informs me that he would classify this metal as belonging to his Table 6a (Silver—Nickel—Antimony) (see Otto and Witter, *Handbuch der ältesten vorgeschichtlichen Metallurgie in Mitteleuropa*, Leipzig, 1952), and perhaps also to Table 4a (Silver—Antimony). The following analyses of Otto's Table 6a are also similar: 159, Frankenthal; 160, Hertinghausen; 162, Gerstungen; 163, Eschollbrücken.

On the two axes, OA 59 from Italy and OA 62 from Austria, Professor Richard Pittioni makes the following comments:

The socketed bronze axe (OA 62), is undoubtedly of Hungarian provenance. This conclusion derives from the elongated peaked rim typical for such axes from south-eastern Europe. The conclusion is supported by the spectrographic analysis showing 0.1 per cent. of antimony. The flat axe from Tarquinia is a common Central European type of which the provenance cannot be decided, but the fact of 0.05 per cent. gold permits the assumption that it was manufactured in Siebenburgia.

Professor Pittioni is of the opinion that the elements Cd, Mo, Mn, Si, Ca, Sr, Ba, Ti, V, and Mg are not decisive for the origin of the raw material of the two axes.

It is very satisfactory to the Museum to have these axes properly documented. As Dr. Otto's discussion shows, the French axes raise various points of interest; analyses of French axes are by no means numerous and it is to be hoped that, in the course of time, we shall have an opportunity to increase our scanty knowledge of this aspect of early European metallurgy.

TABLE III. RESULTS OF SPECTROGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF IRISH NATIVE COPPERS AND MALACHITE

	B.M. 35533 Arran Moor	B.M. 36463 Waterford	B.M. 91539 Limerick (Malachite)	Limit of Detection if any
Sb . . .	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	<0.0002
As . . .	0.002	n.d.	0.002	<0.002
Bi . . .	0.0003	0.0003	0.0006	
Co . . .	n.d.	n.d.	0.0001	<0.0001
Fe . . .	>0.05 (~0.2)	>0.05 (~0.2)	>0.05 (~0.5)	
Pb . . .	0.0005	0.0005	>0.05 (~0.5)	
P . . .	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	<0.005
Si . . .	0.05	tr. <0.005	0.05	
Mn . . .	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	<0.001
Ni . . .	0.0003	n.d.	0.002	<0.0001
Ag . . .	0.005	0.005	tr. <0.001	
Sn . . .	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	<0.0005
Zn . . .	n.d.	n.d.	0.1	<0.001
Te . . .	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	<0.001
Al . . .	present (~0.05)	n.d.	present (~0.05)	
Mg . . .	present (~0.05)	n.d.	present (~0.05)	

All figures are percentages. The last column of the table indicates the limit of detection by the spectrograph of the elements in question. ~ = probably about. > = more than. n.d. = not detected. < = less than

## ANALYSES OF COPPER ORES

As was stressed by the Deputy Chairman, Mr. H. J. Case, in his review of the latest analyses of celts and halberds (MAN, 1954, 21), work must proceed upon the problem of the composition and distribution of the various copper ores and native coppers. Through the kindness of the British Museum (Natural History), we have been able to examine the following specimens:

B.M. 35533. Native copper from Arran Moor, Aran Island, Co. Donegal.

B.M. 36463. Native copper from Co. Waterford.

B.M. 91539. Malachite from Co. Limerick.

Dr. E. Vocé, Metallurgist to the Copper Development Association, very kindly arranged with the British Non-Ferrous Metals Research Association for the necessary analyses to be carried out. The results are given in Table III. These analyses should be read in



conjunction with those published by the Committee in MAN 1948, 17. It will be noticed that we again find the native coppers to be exceedingly pure in composition, with the exception of iron, which is so common that it cannot be regarded as a key element.

The malachite from Co. Limerick is also decidedly pure but even when smelted it could most probably be distinguished from the native coppers by reason of its very much greater content of lead, and of its zinc content of 0.1 per cent.

## SHORTER NOTES

### The Rh Blood Groups among the Greek Population. By Dr. G. Pangalos and Mrs. M. Pavlatos, Athens School of Hygiene

Data on the frequency of the Rh-positive and Rh-negative blood groups among the Greeks have already been published by the authors<sup>1</sup> and by Papageorgiou and Mari,<sup>2</sup> but the numbers of tests with more than one Rh serum hitherto reported have been very small. Choremis, Ikin, Lehmann, Mourant and Zannos<sup>3</sup> tested 110, Dunsford<sup>4</sup> 36, and Choremis *et al.*<sup>5</sup> also tested 99 of the rather isolated and otherwise unusual population of Petromagoula. It has therefore seemed worth while to carry out and publish the results of tests with three sera, anti-C, and anti-D and anti-E on 578 Greeks. The results are given in the tables.

TABLE I. THE RH BLOOD GROUPS OF THE GREEKS

Phenotype	Number Observed	Frequency Observed	Frequency Expected	Number Expected
CDe	365	0.6315	0.6001	346.9
CDE	37	0.0640	0.1053	60.8
cDe	66	0.1142	0.0756	43.7
cDE	21	0.0363	0.0432	24.9
cdDe	61	0.1055	0.1254	72.5
cdDE	11	0.0190	0.0190	11.0
cddE	17	0.0294	0.0294	17.0
CddE	0	0.0000	0.0020	1.2
Total	578	0.9999	1.0000	578.0

TABLE II. CHROMOSOME FREQUENCIES

CDe(R <sub>1</sub> )	0.4510
cDE(R <sub>2</sub> )	0.0731
cDe(R <sub>3</sub> )	0.0564
cde(r)	0.3541
Cde(R')	0.0259
cdE(R')	0.0393
Total	0.9998

The percentage of Rh-negatives found is somewhat higher than that recorded in previous investigations; it is possible that some of the Rh-negatives would, on special testing, have proved to possess the D<sup>u</sup> antigen. The frequency of E-positives is lower than in previous surveys. The results of testing 41 blood specimens from North Epirus were studied separately, but the differences from the main series were found not to be statistically significant on this small number. We hope, however, that we shall be able in the near future to examine a larger number from that region.

We should like to thank Dr. Ada C. Kopeć of the Nuffield Blood Group Centre of the Royal Anthropological Institute for statistical assistance.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> G. E. Pangalos, M. Pavlatou and M. Roussou, 'Quelques observations sur la fréquence des groupes A, B, O et Rh en Grèce,' *Sang*, Vol. XXII (1951), pp. 153f.

<sup>2</sup> S. Papageorgiou and I. Mari, personal communication, 1952, quoted by A. E. Mourant ('The Distribution of the Human Blood Groups,' Oxford (Blackwell), 1954).

<sup>3</sup> C. Choremis, Elizabeth W. Ikin, H. Lehmann, A. E. Mourant

and Leda Zannos, 'Sickle-Cell Trait and Blood Groups in Greece,' *Lancet*, Vol. II (1953), pp. 909-11.

<sup>4</sup> I. Dunsford, personal communication, 1953, quoted by Mourant (*op. cit.*).

<sup>5</sup> C. Choremis, *et al.*, personal communication, 1953, quoted by Mourant (*op. cit.*).

### Multiple-Stem Pipe Bowls. By Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. With a text figure

Kean (in *J. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. XII (1882), pp. 281-287) drew attention to a collection of about 2,000 objects from Haywood County, North Carolina, in the cross chain of mountains, between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies: 'About one-half are in pottery or micaceous schist, the great bulk of the rest in steatite, or soapstone, a material abounding in the district. . . . The human figures are nearly all of a uniform type, round, regular, though somewhat flat features, totally distinct from the ordinary Indian. . . . All are invariably clothed in a close-fitting, well made garment, reaching from the neck to the feet. . . . The second category comprises numerous household utensils. . . . the pipes are evidently made to be smoked in common, being pierced for two, four or even eight stems, while the bowl increases in size with the



FIG. 1. PIPE BOWLS FROM THE IBO OF AGULERI

number of stems for which it is adapted. . . . These carvings present the noteworthy peculiarity that, whatever be the subject. . . all alike are invariably made to stand firmly on one end. This might point to the use of shelves or stands in the houses of the people by whom they were executed.'

The dating and origin of these North Carolina carvings has not been solved, but such types of pipes are reported in use in Africa before 1683. A number of French officers in Hanover decided to found a smoking club. Laufer, Hambly and Linton (*Tobacco and its Uses in Africa*, Anthropol. Leaflet No. 29, Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Chicago, 1930, p. 2) write: 'One of the officers, who for a long time had travelled in Africa, proposed to his friends to smoke in



African fashion; that is, all together from the same pipe, which had a very large bowl perforated in several places; ten or twelve tubes being inserted into these holes and permitting as many persons to smoke simultaneously. . . . It was therefore resolved to adopt the African custom and to name the society *Order of the Cajote*, as the tobacco pipe is thus styled by the Africans.

Such multiple perforated tobacco pipes are still made and in use in the valley of the lower Niger. Thanks to the grants made to me from the Wellcome Foundation for purchasing ethnographical

material in Nigeria I bought in 1930 in the valley of the lower Niger, some 50 miles east of Onitsha town, pottery pipe bowls with multiple perforations to take pipe stems for smoking tobacco. Fig. 1 shows five pottery tobacco pipes purchased in Aguleri market, Ibo tribe. Two of these pipes have large bowls and multiple apertures for pipe stems. One accommodates four pipe stems and the other three, and be it noted that, like the North Carolina types that can stand firmly on one end because they all have flat bases, these can also do likewise and for the same reason.

## REVIEWS

### GENERAL

**The Economic Approach to Prehistory.** By Grahame Clark. *Albert Reckitt Archaeological Lecture, British Academy 1953. From Proc. Brit. Acad., Vol. XXXIX. London (Cumberlege), 1953. Pp. 215-238. Price 3s. 6d.*

7 The study of the economic aspects of prehistoric culture is yielding most fruitful results. This is essentially due to the intensive collaboration between archaeology, biological sciences and geology which is characteristic of prehistory in our days. None could be better qualified to present a general view of this development than Grahame Clark, who has made so many contributions to economic prehistory, especially in his splendid and inspiring book *Prehistoric Europe*. The prehistory of farming is making rapid progress in these years. The knowledge that neolithic farming practised the slash-and-burn system has made it possible to reach an understanding of early agriculture in temperate Europe. And the work upon imprints of cereals and other plants in pottery and other burnt-clay substances has given wonderful results and is destined to throw a flood of light upon the origin and development of agriculture in different parts of the world.

Clark calls attention to our lack of precise knowledge about the growth of population during prehistoric times. This is certainly a very serious deficiency. It was attempted long ago by cultural geography to clear up this question by means of material from living populations at primitive cultural levels. I suppose that considerably more could be done in this line. What we need are intensive studies of the kind that Raymond Firth has performed in Oceania, and C. Daryll Forde in Nigeria.

Prehistoric economy is a necessary basis for prehistory. However, Clark stresses the fact that no aspect of culture can be fully understood in isolation. 'Not even the most prosaic activities of daily life can be adequately interpreted solely in terms of economic factors.' Law, religion, and magic exercise influence upon economic activities; and conversely, economic factors make themselves felt in all levels of social life. So the progress of prehistory requires intensive study of all the aspects of culture.

GUDMUND HATT

**The Study of Prehistory.** By J. G. D. Clark. *An Inaugural Lecture. C.U.P. 1954. Pp. 35. Price 2s. 6d.*

8 The Disney Professorship was founded to embrace the archaeology of all periods, but for reasons of university organization it is now largely devoted to the teaching of prehistory. The new occupant of the chair has understandably, therefore, lost no time in coming to the defence of his subject against recent implications that it is the poor relation, who is to be paid a duty call only after salutations to proto-history, penhistory and the other more modern members of the family. For Professor Clark, on the contrary, secondary prehistory—that is, the study of illiterate cultures which overlapped literate civilizations—is in no way as relevant to the understanding of human achievement as is primary prehistory. For while the one is concerned with late and provincial happenings, the other unfolds a period of human history which was long, universal and highly eventful. Professor Clark therefore is to nourish the study of all the activities of prehistoric communities, and in particular those concerned with making a living, in collaboration with his colleagues in the worlds of social anthropology, human palaeontology and, above all, natural history. He is at the same time

suspicious of some older methods, and it seems that both Frazer and Sollas will rank low on the departmental reading list. This is a pity, for the evolutionists were by no means as enslaved to hypothesis as is implied; and as an explanation of human progress Professor Clark's own principle of emulation (p. 30) appears no less conjectural than the divine kingship. Again, even granted that the Trobriand Islanders and the rest are not true modern representatives of ancient hunters, how much without them would we know about the 'social purposes which items of prehistoric gear were designed to subserve' (p. 27)—that is, how a harpoon head, for example, was made and used? The question of the truth of the theory that surviving simple cultures have changed vastly since 'primary prehistoric' times, and are consequently of little interest to prehistorians is not at present so important as its sad consequence that anthropologists are missing what may in many cases be the last chance to record the crafts and equipment of such cultures.

W. C. BRICE

**Science in History.** By J. D. Bernal. *London (Watts), 1954. Pp. xxiv, 967. Price £2 2s.*

9 Professor Bernal starts with a somewhat speculative account of early human societies, to which we shall return. He then embarks on a history of science which on the whole is admirably done. His knowledge is encyclopædic and his exposition clear. As we approach the present day, however, Professor Bernal the scientist is gradually replaced by Professor Bernal the zealot. His scientific expositions suffer from the impact of political theory, and are interspersed with irrelevant passages which too often descend to merely abusive verbiage. The section nominally devoted to the social sciences is little more than a Marxist diatribe.

He tells us (p. 62) that among the first agriculturalists 'the rule was share and share alike within each group.' This is apparently based on a belief, for which he cites Tylor as his authority (p. 746), that modern savages have no private property. He falls into a similar error when he says that in a feudal village 'men and women shared out the land and work, holding most in common' (p. 210). After the harvest every landholder had a right of grazing the common fields proportionate to the size of his arable holding, but all such holdings were individual, and disputes over alleged boundary infringements were incessant.

Among oddities of theory is that 'we still preserve in our lions and unicorns the relics of the totem animals transmitted through heraldry.' (p. 47). Heraldry began with the Crusaders, and the assorted lions which they painted on their shields had no possible totemic ancestry.

We are told (p. 48) that 'the myth of the Garden of Eden originally reflected the change from hunting to agriculture,' but how could anyone mistake the long and slow rise of agriculture for a sudden fall?

To balance these absurdities we have, however, much that is stimulating. 'It is very much more difficult to see a problem than to find a solution for it. The former requires imagination, the latter only ingenuity.' 'Knowledge that is not being used for the winning of further knowledge does not even remain—it decays and disappears.' 'Everything we call "natural" or "human nature" is wholly a product of human social conditioning.' And finally: 'Science has had a history of remarkable unevenness; great bursts of



activity are followed by long fallow periods until a new burst occurs, often in a different country . . . Between the bursts of activity there have been quiet times, sometimes periods of degeneration' (p. 23). These latter facts are pretty obvious, but they form the basis of the theory of diffusion, and are consistently ignored by its opponents.

RAGLAN

**Chapters in Western Civilization.** *Selected and edited by the Contemporary Civilization Staff of Columbia College, Columbia University. Vol. II, second ed. New York (Columbia U.P.) (U.K. agent: Cumberlege), 1954. Pp. 316. Price £2 15s.*

**IO** This book is concerned with aspects of Western life and thought since the French Revolution and contains extracts from about 25 different works together with several original articles. It is designed for the use of students, but many of the chapters seem suitable for sixth-formers.

Much of the book has no specific relevance to anthropology. Two of the passages reproduced are relevant: five pages are extracted from Goldenweiser's article on 'Evolution, social' in the *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences*, and 30 pages are given to a discussion of the similarities displayed by dictatorships ancient and modern, taken from Maelver's *The Web of Government* (1947). In addition, George H. Mead and R. Hofstadter provide a chapter in which the social theories of Comte, J. S. Mill, Darwin, Spencer and their contemporaries are described.

It is encouraging to find a general introductory compendium devoting even this amount of space to topics of anthropological and sociological interest. Would a comparable book produced in this country be as catholic in its coverage? On the other hand, there is little in this volume on imperialism and on the history of relations between the Western Powers and the coloured peoples of the world, topics which would probably receive fuller treatment in a work designed for European readers.

J. A. BARNES

**Oppression: A Study in Social and Criminal Psychology.** *By Tadeusz Grygier. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1954. Pp. xiv, 362. Price £1 8s.*

**II** Fieldworkers will appreciate the enterprise and tenacity that led Dr. Grygier to seize the post-war opportunity of studying displaced persons in Germany and enabled him to overcome the formidable administrative obstacles that barred his way. During his two months in Germany he gave psychological tests to his Polish compatriots, most of them in camps for displaced persons and some in prison for offences committed during the Allied occupation. (He was unable to secure adequate co-operation from Jewish displaced persons.) Comparisons were made among groups, equated in other respects, who had after deportation suffered three different degrees of German oppression: concentration camp, forced labour in agriculture, or forced labour in industry. The tests used were a non-verbal intelligence test (Otis Alpha), the Picture-Frustration Test of Rosenzweig and the Thematic Apperception Test. After equating the three groups, Dr. Grygier was left with 152 subjects (including 30 from the prisons). His illuminating and vivid account of the actual testing, with all the difficulties of establishing rapport in these extraordinary conditions, is one of the most interesting parts of the book.

The broad findings were that in the Picture-Frustration Test (in which the subject is shown pictures of everyday frustrating situations and asked to imagine the remark made by the frustrated per-

son), men who had suffered the worst oppression produced more 'extra-punitive' responses (i.e. with blame and aggression turned outwards, away from themselves) than those who had been oppressed less severely. Ex-inmates of concentration camps also had a much higher delinquency rate than other displaced persons. In the T.A.T., which elicits fantasy tethered less closely to a real-life situation, the most oppressed men gave more indications of pessimism, of seeing the world as hostile, and of expecting frustration rather than achievement. The results are of real interest as showing that even a year after liberation the outlook of ex-inmates of concentration camps was still markedly different from that of other displaced persons who had experienced deportation and forced labour in great hardship. Dr. Grygier shows that committal to a concentration camp was for the Poles so much a matter of chance as to rule out the possibility that his most oppressed group had had a characteristic outlook from the start.

The best parts of Dr. Grygier's book are not his laborious struggles to extract statistical significance from the test results, though some of his statistical analysis was of course essential, but his discussion of the broad problems in the light of other investigations and his own experience, including experience as a lawyer in Poland. Much of what he says on the outlook of delinquents is excellent. The book was based on a postgraduate thesis and, like too many theses, has the appearance in parts of a mere exercise in being learned. Yet it is well worth attention, partly for its demonstration of the usefulness of projection tests in dealing with a most complex social problem, and partly for Dr. Grygier's valuable insights when he lets himself be a psychologist and not just an analyser of test results.

D. W. HARDING

**The Human Animal.** *By Weston La Barre. Chicago (U.P.) (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1954. Pp. xv, 372. Price £2 5s.*

**12** Professor La Barre starts by tracing the course of evolution from the protozoans to man and then, ignoring the 20,000 generations which have intervened between primal man and ourselves, plunges into the Freudian sea—a sea in which all the fish swim tail first. 'There is no gainsaying it,' he assures us (p. 220) 'all adaptive human institutions including morality relate to man's oedipal nature. For lawgivers, judges and kings are but larger social images of the father.' But there is gainsaying it, for it is untrue; all our evidence goes to show that in patriarchal societies, and in them alone, fathers are invested with the attributes of the law-giver, the judge and the king. He goes on to say that 'religion is a yearning for rapport with the father,' but this is obviously untrue; Buddhism has no personal deity and Muslims are expressly forbidden to regard God as a father. 'Art,' we are told, 'is a rebellion against the real,' but it is rather the result of attempts to catch and hold the real as it flies past. 'Poetry is a revolt against prose,' but poetry is of course older than prose.

There are other strange statements in the book. What he means by saying that 'an English gentleman may wear a tailored suit though the art of tailoring was invented by Siberian tribes not quartered on his arms' (p. 237) I cannot imagine. And 'The Hindu assassins used hashish as devotees of the goddess Thuggee' (p. 286) is a quaint muddle. Finally, his title seems more suited to a book on anatomy than to one on the origins of culture.

Professor La Barre is a widely read man, and there is much of interest in his book; it is much to be regretted that he has adopted the Freudian practice of saying: 'A, B and C have this trait—it is therefore universal.'

RAGLAN

## AFRICA

**Islamic Law in Africa.** *By Professor J. N. D. Anderson. Col. Res. Publ. No. 16. London (H.M.S.O.) 1954. Pp. v, 409. Price £2 10s.*

**13** In preparing this survey Professor Anderson spent six months visiting British East and West African territories and collecting data as much by the methods of sociological fieldwork as by examination of court records, official files and reports, and published as well as unpublished sources.

According to the author, Islamic law of the Maliki school is

dominant throughout West Africa but in East Africa it is the Shāfi'i school that prevails. Again, we are told that Islamic law is not as entrenched in the Gold Coast as it is in Nigeria, in spite of certain superficial resemblances in the distribution of the Moslem, 'pagan' and Christian sections of their respective population. But so persistent is the customary law that even the Gold Coast Marriage of Muhammadans Ordinance, 1907 (as amended in 1935), which provided for the specific application of Islamic law to cases of marriage, divorce and inheritance, has remained largely a dead letter. But



statutory law normally prevails over Islamic law in certain other fields, e.g. in cases of conflict between Islamic concepts of crime and the various Criminal Codes, particularly in homicide cases. In no other aspect, however, is Islamic law more in need of modification than in those of procedure and evidence; although, as Professor Anderson has been careful to point out, the customary principles in these as in other matters could often turn out to be less satisfactory than those of Islamic law.

Everywhere in Africa, customary law and Islamic law seem to apply *pari passu* to almost all transactions in the daily life of Moslem communities; indeed, in many territories Islamic law is regarded as forming part and parcel of the 'native law and custom.' But in certain cases, such as land tenure, Islamic law is virtually absorbed, if not replaced, by customary law.

It is clear, as Professor Anderson says, that Islamic law is only applicable where both parties to a dispute are Moslems—whether indigenous African or immigrant Syrian (or Indian); but it is not always easy to discover how far particular judgments have been based on the nature of the case involved or on the alleged faith of the parties to it.

The appearance of a book such as this is long overdue, and we are grateful to the author for giving us this account of a complicated and absorbing subject.

T. O. ELIAS

**Defeating Mau Mau.** By L. S. B. Leakey. London (Methuen), 1954. Pp. vii, 152. Price 8s. 6d.

**I4** This book is complementary to Dr. Leakey's earlier book *Mau Mau and the Kikuyu*, in which he described certain aspects of the Kikuyu of which some knowledge is necessary before we can hope to understand Mau Mau. In his new book he gives a detailed account of Mau Mau—its aims, organization, and methods; and explains how it has gained its hold on the Kikuyu because it was presented as a religion. To those who wish to know the truth about this horrible thing, Dr. Leakey's book is indispensable, for no European knows more about the Kikuyu than he does. In the chapter entitled 'What must be done: religious, educational, and economic reforms,' he criticizes not only the educational system applied to the Kikuyu, but also the way in which Christianity has been presented to them, a people whose religion was 'very like that of the Old Testament' (p. 128). To those people was offered 'the formal worship of the twentieth-century churches of Western Europe,' (p. 129), and he goes on to claim that 'if the breakdown of the old religion of the Kikuyu and the failure of twentieth-century Western Christianity to take its place . . . is one of the causes of Mau Mau, so also is the failure of the educational system.' (p. 131). The religious, educational, and economic remedies which Dr. Leakey suggests will, if put into effect, do much to make things right; but it is hard to see how they alone will eradicate the deep-seated Mau-Mauism of the 'hard-core' desperadoes of both sexes. Land reforms, too, will be needed, and the picture of the African labour villages in the European farming area is attractive—but would such a scheme really work? Given determination on both sides, it should work; but will that determination be forthcoming? This book should be widely and carefully read. To say that it is by far the best of the books on the Mau Mau would be an understatement; and when the history of this decade in Kenya comes to be written, the historian will neglect it at his peril. Is it too much to hope that one day—not too far off—Dr. Leakey's real book on the Kikuyu will be published? It would help in the rehabilitation of the people.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

**Statuaire de l'Afrique Noire.** By Henri Lavachery. Collections *Lebègue et Nationale*. Brussels (Office de Publicité S.A.), 1954. Pp. 164, 5 plates, 1 map, 32 text figures. Price 75 Belgian francs.

**I5** Henri Lavachery, Professor at the University of Brussels, creator of the exquisite collection of African Negro art of the Musée du Cinquantenaire and himself an experienced collector of African Negro sculpture, in 1930, on the occasion of an exhibition in the Palais des Beaux Arts, published (in collaboration with J. Maes) a book with the title *Art Nègre*. A comparison of this and the book under review shows clearly how considerably our knowledge of

African Negro art has been enlarged during the 25 years which have elapsed since the first book was published.

In this later book, Professor Lavachery surveys the results which have been gradually achieved through diligent and thorough studies. Also in cases where reliable scholars hold contradictory opinions of the provenance, meaning, or use of some work of art, his profound knowledge has enabled him to adopt the opinion which is the best accounted for. In this respect he is nearly always convincing. Contrary to the majority of earlier works on African Negro art in which it was claimed that practically all statuary Negro art were religious of origin, he proves through numerous examples the enormous distribution of purely secular art, and its great artistic value which in many tribes is not inferior to that of purely religious art.

The bibliographic index of the book is very useful; it gives an extensive, but at the same time discriminating selection of books and articles from periodicals treating African Negro art, right from the time of the early pioneers and up to 1953.

May Professor Lavachery's book find distribution in wide circles, and thereby add to the interest in African Negro art which is increasing every year. By virtue of its text which is far superior to that of many profusely illustrated works, his book is really a valuable guide for beginners of the study.

The only objection to this book, which has been planned at a popular price, is that it is too scantily illustrated. The drawings in the text may hardly be able to promote interest in and love for African Negro art, and 7 photographic reproductions of statuettes are certainly too few for a work which is intended to illustrate the art of up to 100 tribes, with all their strongly divergent differences in style. It is to be hoped that this deficiency may be remedied when the next edition of this useful book is published.

CARL KJERSMEIER

**Peoples of the Central Cameroons: Tikar.** By Merran McCulloch. **Bamum and Bamileke.** By Margaret Littlewood. **Banen, Bafia and Balom.** By I. Dugast. London (Int. Afr. Inst.), 1954. Pp. 174. Price 16s.

**I6** This useful volume in the Ethnographic Survey of Africa covers a wide range of Cameroons peoples: the Tikar Bamum, Bamileke, Banen, Bafia and Balom, the section concerning the last three tribes, supplied by Madame Dugast, standing ethnographically a little apart from the three major 'Grassfield' groups. Information concerning the Bamileke in some convenient form was urgently required by those brought into contact with the large numbers of immigrants from that tribe who come to work in the British sphere, and it is to be hoped that the volume will reach the appropriate Welfare Departments. The Tikar section is a praiseworthy collation of the available data, and has benefited from Kaberry's researches in Bamenda as well as from those of Jeffreys. Full use has also been made of reports written by administrators in the area. Classification of tribes is always a problem in the Survey, as a result of the unevenness of available information, and thus the Bali have had to be excluded, even though they have put an unmistakable imprint on Tikar culture. Less defensible however is the omission of Aghem (Wum). Probably Cantle's 'Notes' are to blame as he states that they are 'definitely not' Tikar, although he dispenses with the possibility of a Tiv origin, even as he mentions it. In fact, if Fungom is Tikar, so is Aghem. Their speech (a dialect of that mutually intelligible language spoken by Esu, We, and other Fungom tribes), their type of chiefship (including the peculiar term *ba'atum* instead of the general Tikar *fon*), and their matrilineal system, all put them solidly with Fungom; they only lack any legend of origin which might link them with the main Tikar migrations. If Aghem does not enter this section of the Survey it will hardly enter any other. The map at the end falls below the high standard of the rest of the volume. The key misleadingly gives as 'Neighbouring Tribes' what are in fact French administrative regions named after rivers. Although 'Mungo' and 'Wuri,' two of these regions, are also names of tribes, the Mungo tribe is actually situated in the Wuri Region, and the Wuri tribe in the Mungo Region. In addition, the Tikar area is as studded with non-existent names as a mediaeval atlas.

E. W. ARDENER



**Apport à la Théorie des Origines du Peuple et de la Langue**

**Peuhle.** By Tor Engeström. *Statens Etnografiska Museum, Smårr Meddelanden No. 24. Stockholm, 1954. Pp. 23, 7 plates. Price 3.50 Swedish Crowns.*

The author, a doctor whose interest in Fulani origins was aroused by a visit to French Sudan, recalls the various theories put forward, which he suggests show Fulani to be a language with Hamitic traditions which was later in close contact with Serer. He then argues, from a comparison of 55 Fulani roots with words having the same or similar meanings in Arabic and other Semitic languages, that Fulani ancestry can be traced back to Semitic or Semito-Hamitic origins in Arabia or neighbouring parts of Africa.

M. Engeström, however, does not mention that Meinhof's arguments are now largely discounted by some scholars, since Klingenberg's analysis of the Fulani nominal system showed them to be based mainly on misconceptions. And unfortunately his own linguistic evidence is unconvincing.

Considering the numerous vocabularies and dictionaries listed in the bibliography, 55 pairs is a very small number, and 16 of these the author himself recognizes as debatable. The very variety of the Semitic languages quoted reduces the number of links with any one language. And often the meanings of the two words compared differ; to argue from a resemblance between the Fulani for 'cow' and the Ethiopian word for 'elephant,' between the words for 'bull' and 'heroic,' for 'short' and 'lie down' may be tempting, but it is not conclusive.

Again, the comparisons are based on 'general resemblances' and 'the feeling of phonetic links between the words.' There is no attempt to prove regular systematic correspondences between sounds, which is surely necessary if the comparison is to have scientific validity. In some eight cases a regular correspondence might be argued from the material in the list, but some of these are otherwise suspect.

Striking therefore though some of the resemblances may appear, it is unsafe to accept them as evidence of Semitic origin.

D. W. ARNOTT

**The Ancient Inhabitants of Jebel Moya.** By Ramkrishna Mukherjee, C. Radhakrishna Rao and J. C. Trevor. C.U.P., 1955.

**18** Pp. xi, 123. Price £2

In view of the fragmentary nature of the knowledge now available of the racial history of the Sudan, the study of the Wellcome material, obtained, rather a long time ago, from Jebel Moya at the heart of the country, is really a pioneer and most welcome contribution to the subject.

The report on this study, produced by Drs. Trevor, Mukherjee and Rao, is to be further appreciated for its own qualities of lucidity and completeness. Furthermore, it is obvious from this report that the authors were fully conscious of the intrinsic value of the material and that they treated it accordingly with all due care. They followed a model scheme of procedure and utilized the finest techniques known to anthropological research.

Owing to the peculiar history of the material itself, revealed in Chapter I of the report, the labours of the investigators were considerably extended over the preliminary questions of establishing the reliability of observations and measurements previously taken, on the field of excavations, by no less than six different workers. In their anxious desire to extract as much as possible of useful information out of the available field records, they determined and applied a special mathematical formula for sexing the irretrievably lost bones, on the basis of measurements, the reliability of most of which had been already shown earlier in the report to be questionable as a result of applying the much less laborious method of anatomical sexing to the preserved bones. This is indeed a most trying experience, especially when it leads only to negative results, as shown in Chapter II, and to uncertain results as shown in Chapter III. Nevertheless, although because of defective data they could have led only to these disappointing results in the case of the Jebel Moya series, the method of approach and analysis presented in those two Chapters still stands as a model example to be followed when similar enquiries are to be conducted in connexion with more suitable series of data.

The latter half of the report leaves nothing to be desired on the subjects it deals with. No series, we believe, has been better described and defined, both anthroposcopically or anthropometrically, than the Jebel Moya series, as can be seen in Chapter IV. Its racial affinities, ably discussed in Chapter V, have been examined in connexion with an adequate number of the most relevant series. The last chapter (VI) brings together the little but widely dispersed pieces of knowledge about the anthropology of the Sudan, and an attempt is made to put the Jebel Moya series in its right place in a general but far from complete pattern. The appendices at the end of the report will be found very useful by all students of physical anthropology who are particularly interested in the statistical method of study.

Finally, with full conviction of the value of their worthy efforts, I congratulate Drs. Trevor, Mukherjee and Rao on their success in saving from final destruction a valuable mass of scientific material and producing a work of the first rank in anthropological literature.

A. BATRAWI

## AMERICA

**Indian Health in Arizona: A Study of Health Conditions among Central and Southern Arizona Indians.** By Bertram

**19** S. Kraus with the collaboration of Bonnie M. Jones. *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnic Research, U. of Arizona, Tucson, 1954. Pp. ix, 164. Price \$2.50.*

This is the record of a valuable pioneer work of demographic research, which, it is to be hoped, will be extended to the Hopi and Navajo reservations. Among topics specially interesting to anthropologists may be noted Papago, Pima and Apache attitudes to Indian and non-Indian medicine; growth ratios of Indian children; comparative incidence of the major diseases in Indians and non-Indians. Statistics appear to confirm the popular impression of a very

low incidence of cancer and other neoplasms (·1 per cent) and a high percentage of tuberculosis and respiratory diseases (32 per cent.) among Indians who accepted out-patient treatment. Generally speaking, the Indians suffer much more from what may be called environmental diseases, and much less from constitutional, than white populations in Arizona. 'An attack on the environmental factors in disease'—under-nourishment, unbalanced diet, want of hygiene and medical care, discouragement—'might well produce a health picture among the Indians far better than that for the United States population in general' (p. 88). Already the introduction, since 1922, of sulfa drugs has practically abolished trachoma, formerly the most prevalent of communicable diseases. BARBARA AITKEN

## ASIA

**Qatabân and Sheba.** By Wendell Phillips. London (Collins), 1955. Pp. 325. 78 half-tone illus., 5 diagrams, 3 maps. Price 21s.

**20** This spirited narrative by the enterprising young American organizer and leader of an archaeological expedition to South Arabia, anticipates those specialist publications on the results which may be expected from the scientific members of the party, and from which the value of the work will eventually be judged. At present one may only guess that those results are likely to be of exceptional importance towards building up the pre-Islamic history of South Arabia into an ordered and agreed chronology, in addition to being a

revelation of the material culture of the upper classes in the first half of the first millennium B.C., about which practically nothing was known.

The main objectives were the capital cities of Qatabân and Saba', namely Timna' in Wadi Beihân in the West Aden Protectorate, and Marib in Yemen, both of them untouched archaeological plums demanding, consequently, reverent, top-level handling.

At first glance this popular account, most charmingly and simply written, and full of excitement and interest, raises an uneasy impression of a high-powered, showman's enterprise, over-richly



endowed with American funds, material comforts, costly presents to local potentates, a fleet of Dodge power-wagons and a very numerous personnel to cover every conceivable need. If this impression does not altogether disperse on closer attention, it becomes overlaid by admiration for Mr. Phillips' high qualities as a leader in a not easy enterprise; his capacity for endearing himself both to colleagues and Arabs; and not least, his acumen in cooperating with Mr. Charles Inge, then Director of Antiquities, Aden, to secure a well-qualified archaeological and epigraphic staff. The presence of Professor W. F. Albright, Dr. Jammie, and Dr. Honeyman among others, ensures scholarly publications in their respective fields. Professor Albright has already given us a brief sketch of some of the results affecting the controversial chronology of the South Arabian kingdoms (*Bull. Amer. School of Oriental Research*, 1950, No. XXIX); in this the so-called 'short' chronology is found to fit the 'Timna' evidence. A wealth of inscriptions, both in the Beihân area, and at Marib, will certainly furnish the epigraphists and their commentators with almost unlimited material for palaeographic, phonetic and historical studies; and for practically the first time (Hureidha is a small exception) inscriptions are cross-dated by material archaeology.

The material culture unearthed from incompletely rifled tombs, a splendid temple of 'Athtar, and aristocratic houses in the Qatabanian capital, displays strong Hellenistic influence mixed with inept local work in the works of art discovered: the illustrations of these are excellent. Archaeological publication will doubtless produce objects of earlier classical date also; for 'Timna', by inference, was founded well before the fifth century B.C.; that such objects exist in the West Aden Protectorate was proved as long ago as 1939, when Major the Hon. R. A. B. Hamilton (now Lord Belhaven) photographed, but did not buy, a fine Greek bronze statuette of a warrior of the sixth century, published by Professor Beazley, *MAN*, 1943, 68. (It was subsequently acquired by Major T. A. Altounyan of the Iraq Petroleum Co.).

Mr. Phillips unfolds with restraint and candour the catastrophic story of the Marib excavations, ending in flight and the loss of everything except, mercifully, plans and photographs of the great dam, and the celebrated oval temple of 'Ilumquh the Sabaeen Moon God, with its magnificent peristyle hall uncovered by the expedition.

There are doubtless wheels within wheels in the sad story. But the reviewer cannot help thinking that excavations at Marib—probably the irreplaceable flower of virgin Arabian sites—should never, in any circumstances whatsoever, have been begun before the arrival of the expedition's leader and the most experienced field archaeologists available.

One may end with a question, not asked of Mr. Phillips in particular, but of the reviewer herself in connexion with the Moon Temple at Hureidha, and of all archaeologists planning to excavate important untouched sites in the Near and Middle East devoid of subsequent protection. What damage is being done to the scholarship of posterity by partial excavations at key sites? At 'Timna' two winter seasons' work with 200 to 300 tribal workmen barely nibbled the edges of an extensive site well-buried in immemorial sand. Now it is being, has been, ploughed up for stone to build a Sherif's palace: its megalithic walls, its pink marble pavements have been removed, with God knows how much general destruction. At Marib similar results of exposure are still unknown: but even before the recent abortive expedition, some of the site above ground had been quarried. If the Phillips expedition had been content to stay at 'Timna' for even the two more seasons it worked in South Arabia, how rewarding the enlarged plans of the town and its contents, now being destroyed, instead of the fragmentary information recovered, at the expense perhaps of accelerated destruction at a second, all-important site.

GERTRUDE CATON-THOMPSON

**Zurvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma.** By R. C. Zaehner. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1955. Pp. xvi, 495. Price £4 4s.

21 Professor Zaehner has given his book a title which at once indicates its subject and forewarns his readers that he sets them a problem. It is a new and valuable presentment of facts and theories developed after consideration of all the available sources; sources coloured by prejudice, for Zervanism is known to us through

Mazdean literature and the writings of Christian, Manichean and Moslem authors. Mazdean theologians naturally attempted to disguise and adapt Zervanite survivals which did not fit comfortably into the Mazdean framework of dogma and cosmology and non-Zoroastrian sources are inevitably tainted by hostility.

Nevertheless, Professor Zaehner's scholarship and judgment are fully equal to the task of deciphering this difficult palimpsest, and he protects himself by admitting readiness to reconsider any of the points he makes, should further evidence invalidate them. He has arranged his bits and pieces until the shape of this curiously pessimistic religion or philosophy emerges in a shape far more definite than it has assumed hitherto.

Reitzenstein and others have indicated Persia as the home of saviour creeds, but Zurvân, Time and Before Time, 'finite Zurvân and infinite Zurvân' is no saviour deity. He is above good and evil: the microcosm, man, is a fly on the wheel of his progress through Being back to Non-being.

Zervanism and its background and history have fascinated scholars, and in recent times such authorities as Professors Henning, Nyberg and Wikander have done much to dispel the fog through which we view the religions of ancient Persia.

In the myth, Zurvân is the father of both Ohrmazd and Ahriman; that is to say, both evil and good have sprung from his loins. The latter came into being through his father's doubt of himself and emerged from the womb before his brother by a ruse. The two form a duality of the Gnostic type, the one dark, evil and materialistic and the other its complete antithesis. The former carries within itself the seeds of self-destruction for it is the demon Az which in the end turns upon its master and devours him and his works. One of the first problems set by the myth is connected with this birth, with its mention of the mother's womb. Had Zurvân a consort? If so, creation must have begun with an emanation of the female principle. Or was he hermaphrodite?

The cosmic theories of the Kabbalists, Gnostics and Mandraens come to mind. The last-named in their scrolls of initiation postulate as the first act of creation the emanation of two creative manifestations, the one, active and positive, is known as the 'Father' and the other, passive, formative and negative, is the 'Mother.' In Kabbalistic and Mandaic 'gnosis' the latter became inevitably associated with matter and pollution, the former with spirit and purity. Even in the hermaphroditic conception of Zurvân the female element is connected with evil for, to quote Professor Zaehner: 'According to the second [i.e. hermaphroditic] he generates two elements, the one male and the other female, the one light and the other dark, fire and water. The female principle is then water and darkness: being darkness it would also be evil.'

In his Parts II and III the author has published passages from the *Avesta* in which Zurvân appears as a god, texts relative to Zurvân from Zoroastrian sources other than the *Avesta*, and polemical passages and works dealing with the god in Christian, Manichean and Mohammedan sources. Hence, apart from the author's handling of his material, we have here in a compendious and scholarly form an assemblage of Zervanite material of great value to students.

Professor Zaehner and the Clarendon Press are to be congratulated.

E. S. DROWER

**The Culture of South-East Asia.** By Reginald le May. London (Allen & Unwin), 1954. Pp. 218. Price £2 2s.

22 Mr. le May has spent many years in South-East Asia and has been impressed, as any sensitive person must be, by the beauty and spiritual grandeur of its ancient monuments. In this work he has attempted to convey to the general reader ('the intelligent layman') impressions of the greatness of the culture that flourished in this region. For this reason he has avoided footnotes, and has not hesitated to give his own reactions to the works of art he describes. However, he is a conscientious scholar of history and archaeology and gives detailed accounts of the work and opinions of other scholars in the region. The interruption of the historical and descriptive narrative by these references in the text makes the book difficult reading, and I cannot help feeling that footnotes at the end of each chapter would have been a distinct advantage. Further, Mr. le May assumes a knowledge of the history and art styles of



India which few intelligent laymen are likely to possess. The book, which is profusely illustrated, deals with Burma, Siam, the Malay Peninsula, Java, Sumatra and Cambodia. Throughout this area Hinduism and Buddhism have spread from India and Ceylon. Though no traces are left by the Buddhist missionaries, said to have been sent by Asoka in the third century B.C., the author believes that they did reach western Indonesia. Hinayana Buddhism reached Ceylon in the second and third centuries A.D. from South-East India, and its influence in architecture is seen in Siam; at the same time Brahmanism reached Sumatra, Java and Borneo, and Siam. Again in the fifth century, at the great period of Gupta art, both religious influences were felt in most parts of the area.

From the seventh to the tenth century Brahmanism began to decay and Buddhism to become dominant; Mahayana Buddhism was introduced and was established in Sumatra, and is also believed to be the cult of the Khmer, in whose land arose that amazing Buddhist culture culminating in the city of Angkor Thom with the temple of Bayon and the great temple of Angkor Wat. Influences again flowed from India in the eleventh century when Buddhists were persecuted, and refugees fled to Burma. In the fourteenth century Sinhalese influences again predominated, and the Hinayana cult replaced the Mahayana in Burma and Siam.

Throughout South-East Asia, the two great religions flourished side by side, often merging, Brahmanical figures being found in Buddhist temples, and in one Burmese sanctuary tower dedicated to Vishnu there are ten stone figures representing his ten avatars, the ninth being the Buddha. In a temple in Java, both cults are represented, so that it is said 'Shiva and Buddha are one.'

In Cambodia, the evolution of architecture is traced from the Gupta style to the great temple of Angkor Wat, a period of about 500 years. Throughout the whole area covered in this work, the author traces the various Indian influences and those from Ceylon as well as the Mon, Khmer and Tai traits and their chronological development in architecture and sculpture. Although the typical features are demonstrated in photographs, without seeing the originals it is not easy to grasp the nuances that seem so clear to the expert. However, no one can examine the photographs without being impressed by the beauty of the sculpture and the magnificence of the architecture.

Anthropologists may criticize Mr. le May's dismissal of all non-literate religions as 'animism pure and simple.' It should be noted how comparatively slight the Chinese influence has been, considering the early and continued Chinese trade with Indonesia and the missions sent from China to study Buddhism, not only in India and Ceylon, but also in some Indonesian Buddhist centres. The Tai themselves are said to have migrated from South China to Siam. It is recorded that one of the Tai kings paid tribute to China, and on a visit to that country married a Chinese princess who brought back with her Chinese potters, and eventually established the kilns at Sawankalok. Here celadons were made and though the technique, forms and decoration are clearly derived from China they have a distinct style of their own.

B. Z. SELIGMAN

**Pygmies and Dream Giants**, By Kilton Stewart. London (Gollancz), 1955. Pp. 295. Price 16s.

**23** *Pygmies and Dream Giants* is the story of an American psychologist's trek through the jungles of Northern Luzon. The writer was 30 when, in 1932, he set out with a steel suitcase of psychological tests in search of evidence for his theory 'that all men develop from a single mental pattern, and that this development can be discovered by a psychological study of successive levels of humans, ranging from the primitive to the sophisticated.' The outcome, at the least, is a superb adventure story. Starting among the Negritos, Dr. Stewart through hypnotism soon relieved several persons of mild neurotic disorders, and recorded their fantasies. In turn, he came under the influence of a shamaness whose techniques resembled his own. His work and personality led him into increasingly intimate relations with the people, until—in return for the stipulated bridewealth of 35 pesos, a graduation ring and a pair of lace panties—he found himself betrothed to a Negrito girl. His growing attachment for her, the psychic barriers which divided them, and his distress at parting, form a moving section of the book.

A typhoon, which drove his companions to extremes of self-mutilation, dramatically ended the Negrito episode.

Having passed through the Kalinga country, the author stayed only two nights with the Ilongot. For in the frenzied dancing his investigations provoked, he was afraid they would take his head. In Bontoc, head-hunting required greater formality, but his curiosity, inside an adolescents' clubhouse, brought him a traumatic nocturnal experience of another kind. Moving to the rice terraces of Ifugao, he found himself psychically imprisoned in a rigidly stratified society with 33 ranked orders of punitive nature gods. He survived a furious rainstorm in the jungle, only to lose kit and notes from an overturned raft on the final stage of his tour. A miraculous escape from drowning in a whirlpool helped him at last to subjugate his own dream giants—an experience he records brilliantly in the opening chapter of the book.

A large part of the book also presents the author's anthropological and psychological findings. These are marred by being placed within a naive theory of unilinear cultural and psychical evolution and 'progress,' at least 50 years out of date, and by a consequent over-emphasis on certain common mental processes of primitive adults and American infants, without due regard to their differences. Though he is advertised as an anthropologist on the dust cover, the author seems to understand little about social organization; he assumes without query, for example, that the Negrito extended family organization 'takes no account of women's rights,' and that they have 'kinship political organizations' without territorial groups.

All the same, *Pygmies and Dream Giants* contains some fascinating ideas. These have chiefly to do with the comparison of psychotherapeutic methods among Negritos, Kalinga and Ifugao. Among the Negritos, when a person suffers from headaches, nightmares, or sexual or nervous disorders, he is put into a trance by a shaman and asked to go back in time to when the pain spirit first entered him. Having recollected early traumatic events, he is persuaded to conquer the pain spirit with the help of the friendly shamans, and to wrest from it some new art form—a song, dance or drum beat—which he can bring back as proof of his cure. What Stewart calls the 'central mind' (ego?) of the patient is thus helped to assimilate alien border images which had previously terrorized it, and to assert its strength in some creative activity. The Kalinga do not use hypnotism to cure nightmares and mental illness, but attribute them to the visitations of ancestors and evil spirits. These are propitiated with food by a priest or priestess who asks the supreme god henceforth to keep them at bay, and persuades the sufferer that they have left off haunting him. Stewart suggests that this healing process causes an unconscious splitting-off of the terrifying images from the 'central mind,' rather than integration of them by insight and self-acceptance. It is thus less effective than Negrito therapy, for it requires stores of energy to keep the ego-alien impulses repressed, and weakens the central mind, causing it to placate its enemies, and to rely for security on earthly and supernatural authorities. Among the Ifugao, shamanesses chant the names of ancestors and gods before a mentally disordered patient until one of them is possessed by an appropriate deity. In a trance, the possessed shamaness states how the deity has been offended and requests gifts to appease it. The author judges that the healing process is therapeutic primarily for the healers, who give expression in trance to normally ego-alien impulses. But the therapy, even for them, is not lasting, for their dream giants are never recognized and conquered, but merely appeased. He hints at a relationship between therapeutic processes and the authority structure of each society, but unfortunately does not explore their kinship systems and child-training practices.

Leaving aside the phoney evolutionism and the occasional flights into mysticism to which the writer (once a Mormon missionary) is prone, I think that both psychologists and cultural anthropologists can find much to delight them in this book.

KATHLEEN GOUGH

**Karavan och Tarantass**. By Sven Hedin. Stockholm (Bonniers), 1953. Pp. 287. Price 32 Swedish Crowns

**24** This work was one that Sven Hedin had long intended to write. He had always recognized the debt that he as a traveller owed to his animals and *Mina hundari Asien* and this



book were intended to be his acknowledgment of it. This book is an account of his journeys in Asia written as a book of travels, and not as a scientific account, and with reference to the horses he rode and which alone made his travels possible. It starts with the description of his first entry into Asia in 1885, by diligence on the Georgian Military Road, and continues with an account of his life at Balakhan, an oil field by Baku, where he rode his first Asiatic horse. Here he learnt Tatar and Persian and from here he set out next spring on horseback over the Caucasus and across Persia. In 1890 he went to Teheran attached to King Oscar's embassy to the Shah. He set out from here, went through Khorasan and on to Turkestan reaching, in 1891, Kashgar, 'a star of first magnitude in my wanderings in Asia'—he was to return five times to Kashgar. Two years later he started from Tashkent and rode through the Pamirs and Northern China to Peking which he reached in 1897. In 1901 he crossed the northern border of Tibet in his first unsuccessful attempt to reach Lhasa. For his second attempt (1906) he started from Kashmir, but once more Lhasa was forbidden him. He was expelled from Tibet on several occasions but in spite of this he explored much of the 'white patch' (the unexplored part of Tibet) and the sources of the Brahmaputra and Indus.

From this it can be seen that *Karavan och Tarantass* is an account of Hedin's more generally interesting journeys made between 1885 and 1907. As such it duplicates in matter and style much of *My Life as an Explorer*, but it is well that a new generation should be reminded of the courage and resource of one of the world's great explorers.

Hedin finished this book before the war, but, as the editor Gösta Montell says, 'the world war and all that came with it and other interests and other circumstances kept the manuscript in the drawer of his desk.' The manuscript was very long and Hedin commissioned Montell to cut it. After Hedin's death Montell cut it considerably for publication, but as he believed Hedin would have wished. It is illustrated with Hedin's own pencil and pen drawings, many of which are here published for the first time. They are attractive in themselves and show a considerable development over the period which they cover in his power of artistic expression. They are well reproduced. There are no maps or index.

RICHARD BANCROFT

### The Religion of the Tempasuk Dusuns of North Borneo.

By I. H. N. Evans. C.U.P., 1953. Pp. xviii, 380, 22 plates, folding map. Price £3 3s. **25** The Land Dayaks of Sarawak. By W. R. Geddes. London (H.M.S.O.), 1954. Pp. 176, 8 fcap pp. of plates, figs. and map. Price £1 12s. 6d. **A** Melanau Sago Producing Community in Sarawak. By H. S. Morris. London (H.M.S.O.), 1953. Pp. 114, 4 fcap. pp. of plates, figs., folding map. Price 11s. 6d.

Mr. Evans is a veteran of the old school of ethnology; he came to Borneo in 1910, and lives there now. This tome represents only a fraction of what he knows about the hill peoples. It has three main sections—General Beliefs and Religion (200 pp.); Ceremonies (170 pp.); and Folklore (120 pp.)—giving a closely documented if diffuse picture of a diffuse and complex inland group. The 11 reports on 'personal ceremonies' best illustrate the range and elasticity of individual behaviour within a strongly communal-ritual set-up.

Many of the folktales make grand reading. And the cycle on 'Nonok Karagan', the eastern origin myth of all Dusuns, explains many features of their present distribution, techniques and belongings hitherto obscure.

It is a source book, only obliquely generalizing. Mr. Evans is not at all what Professor Firth would call a 'social anthropologist.' Such persons are rare and unfashionable today; which puts us the more in Mr. Evans's debt for his unflinching industry and accuracy in detail.

Dr. Geddes gives a very different kind of account of the inland Land Dayaks, 400 miles south of Evansland. His 110 closely printed foolscap pages crowd in two years of skilful observation by a person with, happily, qualities of patience and quiet humour needed to analyse a shy, inward and often seemingly perverse people who have a deep fund of thought, fuss, fear and affection.

The report is in three parts—Community (50 pp.); Economy

(50 pp.); and Recommendations (10 pp.). Religion is only noted in social and economic contexts, quite convincingly. Its vaguer role is surely underestimated. I would have liked a chapter on a very Land Dayak character: 'Timidity of Mind and Holy Terror.' Folklore is ignored. But the rich mythology of (for instance) the mass migrations and expansions of the Land Dayaks illuminates the present inter-village conflicts and marked agricultural maladjustments which Dr. Geddes describes but too seldom explains. Again, their folktales of relations with animals explain ritual which seems barren or pointless when described by itself.

*The Land Dayaks of Sarawak* is very well written. Sometimes the graceful style is deceptive; it tends to mask the detail behind it. The data on rice, diet, incomes, genealogies, are impressive.

Dr. Geddes especially emphasizes the importance of 'a web of sentimental ties' and individual character. This is his key theme. I know of no recent British fieldwork which has so well analysed these intangibles, vital in peasant life. It is a relief to find kinship relegated to its proper position as one of several community controls; and here of smaller importance, except of course in the close 'family' unit.

Kinship does not rate one of Geddes's 15 chapters; it gets three pages. Dr. Morris devotes over a third of his mimeographed pages to kinship and directly related matters. From *A Melanau Sago Producing Community* one gets little idea of delta life. There are no 'personal ceremonies' or 'sentimental ties'; no individuality, no descriptions of things seen, words heard or sung. There is also practically nothing about belief—except of the dead. Casual mention is made of the tides (p. 8)—these play a major part not only in sago work but in the whole life and outlook on life of the delta people. All is impersonal, formalized, general or statistical. Dr. Morris has taken a lot of trouble to collect and present significant information on land tenure, sago-production, etc. This is well done and useful. Otherwise his curious 'dead' approach may be explained by an unfortunate undertone of apparent dislike for the people studied, and a thinly disguised disgust for Government.

Dr. Morris acknowledges no help, kindness or information from anyone, white or brown—as if he never asked, met or lived off a living soul. Dr. Geddes is over-generous in detailing all his sources and even his casual hosts; Mr. Evans dedicates his book to a fine Bornean who lives with him, Din bin Ibrahim. It is as if Dr. Morris, being engaged on a 'socio-economic survey,' took that dim term literally; did just so much socio (standard L.S.E. kinship routine) and so much economic ('the bare facts'). He touches life only in a very interesting and too brief discussion of 'rank.' Around this, a coherent account of a Melanau community might have been constructed? Sago and kinship make an indigestible pudding instead.

Dr. Morris, then, has (in my view) bravely failed to do more than present useful (and sometimes detailed) data for further study. His is not an account of a 'sago-producing community' so much as information on sago-producing and the formal associations of the producers. Dr. Geddes has succeeded in giving a vivid yet exact account of a complicated classless society. Mr. Evans provides another level of basic information, somewhere between Geddes and Morris, less interpretative than Geddes, more meaty than Morris. All add to our meagre knowledge of cultures now changing very rapidly. Anthropology apart, these studies come just in time, as documents for history. Alas, the proto-history in Melanau and Land Dayak folklore will soon be quite lost; not so, thanks to Mr. Evans, with the Dusun.

TOM HARRISON

**Népal: Catalogue de la Collection d'Ethnographie Népalaise du Musée d'Ethnographie de la Ville de Genève.** By Marguerite Lobsiger-Dellenbach, Geneva (Mus. d'Ethn.), 1954. Pp. 70, 31 plates

**26** Mme Lobsiger-Dellenbach has earned the distinction of being the first professional ethnographer to travel in Nepal. Some of the results of her work undertaken in 1952 have already been published in a number of articles and small monographs, of which *Recherches Ethnologiques en Népal* (1955) is the most important. Combining research with collecting for the Museum of Ethnography of Geneva, she has concentrated on the material aspects of the civilization of the Newars, the principal inhabitants of the Nepal Valley,



and from her writings emerges the picture of a culture archaic in certain aspects and of remarkable maturity and artistic accomplishment in others. To those who have seen the Newar towns of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon it will always appear remarkable that so advanced a civilization could be supported by agricultural techniques which, dispensing with the use of the plough and the principle of animal traction, depended entirely on human labour.

Elsewhere Mme Lobsiger-Dellenbach has described Newar agriculture in some detail, and the present catalogue of her collection supplements this description by several good photographs of agricultural implements. The captions accompanying these illustrations, however, are indicative of the limitations of this catalogue as an ethnographical guide. While on Plate I a plough is depicted next to several hoes, there is no mention of the fact that the use of ploughs is taboo for the Newars of the Nepal valley, and that even those castes which outside the valley habitually use ploughs, conform, with few exceptions, to the Newar prejudice against ploughing.

The main value of the catalogue lies in the excellent illustrations

of specimens of Newar art and particularly of wood carving. There too a slightly more detailed description of certain objects would have been welcome. The average user of the catalogue can hardly be expected to know, for instance, that the *vajra* (spelt *vadira*) in fig. 235 is a thunderbolt symbolizing power and one of three ritual objects formally handed to a Guwaju priest at the time of ordainment, and that *quatre griffes* represent, together with the central stave, and five Buddhas.

Similarly it might have been of interest to mention that in the spinning wheel illustrated in Plate V, the part through which the thread runs to the spindle represents Sarasvati, that each of the spokes symbolizes a separate god, and that the carving on the handle part represents a *betal*.

But the omission of such detail is a minor flaw in a publication through which the western reader, familiar so far only with photographs of Newar temples and major works of sculpture, is enabled to gain an impression of the exquisite domestic art and metal working produced by Newar craftsmen.

C. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF

**Kunstwerke vom Sepik.** By Paul Wirz. Basel (Mus. für Völkerk.), 1954. Pp. 24, 35 plates

27 The contents of this book are belied by its appearance, for although the plates are on art paper, the text is on poor-quality grey paper. The text is by Paul Wirz, who collected most of the illustrated specimens, and it is excellent, both on the

ethnological background and on the art itself. The plates show a selection of the Basel collection, and a few pieces from Berne. The specimens and the photography are alike excellent. The catalogue could have given more detail, e.g. by explaining the meaning of some pieces, but this is otherwise an excellent piece of work.

FRANK WILLETT

## OCEANIA

## CORRESPONDENCE

**Pottery in Arnhem Land.** Cf. MAN, 1954, 180, 258

28 SIR.—Dr. Donald F. Thomson propounds some interesting questions about the origins of pottery and the failure of the aborigines of Arnhem Land to adopt its manufacture even when they had opportunities of seeing this process performed by Indonesian fishermen from Macassar.

The sherds illustrated in the paper by Mr. and Mrs. Berndt in *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LXXVII, Part 2, Plates III and IV, are nicely made wheel-thrown vessels with the precision of ornament which one expects of Indonesian pottery today. In Plate IVb we see where a decorative double line has slipped, but these lines were turned on the pot with some tool like a notched piece of cane while the pot was on the wheel. The surface of the sherds also shows that the clay, even if it was termite-hill material, had been mixed with some other tempering material, and one would like to know whether this was sand, or crushed local rock or, the simplest material, crushed-up sherds of old pots. The surface of the sherds shown in the plates shows that this material was used in varying degrees of fineness; apparently coarser material was used for the thicker pots. This all shows that the ceramic industry of the Macassarese visitors was at a highly developed stage, and that the aborigines would have met with many problems in reconstructing it after their visitors ceased to come.

The legends quoted by Mr. and Mrs. Berndt do not mention the admixture of any tempering material in the clay. This was so little noted by the aborigines that they failed to record it in their songs. They do, however associate rice with pottery. The two songs quoted in full both talk about anthill pots, but the main theme is the fine food which is boiling in them. We are told that the pots were baked in an oven, and it may be that we are expected to think of a simple earth oven like that in which the aborigines still cook food upon fragments of hot anthill clay. The wheel would of course be beyond the range of the aboriginal technical equipment since it has to be made of a large and heavy piece of wood, nicely balanced on its pivot, and with a well smoothed surface. But they must have either made some little pinch-pots themselves or seen a Macassarese potter do some such thing with an odd little piece of clay.

The present-day techniques with plastic clay used in Arnhem Land are not those of potters. The clay is needed for waterproofing, and therefore the finer its consistency the better; any use of temper-

ing material would be contrary to that purpose. For the toy doll and breasts the clay is held together on a wooden core, and if it dries slowly will not crack too badly. The presence of the piece of wood and string in the core would help this drying process to go on evenly through the clay. But if such objects fell into a cooking fire they would simply disintegrate. A modern potter using a low-firing clay to make ceramic forms of a thickness similar to the doll and toy breasts illustrated by Dr. Thomson would need to use a clay with an admixture of 30 per cent. of coarse grog, and even then he would be careful to heat the kiln gradually. The present-day use in Arnhem Land of clay is not one which would lead to pottery, nor would the oven which they use for cooking be of use as a kiln. The even-burning arrangement of wood for heating the lumps of termite-hill clay would make an excellent fire for burning in the open, but the hot lumps of clay in an earth oven would never raise the temperature of a clay vessel sufficiently to convert it into pottery. To do this the whole vessel must be heated through to about 400° C. at least.

So we have in native tradition two fundamental misunderstandings of the potters' craft. First, they know that clay is mixed, but not that a tempering material is added; secondly, they know that an oven was used, but not that it was a special type of oven, probably with wood burning round a large pot in which the smaller ones were protected from burn marks.

However, pottery would not have been of much use to them as such in their natural life as hunters and food-gatherers. It is brittle, and also rather noisy to carry. Their own bark vessels have every practical superiority for their own way of life. The superiority of the pot for boiling rice applied only to its use within the trading settlements of the Macassarese fishermen. It was not only foreign in origin, but belonged to a completely foreign way of life. Even the social prestige of carrying a pot would not compensate an aboriginal housewife for the annoyance when the pot was broken and she had no technical ability to replace it. And if she knew how to do so, under aboriginal conditions she would have little chance of finding the clay, preparing it, drying it to the right consistency, moulding her pots, drying them thoroughly and then burning them. Even the most primitive pottery demands a greater degree of settled life than was possible for the Arnhem Land aborigines in their natural way of life.

West Molesey, Surrey

C. A. BURLAND









(a) Mundugamor Flute Figure



(b) Flute (covered)



(c) Mundugamor Head



(d) Mundugamor Figure



(e) Tchambuli Masks



(f) (Left) Tchambuli Mask. (Right) Mundugamor Mask

# MUNDUGAMOR AND TCHAMBULI SCULPTURE

Photographs by courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia



# MUNDUGAMOR SCULPTURE: COMMENTS ON THE ART OF A NEW GUINEA TRIBE\*

by

DOUGLAS FRASER

New York

29 The Sepik River area in New Guinea, although only 200 miles long and less than 50 miles wide, is the source of an art development generally regarded as one of the strangest and richest in the primitive world. In its swamps and savannahs there are literally scores of art-producing tribes, the most important of which are the Mundugamor, Tchambuli, Iatmul, Abelam, Arapesh and Kwoma. Life along the Sepik is based on simple gardening and food-gathering procedures, but it is by no means an easy one: disastrous floods, droughts, earthquakes, and tropical diseases of the most painful sort are common in the area. These awe-inspiring natural phenomena and an awareness of their apparent malevolence contribute in large part to the atmosphere of conflict and violence characteristic of the Sepik. And they have given rise to a highly charged religious and magical expression of man's relation to his environment. Supernatural intervention and the propitiation of spirit powers are constantly to be reckoned with in any analysis of Sepik art. Magic is employed not only in head-hunting, love-making, and ill-intentioned sorcery, but in the more prosaic activities of fishing, gardening and trading as well.

The magic-maker, in performing his acts, usually employs some object which enables him to contact a sympathetic power. The Lower Sepik tribes use figures of ancestors who are asked to intercede in behalf of their descendants; in the Middle Sepik area, however, the evocative image of a supernatural being or spirit is more dominant. The appearance attributed to this figure is usually based upon a visionary contact with the supernatural; but unlike the American Indian, the Melanesian does not make a specific quest for an encounter. Contact is made, usually by accident, in a hysterical, hypnotic, or hallucinatory state. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Sepik figures show little concern for the immediately perceptible, the so-called real world.

On the other hand, one must not over-emphasize, as has so often been done, the ecstatic aspects of primitive life. Consideration of one of the most illuminating customs of the area, the practice of skull-modelling, will perhaps prove this point. Skull-modelling in the Sepik is simply the process of applying clay or a similar plastic substance to the surface of a skull and shaping it into an approximate likeness of the former occupant. Three kinds of skulls are eligible for this treatment: heads of enemies, heads of important members of the tribe, and any head that is considered particularly beautiful.<sup>1</sup> From the wide range of choice granted, it is evident that other factors beside mere magical and religious beliefs are operative. Recognition must here be granted to the artistic propensities in man and his universal interest in style and skill. Aesthetic considerations are, in fact, not inconsiderable in the lives of these

people; landscape gardening,<sup>2</sup> delight in personal adornment, and organized trading of works of art are widespread. There is, moreover, one tribe which, Margaret Mead avers, lives principally for art.<sup>3</sup> Objects of prestige value, profane articles, and utilitarian forms are often decorated with motifs and designs identical with those which, in another context, would have the deepest religious significance. The lively art trade, ranging from simple ornaments to entire dance-mask-song complexes, which is carried on throughout the Sepik, serves further to vindicate the aesthetic pattern. It is an error, therefore, to regard the primitive individual simply as a fear-ridden or magic-hounded creature; it is equally wrong to ignore the cultural *mise en scène* of his works.

After this brief discussion of the Sepik River area as a whole, consideration of the sculpture of the Mundugamor, and a brief comparison of this style with the art of the Tchambuli, may now be made. The Mundugamor, numbering about a thousand in all, live on both sides of the Yuat River, a tributary of the Sepik. They dwell in small compounds rather than in villages and gather quantities of tobacco, coconuts and areca nuts (used in betel-chewing) of which they have an abundance. The surplus crop is traded to the bush people by the Mundugamor for pots, baskets, sago, shells, axe blades, bows and arrows. It is also used to purchase works of art. But unlike the majority of Sepik tribes, the Mundugamor prefer merely to acquire the object and usually ignore its attendant ceremonial complex.<sup>4</sup> In addition to imported art, the Mundugamor have a dynamic art tradition of their own, based upon one of the strangest methods of selecting artists known to man. Only those children born with the umbilical cord twisted around their throats are entitled to become artists; even then the profession is not compulsory; but other persons, however gifted, are ineligible and can become only unskilled assistants.<sup>5</sup> This emphasis on the unusual and the select in the choice of the carver points to the magic and power-wielding aspects of the profession. As in many cultures, the artist, because of his proximity to mysteries and the spirit world, is a man to be watched.

The most important objects made by the Mundugamor are shields, masks, power figures, and above all the sacred flute carvings. The latter are human, animal, or bird figures ranging in size from eight to about 38 inches, and are carved usually in a hard, heavy brown wood. They are made in one piece, with a spike (for insertion into the end of the flute), extending down from the feet. Many are not polychromed. Perhaps the most spectacular feature of the human type (Plate Ba) is the tremendous size of the head, made especially obvious by the broad development of the cranium. This treatment serves to give the forms an expression of volume or cubic capacity; at the same time, the handling of the nose as a bulbous form, the bowing of

\* With Plate B and two text figures



the legs, and the downward thrust of the arms and genitalia, as if they were attracted towards the earth by gravity, advance the idea of weighty forms. In its simplest terminology, this is the concept of mass. Here, then, in a single object can be seen evidence of two often irreconcilable expressions of form—that of mass and that of volume. In order to understand this seeming contradiction, it would be well to examine the setting in which the sacred flute figures are designed to function. These objects are exclusively the property of individuals. They are kept in the rear of the owner's house and are exhibited only to those who have earned the right to participate in the ceremonies. Initiates, both boys and girls, are allowed to file in to view the sacred flute. What they see is illustrated in Plate Bb.

The figure is on top at the end of the long tubular instrument. It is swathed with shell, tusk, bone, beads, fur, hair, fibre, seeds, feathers and other extraneous material; only the bright shell eyes of the figure beneath are visible. The flute also is covered with cowrie shells, clay, and snail opercula. This figure, then, is an object that from the start is intended to be clothed with a mantle of added materials, and the contradictory form expressions can be reconciled. The forms have clearly been adapted for a physical as well as an æsthetic function; the cranium serves as a vast bearing surface, and the limbs of the body on each side are drawn in to facilitate the suspension of ornaments.

One is tempted to question whether it is possible for these carved wooden figures themselves to function æsthetically, since they are almost completely concealed by added materials. It is a fair question, and to answer it reference must be made to certain ethnological information which has been acquired about the objects. The sacred flute is extremely valuable to the Mundugamor, equal in value almost to a woman, and it is the chief portion of a woman's dowry when she goes to live with her new husband. Flutes are also used to pay the price of a bride, should the husband be so rash as to abduct his wife. These instruments function, moreover, as objects of prestige and fame for the owner. Ætiologically, however, the figures seem to have had a religious meaning, for when first made the flute is spoken of as a child of the crocodile spirit, an important power among the Mundugamor. This spirit is represented by a great water drum that is beaten when the flute, after being clothed in shells, etc., is given its ceremonial birth. The figure is triumphantly displayed, then wrapped in matting, and henceforth seen only at initiations. The Mundugamor identification of the flute with the crocodile finds a parallel in another important initiation rite. In this ceremony, the youths of the tribe are told that they are to be swallowed by a crocodile. They are then required to crawl into the mouth of a rattan and fibre model of the animal and are directed to proceed out of the tail and to lie still. This act is obviously a symbolic birth. These two rituals which relate man, crocodile and flute suggest that the individual unconsciously identifies himself with the flute, and that he therefore projects into the concealed object some æsthetic qualities. This projection is probably intensified by an awareness of the flute as an extension of self, since it plays such an important socio-economic role for its owner. In

addition to these factors, the original impulse for creating the flute was a religious, possibly a votive, sentiment which would have demanded the best an artist could produce. The extremely high valuation of the flute is very probably a translation of this attitude into the vernacular. Finally, æsthetic quality stems from the homœopathic desire to give the figure the attributes which the owner wishes to possess (Plate Bc).

Several elements in this conception are derived from life forms: the piercing of the septum is usual among these people, and a marked degree of prognathism is also common. Otherwise, however, it is entirely a work of art. The head is reduced to a simple geometric shape relieved at points by the addition of clear-cut descriptive details. A median ridge develops out of the forehead and runs down the nose. This is a Sepik River convention and probably represents schematically the frontal and nasal sutures of the skull. The facial features, although given the boldest sort of treatment, are carefully integrated into the solid form of the head. The handling of the jaw is especially interesting; the zygomatic arch is rendered as a projecting knob on the cheek and is closer to the ear than is usual in nature.

From this knob, a series of what can only be muscular representations run down to the corner of the mouth. Another instance of the observation of reality, this is believed to be an expression of the physiognomic relation between emotional feeling and physical tension. The jaw treatment contributes, moreover, to the menacing and aggressive character of the form. The fact that this quality is typical of Mundugamor culture as a whole does not vitiate the power of its expression in this figure; one is not surprised that cannibalism, extensive head-hunting and an atmosphere of intra-tribal hostility lie behind this cruel face.

The objects which have been discussed exemplify one of the main Mundugamor style traditions. It is an art that looks ultimately to reality for the vindication of its forms. Organic integration of parts, naturalistic though simplified detail, and awareness of physical function characterize the style. It is interesting, in this light, again to observe that despite numerous colourful decorations, this style is essentially monochrome.

Upon turning to another example of Mundugamor sculpture (Plate Bd), one is struck immediately by the similarities and differences in the conception. Similarities include the pose, the enlargement of the head and the proportions of the body. But there they end. This figure is highly polychromed, with black and salmon-pink lines contrasting sharply with a grey background. The forms are treated as individual shapes and are marked off from one another sculpturally. Each form then becomes bulbous, swollen, unstable. Furthermore, the painted elaboration has, in so far as the body is concerned, almost no relation to the surface it adorns; what might pass as elbow articulation on one arm is pointedly impossible on the other. Line also has, in this figure, an ambiguous character of its own; it runs along in normal fashion, then suddenly spills out into a blob or painted shape and immediately loses its identity in that of the shape. It is possible, therefore, to



consider line as a sort of patterning device. In this role it seems to function in two ways: (1) it emphasizes prominent facial features such as the eyes and mouth, and (2) in the body it creates surface and structure-denying elements (fig. 1). This latter aspect does not impede comprehension



FIG. 1. BACK VIEW OF PLATE Bd

of the obvious features of the figure. Only when one attempts to penetrate deeper does it introduce a disturbing element. What logic guides this seemingly random and capricious hand? Until ethnological information bearing on this kind of problem is obtained, it can only be observed that the use of colour and line is in feeling decidedly expressionistic.

A term often applied in this connexion to primitive art is the word 'distortion.' In recent years, this term has suffered a decline, largely due to the increasing popularity of 'non-realistic' arts, such as the mediæval, the oriental and the modern. The majority of form-alterations in primitive art which have been called distortions are, in reality, stylistic conventions. These are formulæ and are rigidly adhered to by all artists working in the tradition. This is true whether the standard form was originally (one might almost say primordially) evolved because of an emotional experience, in order to accommodate the forms to a surface, or to perform a special function. There are, however, certain primitive groups that actually distort form. In order to acquire this distinction, the changes made by the artists must be clearly intentional and individually conceived, a conscious alteration of form, not a mere variation on the traditional theme.

Another Mundugamor figure (fig. 2) is clearly an example of distortion. It is evident in the elongation of the body, in the emphasis on great swinging curves, in the whole conception of the form as something susceptible of revision. The problem is then to analyze distortion, to see why it is found in the Mundugamor. Distortion, as previously pointed out, may be described as a conscious process of form-alteration. It must be performed upon an art style having a solid technical basis. This is essential because

an impoverished style would only be able to advance toward control of the forms and could not turn away from them. Distortion must also have a firm economic foundation, since an assured patronage is prerequisite in primitive life to the dangerous gambit of tampering with established



FIG. 2. MUNDUGAMOR FIGURE (SIDE AND FRONT)

form. And distortion must have a psychological basis. This last is developed out of the economic, for as material wealth increases, self-awareness is likewise intensified; and an unceasing cycle of possession and assertion is set in motion. Then and only then is the capacity for distortion evolved. In essence, therefore, distortion may be characterized as a particularly focused and directed instance of self-assertion.

As a means of emphasizing the character of Mundugamor sculpture, it may be contrasted with the art of the Tchambuli. This group dwells on the shore of Lake Aibom, which provides them with a stable food supply. They are a relatively peaceful people, and the majority of their time is devoted to art. Every Tchambuli man is an artist; consequently, the total output in proportion to the size of the group is tremendous. Tchambuli art includes masks, figures, stools, drums, shields, and almost every other Sepik object that can be decorated.

The outstanding facet of this art is its sensitive use of line. This characteristic may be observed in the fine example on the left of Plate Be. Tchambuli line is always clear and discreet and bears a precise scale relationship to the form as a whole. While its motifs would almost suggest some marine or lower biological origin, this line is entirely ornamental in intention. The forms and their expression, in comparison with those of the Mundugamor, are markedly less aggressive; they are more lucid in their internal relationships, more languid in their quality. But Tchambuli art is limited in projection and range.

Comparison of these two styles reveals the consistency of



each art (Plate Bf). The Tchambuli, while not exactly all sweetness and light, is graceful and sensuous. Essentially it is self-involved. The Mundugamor, on the other hand, is filled with double images, positive-negative relationships, and uneasy juxtapositions. Its formal structure is difficult to grasp; its total effect is completely disturbing.

The art of the Mundugamor stands in an ambiguous position with respect to other Sepik styles. It sums up, in one sense, the cultural attitudes of the area, but at the same time it deviates from the norm in others. In its remarkable power of assimilating external ideas, in its use of many different materials, in its reliance for its motifs upon an

emotionally experienced world, the Mundugamor speaks for the whole Middle Sepik. In its high degree of assertiveness, in its ability to refurbish otherwise traditional forms with new expressions, and in its overpowering emphasis on aggressive qualities, the Mundugamor speaks for itself.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Gregory Bateson, *Naven* (C.U.P., 1936), p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Plate VII A.

<sup>3</sup> Margaret Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, New York (Morrow), 1935, p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> Mead, 'Tamberans and Tumbuan in New Guinea,' *Nat. Hist.*, Vol. XXXIV (May-June, 1934), pp. 234-246.

<sup>5</sup> Mead, *Sex and Temperament*, p. 172.

## IRON GONGS FROM THE CONGO AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA\*

by

JAMES WALTON, F.S.A.

**30** Among the many objects recovered from the Southern Rhodesian ruins the iron gongs have probably the most interesting present-day associations. During Bent's excavations at the Zimbabwe 'Acropolis' he found the three double iron gongs 'in the neighbourhood of the temple of the fortress.' He observes<sup>1</sup> that:

Amongst the present race inhabiting Mashonaland the knowledge of this bell does not exist, nor did it presumably exist in Dos Santos's days, who enumerates all the Kaffir instruments which he saw and he would assuredly have mentioned these bells had they existed there in his days 300 years ago. We must, therefore, conclude that either these bells are ancient, and were used by the old inhabitants of these ruins, the traditional form of which has been continued amongst the negroes of the Congo, or that some northern race closely allied to the Congo races swept over this country at some time or another, and have left this trace of their occupation.

Other examples were subsequently found by Hall at Zimbabwe, Umnukwana and Dhlo Dhlo but his views on the antiquity of these gongs vary in his different works. In *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia* he states that they 'are believed by authorities to be ancient; certainly they do not belong to the local natives or to the Portuguese.'<sup>2</sup> In *Great Zimbabwe*, however, he writes:<sup>3</sup>

Some six pairs of double iron gongs were recently found, but not in any position or associated with articles suggesting antiquity. They were found on old Makalanga floors, also among grass roots and in black surface mould. Yet the type and pattern of gong is undoubtedly ancient, being found in Egypt and seen in the ancient paintings in that country, but like the rod of iron, the pillow, the ingot mould, and a score of other articles used not only by the Makalanga but by other peoples of this continent, the form and make of these gongs have been handed down from time immemorial. The local natives know the use of these gongs, and say that they were beaten with an iron striker, but they have not seen any at Zimbabwe since they arrived seventy years ago, nor can they say that their own people ever made them, but they suppose that the old Makalanga, who, up to at least one hundred years ago, are known to have lived in the Zimbabwe ruins, made and used them. These gongs are known to local natives who have travelled, and these say they have seen them in use in the Zambesia districts, where they are used to greet the arrival of chiefs and the appearance

of the new moon, also as a signal of warning. One pair was found on the floor of a hut built on block foundations with the usual clay-rounded, bevelled and circular base, exactly similar to those on the filled-in plateau of No. 1 Ruins at Khami.

Where stratigraphical horizons have been recorded the gongs usually come from higher level than the soapstone bowls and imported glass and china. At the Elliptical Building, Enclosure 6, an iron gong was found in association with gold crucibles, iron pincers and a soapstone amulet at a level of 9 inches above that of a soapstone bowl but below the mould, Makalanga hut foundation and iron hoes and assegais:<sup>4</sup>

#### Ground level

1-2 feet: Mould on red foundation of hut. Iron hoes, iron assegais and pottery of no great age.

Filling-in of blocks and soil.

2 feet 9 inches: Gold crucibles, iron pincers, iron gong, soapstone amulet.

3 feet 6 inches: Large soapstone bowl carved with herringbone-on-cord pattern.

In Enclosure 1 at Render's Ruins two double gongs were discovered in association with masses of iron and copper wire, cakes of copper, crucibles, hoes, axes and chisels at a level above that of Arabian glass and pottery of the thirteenth to fourteenth century.<sup>5</sup> A single iron gong and an iron striker were also recovered from Render's Ruins<sup>6</sup> whilst from the outer enclosure of the Mauch Ruins Hall obtained two pairs of double iron gongs from 'the usual Kaffir débris' which had been used to fill in the enclosure.<sup>7</sup> Apart from the Zimbabwe finds double iron gongs have been recorded from Umnukwana, where they were grouped with a soapstone bowl and a *handa* ingot,<sup>8</sup> from Dhlo Dhlo<sup>9</sup> and from Shamrock Mine, 25 miles from Selukwe.<sup>10</sup>

The Southern Rhodesian gongs fall into three classes:

- (1) Double gongs joined by an arched link (fig. 1, 8).
- (2) Single gong, suspended from both ends (fig. 1, 3).
- (3) Single gong with handle (fig. 1, 2).

The double gongs consist of two almost identical gongs joined together by an arched handle and they were held in

\* With 5 text figures



a suspended position whilst being struck (fig. 1, 7). Each gong is made from two pieces of sheet iron welded together along a flange and having an oval cross-section. Hall states that the two gongs emitted different sounds but as they were almost identical in shape and size the variation must have been only slight. In this respect they differ from the sistra of North and West Africa (fig. 1, 10) which comprised a small gong and a large gong joined together and which were possibly used for sending messages.

Similar gongs to the arched type of the Southern Rhodesian ruins have been described by various travellers

continent. The natives informed Sharpe that the gongs were very old and were no longer being made.

Stanley saw these gongs in use at Urangi on the Congo. At 5 p.m. on 10 February, 1877, 'the great chief of Urangi made his presence known by sounding his double iron gong. This gong consisted of two large iron bell-shaped instruments, connected above by an iron handle, which, when beaten with a short stick with a ball of india-rubber at the end, produce very agreeable musical sounds.'<sup>13</sup> Stanley's illustrations show that these gongs were almost identical in shape and construction with those from Southern Rhodesia

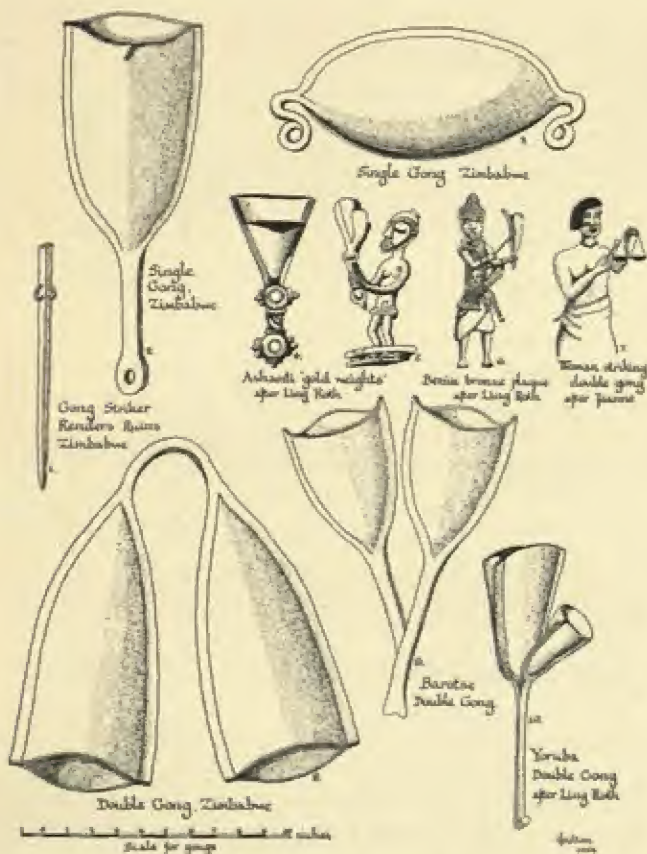


FIG. 1. IRON GONGS

in the Congo basin. Bent mentions that gongs of the same kind came from San Salvador, examples of which are preserved in the British Museum and the Geographical Society's Museum at Lisbon.<sup>14</sup> Another specimen was collected by Alfred Sharpe from Kazembe, south of Lake Meruoc, and presented to the British Museum. It is described as being '16½ inches high, of peculiar form, hammered together out of two thick sheets of iron. It has no clapper and was apparently intended to be struck from without.'<sup>15</sup> Kazembe is one of the oldest known dynasties in the southern half of central Africa and Dr. Livingstone traced back a number of generations of *kazembe*, as each succeeding chief was called. The ruling *kazembe* at the time of Sharpe's visit stated that his ancestors came from Mwato Yanwo on the Kasai and Kazembe customs show more relationship with those of West Africa than of the eastern part of the



FIG. 2. DOUBLE IRON GONGS OF URANGI (LEFT). BAROTSE DOUBLE IRON GONG (RIGHT)

After Stanley and Holub respectively

(fig. 2a). Of particular interest also is an illustration from the German edition of *Travels of P. Joanne Antonio Cavazzi in the Congo, Angola and Matamba*, published in Munich in 1694. This is a composite picture depicting a number of instruments which may have been in use in different parts of the area described but it includes a woman striking an arched double gong (fig. 1, 7). Similar gongs have a wide distribution along the Congo from its mouth northwards almost to the source of the Ubangi (Welle) as well as along the Kasai and the Kwango (fig. 3).<sup>14</sup>

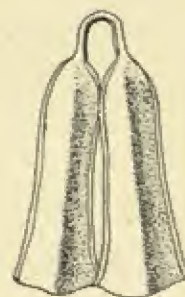


FIG. 3. KWANGO DOUBLE GONG

A second type of double gong is found among the Barotse. The gongs themselves are of similar construction to those from the Congo and the Rhodesian ruins but they are joined differently. Each gong has its own straight handle and the two handles are welded together to give a Y shape (figs. 1, 9, and 2, right). They thus show affinity with the Yoruba sistrum-type gong from Nigeria.

Double gongs in the Congo and Southern Rhodesia appear to have been closely associated with important



chiefs, as at Urangi, Kazembe and Zimbabwe. Stanley's account of the great chief of Urangi announcing his presence by such a gong is supported by similar evidence from other areas. A large double gong, two feet in length (fig. 3), was beaten to announce the death of a chief of royal blood in the Kingdom of Kiamvo (Kwango) at Mucne Putu Kasongo.<sup>15</sup> Holub records that the Barotse ruler maintained his own band of musicians to greet him on his arrival, to accompany his departure, to play at the various ceremonial dances and at any function or ceremony decided upon by the chief. Among the instruments, some of which were employed on certain occasions only, were three kinds of drums, zither-like instruments, stringed instruments made from palm-leaf ribs, gourd tambourines, tiny pipes of ivory, wood or reed, small iron bells and 'a double gong without a clapper.'<sup>16</sup>

Two single gongs have been discovered at Zimbabwe. One, which was found among old native articles, is described as 'oblong, and has an ornament at each end made of tapered strips of iron coiled into circles, and these ornaments strongly suggest that the gong was only used when suspended. It is 13½ inches long and 5½ inches deep. No explorer in this country appears to have seen a gong of this description. Its style and make are altogether unique' (fig. 1, 3).<sup>17</sup> Father G. Vancoillie has, however, illustrated a gong, *kinguvu*, from the Kasai district which is used for sending messages and communicating alarms. This is much larger than the Zimbabwe gong but it is suspended from two forked uprights by iron loops, one at each end, with the opening at the top. It produces four tones and the Zimbabwe gong was undoubtedly used in a similar fashion.<sup>18</sup>

The other gong is of a different type and is fashioned in exactly the same way as the double gongs but it has a straight handle which is widened at the end and perforated (fig. 1, 2). This, too, appears to have been suspended.

In West Africa a double gong of the sistrum type was used, consisting of a small gong attached to a larger gong. A bronze plaque from Benin (fig. 1, 6), and an Ashanti 'gold weight' (fig. 1, 5) depict the sistrum as being held vertically whilst it was being struck. The Yoruba gong is of the same class (fig. 1, 10) and it was also used in Ethiopian Egypt, especially in the later Isis ritual when it was held by women worshippers. The distribution of the sistrum type of double gong follows the well defined migration route along the southern margin of the Sahara.

Throughout Africa, wherever these gongs have occurred they have been manufactured by the same process of welding the two halves together along a wide flange. This indicates a common origin followed by the subsequent development of two main types; the sistrum pattern with two gongs of unequal size on a common handle and the double gong consisting of two similar gongs connected by an arched link, of which the Barotse bifurcated type is probably a still later manifestation. The same method is employed for making bells with clappers not only in regions where the gongs are found but also further afield.

Stratigraphical evidence at Zimbabwe shows that the arrival of these double gongs in Southern Rhodesia took

place after the foundation of the Monomotapa Empire by Hima invaders at the end of the fourteenth century. The distribution pattern (fig. 4) indicates that they spread from



FIG. 4

the Congo along the Kasai to Kazembe and thence southwards to Zimbabwe, and the Kazembe peoples, according to their own traditions, migrated from Mwato Yanwo on the Kasai to Kazembe. Significant in this connexion is the statement by Hall and Neal that 'there appears to have been two races of conquerors styled Abolosi: one of these, it is believed, was the Cazembe of the present Northern Rhodesia, who, according to Diego de Couto (Diogo de Couto), devastated the country of Sofala, and entering into Monomotapa, entrenched themselves and conquered the country.'<sup>19</sup> This must have taken place about the middle of the sixteenth century, or a little earlier, a date which agrees with the stratigraphical evidence and supports the suggestion that the people of Kazembe carried these gongs southwards to Zimbabwe. They continued in use in Southern Rhodesia until after A.D. 1700 as their occurrence at Dhlo Dhlo shows.

One other type of double gong has been recorded from Central Africa and it came from Katanga (fig. 5a).<sup>20</sup> It consists of two almost identical gongs joined by a curved neck, but the method of construction is quite different from that of the Congo and Southern Rhodesian double gongs. Each gong consists of a plate of iron bent round until the two edges almost meet and form a slot opening. Parallels for this type of construction are to be found in Uganda where a set of four bells of different lengths has been described by Wachsmann from the Kiga district (fig. 5b).<sup>21</sup>



In the adjoining area of Ruanda such bells are worn as a mark of distinction by men who have killed a lion or an enemy, by women who have borne ten children, by cows with a record number of calves to their credit and by the

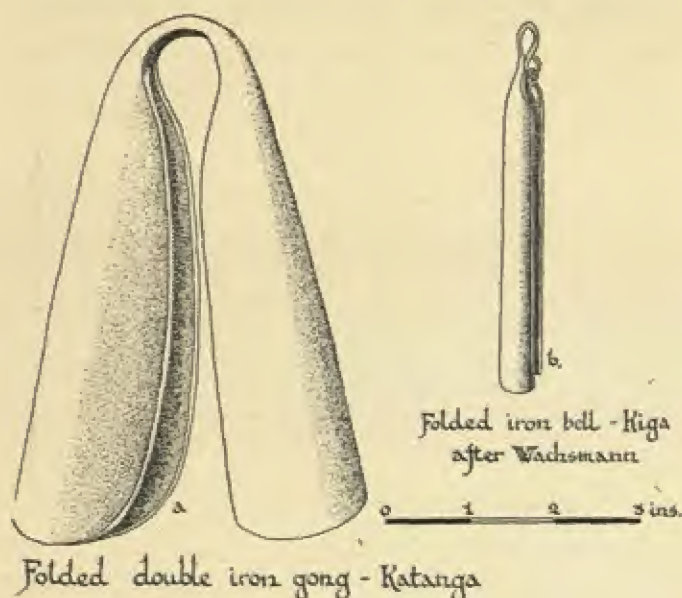


FIG. 5.

best hunting dogs.<sup>22</sup> Wachsmann states that the only other bells of this type known to him are a set of three from the Dinka, preserved in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford (No. 129-L.8).

In her study of the musical instruments of the Afro-Cubans Gerda Törnberg refers to iron gongs identical with those from the Congo:<sup>23</sup> 'Among the Arará and Abakuá both single and double bells without clapper are used. The single bell, fitted with a riveted-on iron handle, consists of two metal pieces put together with rivets, alternatively forged or soldered together. These bells are held upside down and beaten with a striker of iron or wood. The Arará bell is called *ogán* or *ogã*, the Abakuá bell, *banká*, *ekón* or *ekóng*. The single inverted bell is used in the ordinary Abakuá orchestra and with Arará instruments as accompaniment to cult dances and social dances. In Arará funeral rites in Matanzas is used a double bell with a U-shaped handle.'

The gongs of Central Africa may be classified, then, as follows:

- A Gongs with welded-flange joints.
  - 1 Double gongs.
    - (a) Two similar gongs with arched connecting link.
    - (b) Two unequal gongs (Sistrum type).
    - (c) Bifurcating type of the Barotse.
  - 2 Single gongs. Welded-flange joints.
    - (a) Suspended from both ends.
    - (b) Suspended by a perforated handle.
- B Gongs of folded iron sheet.
  - 1 Double gongs with arched connecting link.
  - 2 Single gongs; none recorded but bells of same construction from Kiga, Ruanda and Dinka.

#### Acknowledgement

I wish to thank Miss E. M. Shaw, of the South African Museum, Cape Town, and Mr. Roger Summers, of the National Museum of Southern Rhodesia, Bulawayo, for allowing me free access to material in their collections and for supplying information. I am also indebted to Dr. K. P. Wachsmann, Mr. Willem Meeuwisse, Mr. Immelman and to Mr. O. H. Spohr of the University of Cape Town Library.

#### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> J. T. Bent, *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, 3rd ed., 1902, pp. 212 f.
- <sup>2</sup> R. N. Hall, and W. G. Neal, *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*, 2nd ed., 1904, p. 233.
- <sup>3</sup> R. N. Hall, *Great Zimbabwe*, 1905, p. 121.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 233.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 388.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 446.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395.
- <sup>8</sup> Hall and Neal, *op. cit.*, p. 229, 233.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.
- <sup>10</sup> In the National Museum of Southern Rhodesia.
- <sup>11</sup> Bent, *op. cit.*, p. 212.
- <sup>12</sup> MAN, 1901, 39.
- <sup>13</sup> H. M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. II, p. 289.
- <sup>14</sup> *Annales du Musée du Congo*, Vol. I, Part I, Plate X, Nos. 178-182.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, notes to Plate X, No. 182.
- <sup>16</sup> E. Holub, *Sieben Jahre in Sud-Africa*, Vol. II (1881), p. 147.
- <sup>17</sup> Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
- <sup>18</sup> G. Vancoillie, 'Recueil de Signaux claniques ou Kumbu des Tribus Mbagani et du Kasai,' *African Studies*, Vol. VIII, 1949, p. 37.
- <sup>19</sup> Hall and Neal, *op. cit.*, 134.
- <sup>20</sup> *Annales* . . . (see note 14), *loc. cit.*, Plate X, No. 183.
- <sup>21</sup> K. M. Trowell and K. P. Wachsmann, *Tribal Crafts of Uganda*, 1953, p. 326 f. and Plate LXXVII b.
- <sup>22</sup> M. Pauwels, 'La Magie au Ruanda,' *Grands Lacs*, Vol. LXV (1949), No. 1, p. 4.
- <sup>23</sup> Gerda Törnberg, 'Musical Instruments of the Afro-Cubans,' *Ethnos*, Vol. XIX (1954), p. 107 f.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

### PROCEEDINGS

**Pygmy Music and Ceremonial.** By Colin M. Turnbull. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 6 January, 1955

31 The Bambuti Pygmies of the Epulu district (Ituri Forest) of the Belgian Congo should be considered in isolation—political, social and economic—from the rest of Africa. Surrounded by strong cultural influences from the north, west, east and south,

the Bambuti preserve a way of life and thought that is essentially their own. Yet these influences have a marked effect on the culture of the neighbouring Bantu tribes, and this can be easily traced in their music. But in music the Pygmy remains unaffected not only by the more distant influences, but even by the distinct musical practices of his Bantu masters. Particularly noticeable is the



almost complete lack of instrumental music among the Bambuti, although a rich variety of instruments made from local materials is found among the Bantu tribes of the same area.

The cultural isolation of the Bambuti is all the more remarkable in view of the close relationship in which they live with their Bantu masters, whose 'servants' they are. Every Mambuti is owned by a Muntu. The Bambuti adopt some of the customs and ceremonials of their masters, particularly those relating to circumcision and marriage, and they adopt the local Bantu language. They are expected to provide meat from the forest, and to do rough work such as cutting and carrying firewood, drawing water, helping with the building of new houses or the repair of old. In return for these services they are supplied with supplementary foods such as plantains, rice, manioc and corn from the Bantu plantations.

But for the Mambuti this relationship is primarily one of convenience. Even his economy does not depend on it of necessity, although metal arrow tips and spear heads, knife blades and hatchets are valuable contributions made by the Bantu. At any time the Mambuti is free to return to his hunting camp in the forest, and this he does as soon as he tires of village life. It is not uncommon to find him forsaking one master for another, the appropriate adjustment being made by the two Bantu concerned.

Whereas the Muntu has a mild contempt for the Mambuti, the latter regards the Muntu with neither contempt nor respect. Rather is he filled with pity that anyone should be made so large and ungainly, and so painfully clumsy in the forest. But for Bantu music the Bambuti have a supreme contempt, regarding it as insipid and degenerate. One of the most obvious differences between Bambuti and Bantu music (from the same region) when listening to them is the vigour and vital spontaneity of the former, against the less enthusiastic, if more polished, music of the latter.

Ultimately it is their forest home that separates the Bambuti so completely even from those Bantu who are also forest dwellers, but who never seem quite so much at ease there. Hunting is their main activity throughout the year, and there are different songs to accompany different forms of hunting—with net, bow and arrow, or spear. During the honey season there are not only special songs that are different in style, scale and rhythm, but also special games for adults and children. There is neither music nor ceremonial for

the occasions of birth and death, and it is difficult to find any of those rituals or ceremonies that one might expect to find among a hunting and food-gathering community. In times of crisis—poor hunting or serious illness—the Bambuti may call in a Muntu witch-doctor, but this is rare. Rather will they content themselves by singing the songs of the Lusumba (the men's secret society) to the Great God of the forest.

Circumcision and marriage are ceremonies adopted completely from the Bantu, and conducted by the Bantu. For the *nkumbi*, or circumcision, Bantu and Bambuti children are mixed without any differentiation and live in the same camp and undergo the same training: their ages vary between nine and twelve. But when the Bambuti are left to themselves they show a disregard, almost amounting to scorn, for the taboos imposed by the Bantu and observed by the Bantu boys. The circumcision itself is of importance to the Bambuti, but the rest of the two-or-three-month period of training is regarded by them as of little importance. The fact is that after nine or ten years of the rigours of forest life the young Mambuti has learned just about all there is to learn; even discipline he has learned naturally through hunting with his father. The fact that there is no Bambuti music associated with circumcision or marriage is an indication of their relative lack of importance.

Bambuti girls, after their first period, go through a form of initiation known as *alima*, which is not of Bantu origin, and for this there is special music. But there is no outward ceremony that can be observed other than the girls going to live for one or two weeks in the hut of an old woman in the hunting camp.

With the greatest of their religious festivals, the Lusumba, the Bambuti again avoid any form of ritual. It is rather a sung invocation by members of the Lusumba (adult males only) to the great and beneficent God of the Forest, an invocation that is always answered. While there are certain mischievous spirits, the Bambuti have no conception of evil, and they know no fear of the forest. Their strangely powerful mysticism, so different from the cruder forms of religious expression found among the neighbouring Bantu, is perfectly expressed in the *Alima* and *Lusumba* music—but none of their music can be said to be secular. It is perhaps all the more powerful for the lack of any of the outward ceremony found among their Bantu masters—ceremony (and music) that the Bambuti find so trivial.

## SHORTER NOTES

**Rock Drawings from Upper Egypt.** By Henry Field, D.Sc. (Oxon.), Research Fellow, Peabody Museum, Harvard University. With a text figure

32

During February–March, 1954, rock drawings were located<sup>1</sup> in the Bir Abraq region (34° 50' E. and just south of the Tropic of Cancer). Bir Abraq lies midway on the eastern side of Jebel Abraq (500 feet) near the source of the Wadi Abraq which joins with the Wadi Na'am<sup>2</sup> to form the Wadi Hodein which cuts through a low, hilly region (200 feet) in a south-easterly direction towards the Red Sea near the Egypt–Sudan frontier.

Bir Abraq is very narrow and protected from most of the elements. The large, water-worn boulders indicate swift-flowing waters.

Most of the drawings are of the size illustrated (fig. 1), but those higher on the hillsides are much larger; they are on granite, limestone or sandstone. In all drawings the style is similar. The subjects show little variation and include long-legged people, ostriches and long-horned cattle, some having their throats slit with a long knife. Other subjects are Nile boats, hawks, animals resembling a camel<sup>3</sup> or giraffe, and graffiti.<sup>4</sup>

There are hundreds of similar rock drawings in this area, mainly near the wells, but some occur along the nearby wadis. For example, at the head of the Wadi Hodein, a fine series of drawings stand out clearly on completely exposed hillsides; most of these are larger than those illustrated from Bir Abraq.

No drawings were seen to the west between Aswan and Bir Abraq nor east of Latitude 35°. Murray<sup>5</sup> (pp. 104 f.) described rock drawings from Wadi Natash el-Raiyan,<sup>6</sup> about 90 miles south of the drawings of camels recorded by Winkler<sup>7</sup> from southern Upper Egypt. Also from Upper Egypt at the mouth of the Wadi Abu Agag near Aswan, Schweinfurth<sup>8</sup> recorded a drawing of two men, one of whom holds a camel by a rope. He attributed this to the Thirteenth Dynasty because of a nearby Hieratic inscription, but Murray doubts their contemporaneity.

Rock drawings occur to the east across the Red Sea near Nejran Oasis in south-eastern Asir Province of Saudi Arabia.

To the north-east there are rock drawings of animals on the sandstone walls of the Wadi Feiran in south-western Sinai.<sup>9</sup>

There is also a fine series of rock drawings in Jebel Tubaiq,<sup>10</sup> south-eastern Jordan.



To the south-west on basalt boulders at Abka, 10 miles due south of Wadi Halfa near the Nile, Oliver H. Myers<sup>12</sup> showed us<sup>13</sup> about 40 groups of rock drawings extending over a wide area. During excavations Myers found stone implements and pottery ranging from the Neolithic to the Christian periods. The drawings depicted many animals including human figures and long-horned cattle, etc.

To the west on the Egypt-Libya border at Jebel Auweinat (Ouenat) a magnificent series of drawings has been recorded.<sup>13</sup> To the north-west in western Libya<sup>14</sup> many rock drawings depict human figures, animals and objects. The oldest engravings are naturalistic in style, often several metres in height, and represent hunting scenes.<sup>15</sup> The tropical fauna are being hunted by archers, often naked. The second or pre-camel phase depicts cattle-keepers or pastoral art; this is just before the great diffusion of camels in the interior of North Africa during the first century of our era.

Among animals in later artistic phases are the elephant, giraffe, camel, ostrich and cattle.

Thus we see that the rock drawings at Bir Abraq are not isolated artistic expressions of ancient hunters, for within a 500-mile circle there are preserved in the Sudan, Libya, Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia similar examples of primitive art.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> By Harry Hoogstraal, zoologist, and Makram Nasri Kaiser, Chief Technician, of the U.S. Naval Medical Research Unit No. 3 Expedition from Cairo. The photographs are by Hoogstraal, who sent these notes on Bir Abraq.

<sup>2</sup> From Ar. *Na'ame*=ostrich. Formerly ostriches lived in this region and throughout the Arabian Peninsula from the North Arabian or Syrian Desert to the Rub' al Khali. In 1948 I found a large grey fragment of ostrich eggshell three miles north of Station 2 and about eight miles west between Wadi Halfa and Abu Hamed in the Nubian Desert. See *Amer. Anthropol.*, Vol. LI, No. 1 (1949), p. 73. This site is about 250 airline miles south-west of Bir Abraq. See also MAN, 1951, 72.

<sup>3</sup> For evidence of the existence of Protodynastic camels in Lower Egypt see G. W. Murray, 'Early Camels in Egypt,' *Bull. de l'Inst. Fouad I du Désert*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 105 f., Cairo, 1952.

<sup>4</sup> It is probable that some of these are camel brands (Ar. sing. *wasmi*; pl. *wusim*, *ausam*, or *wasmat*) for Beduins hammer their tribal mark or camel brand on well heads or nearby stones to show that they have watered their camels here. Since this is an ancient custom, these marks belong to many periods during the past 5,000-6,000 years. In South Arabia some of these tribal marks developed into Himyaritic script. See Henry Field, 'Camel Brands and Graffiti from Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Iran and Arabia,' *J. Amer. Orient. Soc.*, Supplement No. 15, pp. 1-41 with 43 figs., October-December, 1952. See also Sir H. A. MacMichael, *Brands Used by the Chief Camel-Ownning Tribes of Kordofan*, Cambridge, 1915; Henry Field and Cyril F. Reading, *Tribal Marks and Graffiti from South-Western Asia* on ADIM, No. 4280, pp. 1-50; and *Camel Brands and Graffiti from Jordan* on ADIM, No. 4213, pp. 9-11, both in American Documentation Institute (ADI), c/o Photoduplication Service, Library of Congress, whence copies may be purchased.

<sup>5</sup> See note 3.

<sup>6</sup> Murray (*ibid.*, p. 106) published a photograph of a drawing of a single-humped camel pecked into a rock lying flat on the bank beside this wadi. Above in the vertical face were numerous drawings of early date, depicting men, ostriches, boats, giraffes and an elephant. The camel was similar in style but later than most according to patina, but earlier than many, including the elephant. Murray concludes, 'all these drawings were inspired with a native optimism; the men were virile, the women pregnant, the ostriches were all caught by the leg in the "wheel-trap." The ibex had always absurdly long horns.' He suggests a Protodynastic date for the camel drawing. This specimen is now in the Desert Institute, Cairo.

<sup>7</sup> Winkler named the early camel drawings from the Eastern Desert 'Blemmyan,' dividing them into pecked and outlines made by cutting. See Hans A. Winkler, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper*



(a)



(b)



(c)

FIG. 1. ROCK DRAWINGS AT BIR ABRAQ



Egypt, Oxford, 1938-39, Plates I, II; 'The Origin and Distribution of Camel Brands' in Field, 1952, pp. 26-35 (see Note 4 above); and 'Importance des marques de propriété usitées chez les Bédouins d'Égypte,' *Bull. Soc. Royale d'Égypte*, Vol. XIX Cairo, pp. 267-70.

<sup>8</sup> G. Schweinfurth in *Zeits. für Ethnol.*, 1912, p. 627.

<sup>9</sup> Recorded on 11 January, 1948, while we were en route to St. Catherine's Monastery as members of the University of California African Expedition.

<sup>10</sup> First recorded at Kilwa in December, 1932, by a joint expedition of the Transjordan Department of Antiquities and the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem under the direction of Mr. and Mrs. George Horsfield and Dr. Nelson Glueck. See Agnes Horsfield, 'Journey to Kilwah,' *Geog. J.*, Vol. CII (1943), pp. 71-77; G. and A. Horsfield and Nelson Glueck, 'Prehistoric Rock Drawings in Transjordan,' *Ill. London News*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 381-86, 529, 1933; and Hans Rhotert, *Transjordanien: vorgeschichtliche Forschungen*, Stuttgart, 1938.

<sup>11</sup> Former staff member of Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum. He published a preliminary account of the Abka drawings in *The Times*, London, 31 March, 1948.

<sup>12</sup> The members of the University of California African Expedition, 1947-48.

<sup>13</sup> See Hassanein Bey, 'Crossing the Libyan Desert,' *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, September, 1924, p. 233; Kemal el-Din and Abbé Henri Breuil, 'Les Gravures rupestres du Djebel Ouenat,' *Revue Scientifique*, No. 4, p. 105, 25 February, 1928; L. di Caporiacco and Paolo Graziosi, *Le Pitture rupestri d'Ain Dana*, Centro di Studi Coloniali, Florence, 1934; and Hans A. Winkler, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*, Oxford, 1938-39.

<sup>14</sup> These notes on Libya have been excerpted from Graziosi, 'Les problèmes de l'art rupestre Libyque en relation à l'ambiance Saharienne,' *Bull. de l'Inst. Fouad I du Désert*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Cairo), pp. 107-13.

<sup>15</sup> Called by Graziosi 'the hunters of Bergiug' after the locality in Fezzan where the classic examples of this art were found.

**Excavations at Langhnaj, Gujarat.** By Professor H. D. Sankalia, Deccan College Research Institute, Poona. With two text figures

33 I have recently completed the study of collections made during several seasons of excavation at Langhnaj, the microlithic site on which Professor Zeuner published an article in *MAN*, 1952, 182.<sup>1</sup> Additional information has thus been obtained which rounds off the picture provided by earlier publications.<sup>2</sup>

At Langhnaj and the neighbouring sites of Akhaj and Valasna, three periods with microliths have been distinguished. The uppermost (Period III) extends from the surface to a depth of about 3 feet. Here the microliths are associated with modern-looking potsherds. Among these, a long tanged iron arrow or dagger head was found in 1949. In the second zone (Period II), at a depth of 3 to 4 feet from the surface, quite a different type of potsherds occurs. Up to the time of writing ten small fragments have been recovered, which represent a thin-walled pottery, red-slipped over a brown surface, with a cowdung-like, greenish-yellow core. The red slip is not easily seen, as usually at this depth the finds are covered with a calcium carbonate crust. Among these sherds, there were a couple with incised lattice decoration, but without the red slip and made of sandy clay (figs. 1, 2).

Zone III (Period I) is the main microlithic level, though the same types of microliths occur in Periods II and III also. Zone III varies in depth from three and a half or four feet to six feet, and occasionally to seven or eight feet.

Besides microliths, Langhnaj has yielded about 11 Dentalium-shell beads (fig. 1, 2), one flat round bead of unidentified material, a large macehead of quartzite, two 'neolithic' celt-like pieces of chlorite schist and numerous fragments of small sandstone rubbing stones or querns. The beads are confined to Zones I and II, but occur below four feet as well. The quern fragments are generally

found below this depth, while the macehead and celts belong to Period II.

It would thus appear that rubbing stones were in use already before pottery came in, and that Period II is somehow connected



FIG. 1. IRON ARROW-HEAD, DENTALIUM BEADS, ROUND BEAD, INCISED POTSDHERDS FROM LANGHNAJ, GUJARAT

Coll. Deccan College, Poona

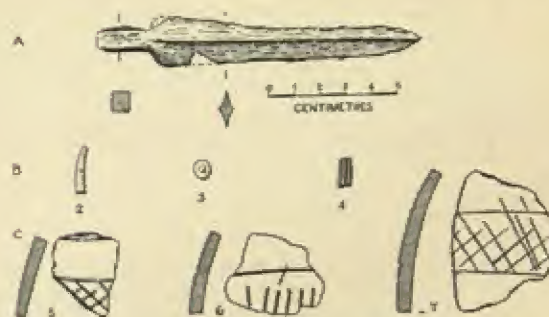


FIG. 2. HANDS AT LANGHNAJ

A. Arrow-head, 1, 1949, 2 feet 6 inches, iron; B. Beads, 2 (No. 289), 1944, Mound I, Pit 1, 2 feet-3 feet, dentalium shell; 3 (No. 548A), 1944, Mound I, Pit 1, 3 feet-4 feet, not identified; 4 (No. 620A), 1944, Mound I, Pit 1, 4 feet 8 inches, dentalium shell; C. Potsherds (incised), 5 (No. 1002), 1944, Trench I, Section 1, 3 feet-4 feet; 6 (No. 3638), 1944-5, AEFB, 3 feet-4 feet (found while cleaning the floor); 7 (No. 5093), 1944-5, 10 inches-2 feet.

with the polished-axe culture of India. The uppermost level is perhaps a mixed layer, people using iron and modern pottery occupying the microlithic sites.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> F. E. Zeuner, 1952. 'The Microlithic Industry of Langhnaj, Gujarat,' *MAN*, 1952, 182.

<sup>2</sup> (a) H. D. Sankalia, *Investigations into the Prehistoric Archaeology of Gujarat*, Baroda, 1946 (133 pp.).

(b) H. D. Sankalia and I. Karve, *Preliminary Report of the Third Gujarat Prehistoric Expedition*, Poona, 1945.

(c) Sankalia and Karve, 'Primitive Microlithic Culture and People of Gujarat,' *Amer. Anthropol.*, Vol. LI (1949), pp. 31f.

(d) F. E. Zeuner, *Stone Age and Pleistocene Chronology in Gujarat*, Deccan Coll. Mon. Ser. 6 (1950).



## Some Inter-Cultural Differences on the Draw-a-Man Test:

**Part II, Machover Scores.\*** By L. R. C. Haward, Senior Psychologist, Department of Psychological Medicine, Winterton Hospital, Sedgfield, Co. Durham, and W. A. Roland, c/o P. W. D., Ebute Metta, Lagos, Nigeria. With three text figures

## Introduction

In a former article (MAN, 1954, 127), we described quantitative differences between examples of human-figure drawings produced by West Africans and those produced by Europeans. In this paper the qualitative differences shown by analysis of the drawings will be described, and in a concluding article it is hoped to discuss these findings and relate them to the cultural differences between the two groups. At the same time opportunity will be taken to amplify some of the points made previously which were not sufficiently explicit, and to answer in context some of the more pertinent criticisms which have been raised.

Whereas the Goodenough (1926) scoring system is purely objective, and largely based on the appearance or non-appearance of essential characteristics of the human form, the Machover technique takes into account the entry of subjective factors into the situation as a whole. The rationale of this technique is that the accuracy and quality of observation—especially of so personal a concept as the human figure—is said to reflect certain personality characteristics which exist in the individual producing the drawing.

Springer (1941), Brill (1937), Berrien (1935), Bender (1940), Levy (1950), Corte (1949) and Wachner (1942, 1946), among many others, have shown that discrepancies between Goodenough scores and intelligence ratings obtained on independent tests indicate the presence of some psychological factors which prevent from functioning those processes with which Goodenough correlates mental age. In this connexion particular reference should be made to the work of Guenzberg (1950, 1952a, b, 1955a, b) which illustrates so well the practical applications to which these observed differences can be put.

## Sampling

In addition to the samples previously described, a schizophrenic sample consisting of mental in-patients within one month of admission at the time of testing, and of the same age and sex distribution as the native and white samples, and a sample of 50 schoolchildren aged between 8 and 9 years of the same sex distribution were used. The natives came from different ethnic groups namely Negro, Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba. Statistical analysis showed that discrepancies arising between the three adult groups could not be attributed to inequalities in the sex ratio or to differences in age distribution.

## Procedure

The subjects were given a sheet of paper and a pencil and asked to draw a man. Motivation differed in the various groups but in all cases co-operation and rapport were good. In answer to R. G.

\* Part I of this study appeared in the June, 1954, issue of MAN, (1954, 127), and gave rise to certain criticisms in the correspondence columns of the methods employed and conclusions reached (1954, 202-5, 228-30). Rather than replying to these criticisms by letter, the authors have preferred to take account of and give their views on them in the remaining portion of the study, which has in consequence been somewhat expanded and divided into two. Part III will appear in the March issue, and it is suggested that further discussion, which will be welcome, be deferred until then. The columns of MAN are of course, open to psychologists and others as well as to anthropologists; and further clarification of these cross-disciplinary issues may be useful, in view of recently increased use of psychological techniques in the colonies, notably, at governmental instance, in Kenya (cf. MAN, 1954, 26, 218).—Ed.

Armstrong's criticisms of Part I (cf. MAN, 1954, 228), it should be made clear that the natives did not distrust the purposes of the test. They were drawing 'just for fun,' for a person who, although a white man, was considered as their friend, and who had been accepted into tribal functions not normally open to outsiders. They had all used paper and pencil before doing the test, to a varying degree, but in most cases considerably less than their opposite numbers in the other groups. However, Stoltijn-Egge (1952) has shown that a valid interpretation can be made of drawings from young oligophrenic children who had never, to the belief of the examiner, previously held a pencil or similar object in their hands. The children were drawing as part of their school syllabus, and were motivated by the desire to gain the teacher's commendation; the white control sample understood that their co-operation was required in a study and participated with interest. The clinical sample accepted the test as just one more of a protracted psychometric battery.

## Scoring

Unlike the Goodenough system, there is no quantitative scoring as such in the Machover (1951) technique. This method relies on the interpretation of certain structural or formal elements of the drawing, including pressure of line, size and position of the figure, stance, theme, proportions, perspective, shading and so on: Superficially this may appear as a very subjective estimation, and to those who do not understand the psychodynamic forces which control and direct the drawing of the human figure, these crude pictures carry little meaning. To the skilled clinician however, who can analyse the feelings caused in himself by his encounter with the drawings, interpretations are available without recourse to statistical apparatus. The reliability of the technique and its validity for clinical use has been studied in a protracted and detailed investigation by Copeland (1952), both in America and the Netherlands, and her findings vindicate the legitimacy of equating psycho-dynamical concepts with certain drawing signs, and these have received further confirmation from Guenzberg (*op. cit.*).

Interpretations can, of course, be pushed *ad absurdum* and in treating qualitative aspects of the drawings, we have included only those features possessing high validation. In order to reduce the qualitative nature of the differences to a form in which the statistical significance could be assessed, a list was made of all features of the drawing whose presence indicated some psychological process deviant from the adult white norm. These features were then condensed into appropriate categories, such as absence of facial features, absence of limbs, mixed views (both face and profile shown in the same drawing), incongruity, and so on. Each drawing could thus be marked for the appearance or non-appearance of these deviant signs.

## Results

Frequency histograms were made for each group showing the frequency of occurrence of each item, and each group received a proportionality value for the sum of the signs present in that particular group. The white control group was significantly different from any of the other groups, while the native group showed a significant overlap on both the children's and the clinical histograms, that is, a significant number of the native drawings could not be differentiated in any way from the drawings obtained from these latter groups. Not only were the significant features numerically equal, but the drawings had much in common qualitatively. Figs. 1-3 show matched pairs taken from the native sample (a) and the clinical sample (b).

It must be reiterated that neither Goodenough nor Machover interpretations are used here, only their method of scoring. All subjects were given an identical set of stimuli under relatively



comparable conditions. It may be argued that the test has a cultural bias in that the white samples had a greater experience with the test materials than the natives. Nevertheless, this did not interfere with the results, since neither the technique of pencil manipulation nor the aesthetic qualities of the drawings entered into the assessment. In support of this, a series of drawings made by Lenge schoolchildren to illustrate (*inter alia*) folk tales (Earthy, 1955), show that their school education has made little difference to the quality of their imaginative drawings of the human figure, although they show considerable differences when they use Portuguese textbooks as a source of stimulation.

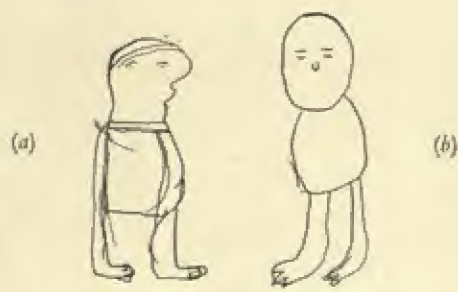


FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3

(a) Native sample; (b) clinical sample

#### Discussion

The facts obtained from this study are these. Within the limits of the small but representative samples studied, the native drawings indicated quantitatively an apparent mental age of 8.8 years relative to the Goodenough criteria, as compared with the white drawings' apparent mental age of 12.8 years. It was clearly stated in the earlier paper that this does not represent the real mental age of the natives, which, on subjective evidence at least, was no less than that of the whites. It does indicate, however, a significant quantitative difference. It would have been equally valid to have applied an essentially native occupation, such as carving a horn, to the white sample. It would then be shown, in all probability, that the whites showed 'a childlike simplicity' in handling the tool and

carving the figures, and that their performance was no better than an eight-year-old Nigerian. This difference could then be usefully interpreted in terms of intercultural differences, as we hope to do with the drawings. The justification for the use of the Draw-a-Man test is that interpretation rests on firmer grounds, owing to the body of research data available on the D.A.M. test, than it would on a hypothetical native test with no background or standardization. Our interpretation of these results is not that the native is inferior to, only different from, the white man.

The second fact is that there is no statistical evidence to show that the native and psychiatric drawings were drawn from different populations. Again, this is not meant to imply that the natives are schizophrenic. On subjective observation of their overt behaviour, and on the figures of Tooth (1950) for the rate of mental illness in British West Africa, one would expect the distribution to be the same as for the normal European population, assuming both groups to be randomly selected. The West African is no more schizophrenic than his white brother; his attempts at human-figure-drawing nevertheless suggest the existence of certain psychological mechanisms or frames of thought which he appears to share with the white mental patient. Since the drawings from groups of two different apparent mental ages are being compared, it is necessary to determine whether this quantitative difference is in fact the underlying reason for the qualitative difference. The use of the children's drawings of equivalent scores to those of the natives show that this is not so. Some overlap is to be expected, since the native drawings will resemble the children's sufficiently to obtain identical scores. In the same way schizophrenic regression will cause the patients to produce childlike characteristics in their drawings. The native and clinical samples nevertheless have a significant number of deviant features in common which were not shown in the children's drawings. Are we justified in suggesting that identical overt behaviour produced by identical stimuli is related to a common psychological process? In terms of formal logic the Law of Parsimony requires that this hypothesis be considered before the alternative one that different processes are involved. It must be understood that innate processes are not hypothecated, they may indeed have a radically different psychogenesis. The mechanisms by which the psychotic individual distorts his conception of the human figure are fairly well understood; can we apply this knowledge to evaluate at a simple level, some of the cultural influences which make the African personality what it is?

#### Acknowledgement

We wish to express our thanks to Dr. G. E. Duggan-Keen for making available the schizophrenic caseload, and to Miss E. Dora Earthy for lending her collection of Lenge art and valuable advice.

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**Ghost Marriages among the Singapore Chinese.** By Mrs. Marjorie Topley, Department of Social Studies, University of Malaya

35 There is a form of ghost marriage which exists among the Singapore Chinese and is known as *Yin Ch'ü* (T's'ü).<sup>1</sup> This takes place at a ceremony or group of ceremonies at which two deceased persons, or more rarely, one living and one deceased person are married. Such forms of marriage appear to be more common among the Cantonese than other dialect groups, although I have heard of marriages being arranged for members of Straits-born Hokkien families. However, the Cantonese are certainly quite open about the fact that they perform them, whereas the Hokkiens I have questioned have been most reluctant to admit it.

In the Cantonese section of that part of Singapore known as the *Ta P'o*<sup>2</sup> there is in fact a ghost marriage broker's sign hung up in a doorway of a Taoist priest's home. The broker announces that he is willing to undertake the search for a family which has a suitable deceased member with a favourable horoscope whom it would be willing to give in marriage. Such marriages usually take place in the home of the family arranging for the ceremonies regardless of whether the deceased relative is male or female, but sometimes a temple is used. I have witnessed part of such a marriage in the temple of the City God in Singapore, and was told by the caretaker that nowadays temples are used increasingly for many of the rites that were traditionally performed in the home. This is partly as a result of the crowded conditions of urban life, and partly due to the modern prejudices of younger members of many Chinese families.

Ghost marriages appear to take place for any of the following reasons: to acquire a grandson after the death of the son of the family; to acquire a living daughter-in-law after the death of an unmarried son, when a younger son wishes to marry and his elder brother has died before taking a wife (according to Chinese custom a younger son should not marry before his elder brothers; a ghost marriage is, therefore, sometimes arranged for an elder brother so that the younger may then proceed with his own nuptials without fear of incurring the disfavour of his brother's ghost); to prevent any catastrophe that might take place as a result of the unhappiness of the ghost of a deceased son, daughter or betrothed who, finding itself without a spouse in the other world, decides to take its vengeance on its own or its betrothed's family; and to cement a bond of friendship between two families.

If the son of a family dies before marriage, and therefore, presumably, without issue, his parents may desire to adopt a grandson, in order to ensure continuance of the family line. It is usually possible for a family in this position to adopt a son, ideally from a relative of the same surname, or, as sometimes happens in Singapore, from a stranger, without further ceremony. However, they may resort to the practice of adopting a grandson, giving the deceased a mate first, arranging for the match to be made with some suitable young girl who had died recently. The proposition will be made by the usual go-between of traditional Chinese marriage, and if it is accepted there will be a combination of wedding and funeral rites, during part of which the deceased bride will be removed from her own grave and taken to that of her new 'hus-

band,' perhaps in another cemetery. Her spirit will be 'led' by a medium or priest to the scene of the ceremony. After the ceremonies have been completed, the grandson is adopted and from then onwards he will worship the woman as if she were his own mother. Occasionally a live girl is taken as wife for the dead man, but I am told that this is rare and the family must be suitably rich to tempt the girl or her family to accept. Chinese friends have told me however, that they have come across cases where a girl, already betrothed to the deceased, has gone through a ghost marriage after his death. When such marriages take place the new daughter-in-law is expected to take a vow of celibacy. During the marriage ceremony a white cock is substituted for the dead groom. It is taken for a ride in the bridal car and accompanies the bride on her formal visits to relatives after the ceremony. I have come across one woman, a Cantonese from the Shun Te district of Kwangtung, who, terming herself a widow, after some time confessed that she was married to the 'ghost' of her betrothed in this way in China. Afterwards, she came to Singapore to work, and was expected to remit money to her 'husband's' family regularly.

Cases where a betrothed man marries his deceased fiancée seem to be not unknown, and a young Cantonese, who worked with me once, told me that his elder brother was married in this manner. It was pointed out however, that such a marriage could be no handicap, because although the dead woman would remain his first wife, there was nothing to prevent him marrying again. In this case, the dead girl's parents had insisted on the marriage, although his own parents had not been keen. The girl's parents had paid all the expenses.

Cases of ghost marriages for elder brothers appear to be quite common in Singapore, and one Taoist priest told me that this type and ghost marriages to avert bad luck are the most usual. I have come across several instances of the latter kind, of which two of the more interesting are given below.

The first case was recounted to me by a Chinese man who has a Cantonese mother and Hokkien father; the second was in part witnessed personally. In the first case, the marriage took place when my informant was six years old. His mother had borne another son, who after a week or so had suddenly died. The mother had been very distressed and so the family had adopted another son for her. Not long afterwards, the adopted son became seriously ill. Western and Chinese medicines were tried but with no effect. A Cantonese female medium was called in. In a trance the first dead son spoke to his mother through the medium, saying that he was angry because he had no wife in the other world and wanted a marriage to be arranged for him. Against the father's wishes the mother had a ghost marriage performed in their home. The adopted son's illness, however, became worse, and the medium was recalled. The son then said that he was grateful for his first wife but would now like a concubine. However, apparently even this did not satisfy him for the adopted boy died soon after this second ceremony was performed.

The ceremony that I witnessed took place at the City God temple, a temple popular with Cantonese women. It was performed on behalf of a woman of about 45, married with four children. She told me that she was suffering from some kind of malignant growth in the womb and had been to both Western and Chinese-style doctors, who had said that they could do nothing for her. One of her children had then become ill, and soon after her husband lost his job. This string of calamities led her mother-in-law to insist that she see an itinerant Taoist priest. He inquired in detail into her past history and discovered that when about 16 years of age she had been betrothed to a man who had subsequently died. The priest then announced that the various troubles that had befallen her were being caused by this man. As she was already married she was told that a dead woman must be found for



him. This was arranged by the priest who also conducted the ceremony. Ceremonies of different kinds lasted from 7.30 p.m. to 4 a.m. at a total cost of \$200 (about £23); the necessary ritual paraphernalia being provided by the priest. Unfortunately I was not allowed to stay to the end of the performance. The priest had especially invited me along on the understanding that I took photographs for him, but the woman was against it, saying quite justifiably that as she had spent so much money she did not want any spectators. However, during the part that I witnessed, various preliminary purification rites took place, paper and bamboo houses, furniture, cars and servants were burned for the couple, and locks of the dead girl's hair and her nail clippings were laid on the altar for the dead man. I was told by the priest that the initial rites of purification to remove evil influences were usual and

always the same, but that he varied the later ceremony according to how much he charged. The key part however, involved the calling down of the dead man's ghost and the announcing to it that these things were being done for its benefit.

Marriages of deceased persons in order to cement a social bond between two families appear to have been more common in the earlier days of immigration and I have come across no recent cases. However, in a Straits Chinese magazine, now defunct (*circa* 1908), I came across a note criticizing this practice as being 'old-fashioned' and a waste of money.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Literally: *yin*, shade, dark, mysterious; *ch'i*, to take a wife.

<sup>2</sup> *Ta* meaning big, great; and *p'o*, the sound of the third of the three characters given by the Chinese for the three syllables Sing-a-pore.

## REVIEWS

### GENERAL

**The Gift.** By Marcel Mauss. Translated by Ian Cunnison, with an Introduction by E. E. Evans-Pritchard. Pp. xiv, 130. London (Cohen & West), 1954. Price 12s. 6d.

36 This is a translation of the *Essai sur le don* first published in the *Année Sociologique*, 1923-4. The text is complete but the voluminous footnotes have been condensed and placed at the end of the book where they still fill nearly 50 pages. Professor Evans-Pritchard's Introduction is no more than that, and does not amount to a critical commentary. The translation seems to me barely satisfactory. This, after all, is a most important text and the translation should do more than convey the general meaning, it should be precise. Dr. Cunnison is too often satisfied with approximations. A notice such as this must be sparing in quotations, but if the reader will examine the English text at pp. 70-71 and compare it carefully with the corresponding French original at p. 267 of *Sociologie et Anthropologie* (1950), he will see very well what I mean. 'Concepts which we like to put in opposition' is not an adequate rendering of 'Ces concepts de droit et d'économie que nous nous plaçons à opposer,' nor is 'purely interested and utilitarian production and exchange'—whatever that may mean—the equivalent of 'la production et l'échange purement intéressés de l'utile.'

Quite apart from the inadequacy of the translated text the condensation of the footnotes represents a serious loss. Referring to the same passage, the reader may note that p. 267, note 3, of the French text, which to my mind throws a most revealing light on Mauss's thinking, is omitted altogether. The next two footnotes are condensed into one, and further condensed in translation, with very strange results. Mauss had written:

M. Malinowski a fait un effort sérieux<sup>1</sup> pour classer du point de vue des mobiles, de l'intérêt et du désintéressement, toutes les transactions qu'il constate chez les Trobriandais; il les étage, entre le don pur et le troc pur après marchandage.<sup>2</sup> Cette classification est au fond inapplicable.

<sup>1</sup> *Argonauts*, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Il est très remarquable que, dans ce cas, il n'y ait pas vente, car il n'y a pas échange de *vaygu'a*, de monnaies. Le maximum d'économie auquel se sont haussés les Trobriandais, ne va donc pas jusqu'à l'usage de la monnaie dans l'échange lui-même.

It is clear that the second footnote refers to Malinowski's discussion of 'Trade, Pure and Simple' which appears at pp. 189-90 of *Argonauts* at the end of the section on types of exchange which begins at p. 177. It is also apparent that what Mauss is emphasizing as remarkable is that in Trobriand barter (*gimwali*) there is no trading of *vaygu'a*, the ceremonial valuables which Mauss, unlike Malinowski, refers to as 'money.' But in Dr. Cunnison's translation brevity and careless phrasology combine to produce this:

Malinowski made a serious effort to classify all the transactions he witnessed in the Trobriands according to the

interest or disinterestedness present in them. He ranges them from pure gift to barter with bargaining, but this classification is untenable.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Argonauts*, p. 177. Note that in this case there is no sale for there is no exchange of *vaygu'a*. The Trobrianders do not go so far as to use money in exchange.

This surely is a statement which must make all good Malinowskians raise their eyebrows very high indeed.

The *Essai sur le don* is rightly regarded as compulsory reading for all students of social anthropology working in this country. All concerned are to be commended for making available to us this English text. I only wish the job had been rather better done. Let those who can stick to the original.

E. R. LEACH

**Hungarian and Vogul Mythology.** By Géza Róheim. Monog. Amer. Ethnol. Soc. Vol. XXIII. New York (Augustin), 1954. Pp. 86. Price \$2.75

37 Géza Róheim, who died in 1953, was an encyclopaedic scholar of Hungarian origin, who combined an interest in folklore, anthropology and psychiatry. His work *The Gates of the Dream*, which well illustrates his psychological approach to the humanities, was published the day before his death. *Hungarian and Vogul Mythology* has been published posthumously after editing by Dr. Esther S. Goldfrank.

The Magyar of Europe was of the same origin as the Vogul of Western Siberia. The latter has an abundant mythology, but the Hungarians possess only what survives in the medieval *Gesta Hungarorum*. Róheim believes that traces of ancient Ugric mythology are embedded in the history of these chronicles, and that all these myths are totemic in origin. He goes further, claiming that analysis of the Gander-Chief, or World-Surveyor-Man, the central figure of Vogul mythology, reveals an Oedipus complex and the dream origin of the shamanistic flight myths. He also detects a relationship between the Ugric shaman and the North American tribal hero. A Hungarian writer and his American readers, limited no doubt to a select company interested in these things, are thus conveniently brought into touch.

Perhaps American will be more sympathetic than British scholars with the interpretation of the mythology, since psycho-analysis has stronger support in the United States than here as providing the key to the understanding of man, including his mythology. Yet, even if his interpretation of Hungarian myths is received with agnostic reserve, Dr. Róheim's monograph provides a useful introduction to a lesser-known field of folklore. There is an ample bibliography for those who would enquire further; and there are three short informative appendices on the Uralic, Altaic and kindred peoples and their languages, on the Hungarian Chronicles, and on Ugric ethnic names. A map, as frontispiece, illustrates the philological data of the first appendix.

D. W. GUNDRY



## ASIA

**Les Rites de Chasse chez les Peuples sibériens.** By *Eveline Lot-Falck*. *L'Espèce humaine*, Vol. IX. Bagnaux, Seine (Gallimard), 1953. Pp. 235, 16 plates, 10 text figs., 2 maps. Price 750 fr.

38

Like primitive peoples in general, the Siberians have regarded hunting as holy and while engaged in hunting or fishing have closely followed certain fixed rules. The hunting rites of the northern peoples in both Asia and Europe have been studied by many scholars of whom the Finnish student of religion Uno Harva (Holmberg) has perhaps given the fullest and most exact account. Mme Lot-Falck has in her charming and intelligent compilation given to the western reader a representation covering the whole wide field of research on the hunting rites of the Siberians. Further material concerning the role of hunting in the old religious life of the Lapps would have been welcome in this connexion. The more so since the Siryans, whom the author erroneously lists with the Siberians (p. 13), bridge the gap between them and the Finno-Ugric peoples in Western Siberia (see map on pp. 24f.). The Eskimo at the opposite periphery are mentioned in many parts of the book.

The author has exploited, *inter alia*, Russian literary sources, with a thoroughgoing preference for the more recent Soviet literature. Other Russian researches in connexion with the bear ceremony, as well as with the hunting of various Siberian peoples in general, e.g. Gondatti (1888, Vogul), Jonov (1915, Yakut), Titov (1923, Tungus) and Petri (1928, Karagas) might perhaps have been included. The great volumes of Schrenck and Lopatin on the aborigines of the Amur country surely contain further valuable data on the subject. Last but not least we miss some important western investigations of a later date, e.g. Friedrich (in *Paideuma*, Vol. II, parts 1 and 2 (1941), and in *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, Vol. V (1943)) and Ränk in *Folklore Fellows Communications* No. 137 (1949). These scholars have *inter alia* dealt with problems which have a cardinal position in this book.

In two introductory chapters the author gives a short review of the role of hunting in Siberia and of the relations between men and animals in general. In Chapter III—Totemism in Siberia—she has, very convincingly and clearly, put forward her own critical viewpoint on the somewhat problematical occurrence of totemism in Siberia, which has been greatly overestimated by the Russian scholars from Kharuzin (1898) to Zolotarev (1934) and Zelenin (1936).

Two rather lengthy chapters contain valuable and in part original ideas on both the conception and the cult of the spirit-masters (cf. E. Lot-Falck, 'La notion de propriété et les esprits-maitres en Sibérie,' *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Vol. CXLIV, part 2, 1953, pp. 172-197), which can be regarded as having had a connexion with the animals and the hunting activity: the High God (God of the Sky), the spirit-masters of Nature and of particular localities, the individual and the collective guardian spirits of the animals, and the ancestral spirits. The tendency to a development of hierarchies and to antagonism among them, their representations in carved figures, etc., and the cult offered to them, especially before hunting, in sacrifices and prayers, magical performances included, are other topics in this part of the book. Hunting amulets and the special secret language of hunting are dealt with in Chapters VI and VII. In the latter chapter, based in great part on Zelenin's investigation of tabooed words in Eastern Europe and Northern Asia, the author shows a sound and independent judgement when in spite of the common speculations about a 'name-soul,' she concludes that the real motive for avoiding the name of an animal is that the name participates in the essence of its bearer (p. 114).

Chapters VIII-X contain the central theme: preparations before

hunting and behaviour during and after hunting. A full account is given of the divinations, the magical ceremonies and the purification which the hunter has to perform before he leaves his home for the hunting trip. The antagonism between the two alien elements: the home with its centre in the family hearth and the wood, the kingdom of the animals, receives a clear expression in the tabooed position of women in regard to all hunting activity (note here the researches of Ränk as mentioned above). The scent, says the author (as previously Harva), is the most important aspect which the hunter has to consider. The chapter dealing with behaviour during hunting contains a description of both collective and individual forms of hunting; the role of the leader of the hunting party; the departure of the hunters, their first contact with the wood, and their sojourn in the wood; also the conduct meanwhile of the women at home, which is regarded as having an important influence on the fortunes of the hunt. The position of hunting weapons in the spiritual complex of the hunt receives brief but excellent treatment. We are informed, *inter alia*, that the Dolgan hunter 'feeds' his arms after hunting, just as some Finno-Ugric agriculturists in Eastern Europe do with their sickle after the harvest.

The behaviour of the hunters as well as of their relatives after hunting is characterized by the fear and the respect paid to the slain animal or animals, i.e. to their surviving souls. Possibly these are believed to have an intimate connexion with the animals still living, or it may be thought that they participate in a mystical way with the whole collectivity of the animal species concerned, often conceptualized in the belief of an animal guardian. Actually the individual animal itself has a central position in the *post-mortem* rites, viz. the self-justifications and pleadings of the hunters, the particular treatment of the carcase and the many offerings and entertainments which the people perform to honour the hunted animal.

As in the preceding rites, the consummation of the hunt (Chapter XI), i.e. the preparation of the meal as well as its distribution and consumption, must follow certain rules. A sharp line of demarcation runs here, as in all other phases of hunting activity, between the male and the female sex.

The reconciliation with the animal hunted is a crucial moment in the hunting rites and must be considered in the light of the belief in a 'resurrection' of the slain animal (Chapter XII). On this problem there has been much speculation from Frazer to Friedrich (see above). How are we to understand the content of this belief? In my opinion the author is right in noting that 'A l'origine, l'âme de l'animal peut ou non avoir une destinée extraterrestre, mais il ne semble pas qu'il y ait résurrection individuelle du coerd' (p. 204). A multiplication of the animal species, just as the seed of the peasant—rather than a resurrection of the individual animal—might be the motive for the preservation of the bones of the slain animal, as the author notes, but the conservation of parts of the carcass surely has some connexion also with its surviving soul (see e.g. p. 209 on the belief of the Alaskan Eskimo). If the bones preserve some 'life-stuff' of the animal (or of the species), they at the same time represent the animal in the same manner as his surviving soul. The parallel with burial customs and the 'ghost' (or ancestral cult) might illustrate the case. As in hunting rites in general, so even here not all animals possess the same importance; for instance, in Amurland the bear and the tiger are considered the most outstanding animals in every respect.

A short critical consideration of the theory of Gahs on the *Kopf-, Schädel- und Langknochenopfer*, and an interesting reference to some prehistoric parallels conclude the book. Mme Lot-Falck has given us a solid compilation in Siberian ethnology which reminds me of the now already 'classical' handbook of Miss Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, published in 1914.

IVAR PAULSON

## EUROPE

**West Highland Survey.** Edited by F. Fraser Darling. O.U.P., 1955. Pp. 438. Price £1 10s.

39

After 1745, sheep replaced men at arms as the pride of the Highland chieftains, and, as usual, sheep drove out men. The evicted tenants might acquiesce and try to live on potatoes in damp

coastal soil as Salaman has shown, but many of the more enterprising men emigrated, and the western Highlands have been progressively drained of initiative ever since. Perhaps great ability and vision might redeem some of the better areas, notably Islay. But, as Darling shows, the environment changes with geology, rainfall and



temperatures, and no general large-scale scheme could promise much, while one must also allow that small intimate efforts involve families in a dour struggle that must not count time. This book surveys the western Highlands in detail, and has the merit of seeing that local environment is always a vital factor. The small population, heavily conditioned by tradition, finds difficulties in agreeing to field work done by hired tractors, which may arrive at the farm in drenching rain and must be paid by the hour. Afforestation here and there, reduction of the number of deer in order that young trees may have a chance, road-making, and above all the supply of capital to atone for governmental sins of past generations, are among the chief needs. One can imagine that Darling must be far from popular among his traditionalist neighbours.

H. J. FLEURE

**Le Bourbonnais.** By Augustin Bernard and Camille Gagnon. Paris (Gallimard), 1954. Pp. 268, 65 plates. Price 960 francs

**40** Bourbonnais is the third of the old Provinces of France to be described in the ambitious, long-term project sponsored by *Le Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires*, whose aim it is to provide ethnographical coverage for the whole of France. The

territory of the pre-revolutionary Province of Bourbonnais corresponds more or less with the modern *Département* of Allier. It is not a homogeneous culture area in the sense that Brittany and Normandy are supposed to be, but is 'an artificial formation . . . a creation of the Lords and Dukes of Bourbon, who, little by little, by acquisitions, marriages and exchanges, created and organized it' (p. 7). Within the area are several minor and two major cultural divisions. The latter coincide roughly with the dialect divisions of the *langue d'oïl* in the North and the *langue d'oc* in the South.

Because the authors tend to dwell on the exotic and the antique, we are presented with a detailed record of vestigial and defunct cultural practices rather than with a balanced and integrated account of the way of life as it was carried on during the period of field work. Material culture and traditional agricultural operations receive the most thorough and systematic treatment; social structure the most fragmentary. The expressive spheres—speechways, lore, song, pastimes, ritual—are all dealt with adequately. Of course, the full value of such a work as this is not realized until all the provinces have been covered in similar studies, whereupon trait and complex distributions can be plotted for the whole of France.

F. G. VALLEE

## CORRESPONDENCE

**Tectiforms.** Cf. MAN, 1954, 161, 231, 308. With 3 text figures

**41** SIR,—Not having seen the La Mouthe tectiform I am not in a position to offer any direct interpretation, but Miss Bennet-Clark, in her comment on Mr. Lacaille's note, states that 'the form of which the modern hut is an example does not occur commonly among primitive peoples. It should not be accepted too readily as a palaeolithic replica.' True, the paired-couple roof hut has not a wide distribution throughout the world, but, if it is desired to find a counterpart for the La Mouthe tectiform, it is essential to look for it among primitive European survivals rather than among primitive cultures outside Europe.

In western Europe, from Sweden down to Spain, the roof hut is commonly employed by herdsmen as a temporary or seasonal shelter. The framework takes one of three forms: it may consist of two forked uprights carrying a ridge tree against which the sides

lean (fig. 1a); it may consist of two pairs of sloping branches which cross at the apex to carry the ridge tree (fig. 1b); or it may consist of a series of paired couples of the type shown in the photograph of a hut outside the La Mouthe cave (fig. 1c).

The paired-couple roof hut was employed by the Bavarians when they occupied Bavaria about A.D. 500, it is used in the *barracas* of Valencia which are known from before the fifteenth century, and it is still widely employed by herdsmen in Hungary, on the German heath lands and in Holland. Raised on side walls, it eventually spread to eastern England. Having such a wide distribution in western Europe and having been used throughout historic time the paired-couple roof hut is likely to be a type of great antiquity. Lacaille's comparison of the La Mouthe tectiform with the paired-couple hut would appear, therefore, to have far more justification than the somewhat vague interpretation submitted by Miss Bennet-Clark.

It may be of interest to readers to note that the paired-couple roof hut, *kapsteilhuis*, was brought to South Africa by the Dutch settlers in the seventeenth century and has continued in use up to the present time as shown in fig. 2. Sometimes it is lifted up on to a low stone wall (fig. 3), and rectangular or sub-rectangular foundations



FIG. 1. FRAMEWORKS OF EUROPEAN ROOF HUTS



FIG. 2. PAIRED-COUPLE ROOF HUTS  
*Afrikaans: Kapsteilhuisse. Cape Province, South Africa*



FIG. 3. ROOF HUT WITH LOW SIDE WALLS  
*Heidelberg, Cape Province, South Africa*

from at least the Iron Age have been recorded in Europe where no post holes are evident and where insufficient stone has been provided to provide for true walls. These could quite possibly have been the foundations of a low wall of this type.

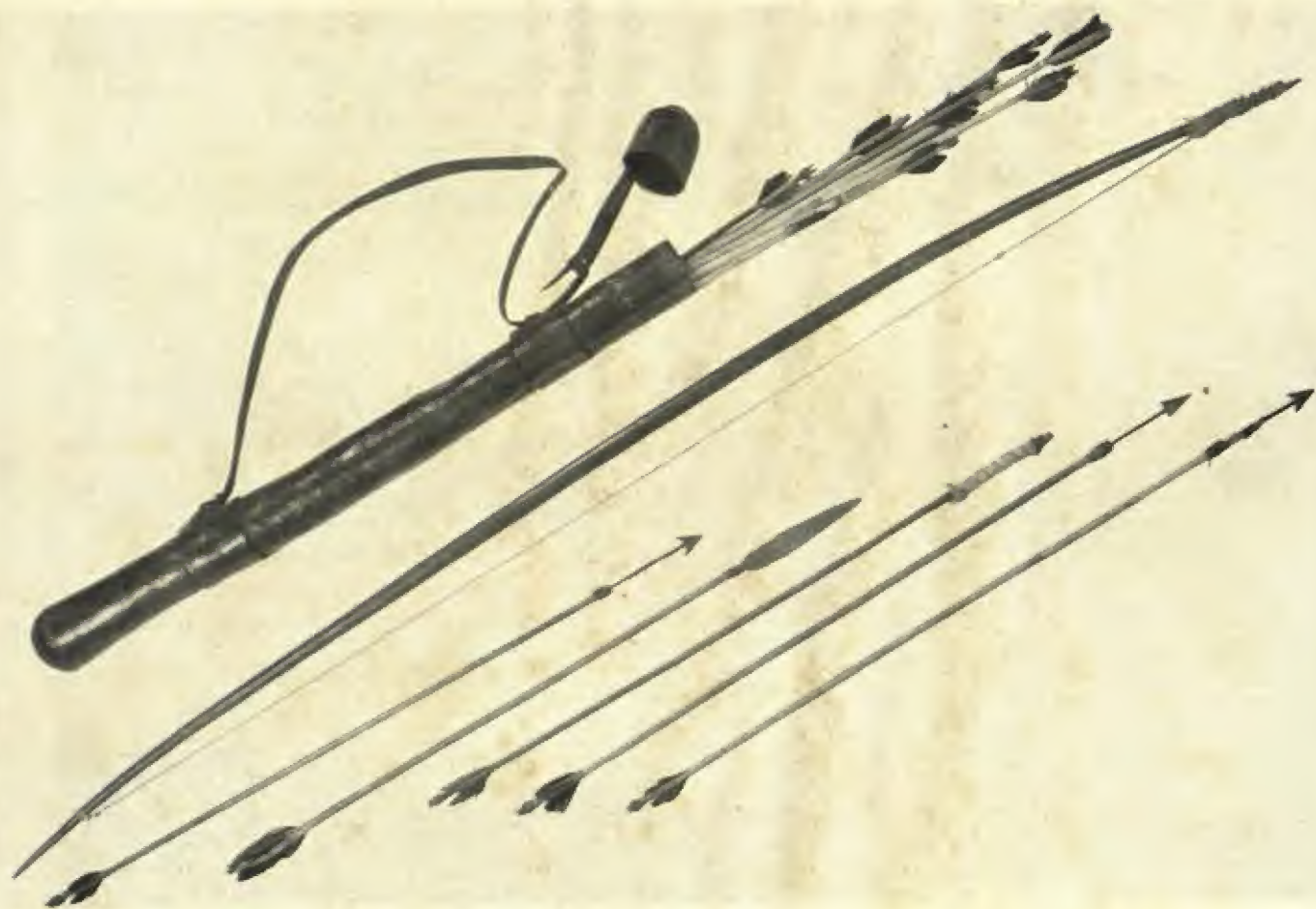
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JAMES WALTON









A TEITA BOW ARROWS AND QUIVER



# A TEITA BOW AND ARROWS\*

by

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42 The Teita who inhabit the mountains of that name in the Coastal Province of Kenya are deservedly renowned as makers and users of the bow, although the Kambari have the local reputation of being the best bow shots in the Colony. The description given here is of a bow, arrows and quiver in my own collection, which were presented to me in 1948 when I was engaged in fieldwork in the Dabida Hills as a Kenya government anthropologist.

Bow and arrow have always been the chief weapon of this tribe both for war and hunting, as they have been among the Kambari, Pare and Nyika. The spear never supplanted the bow among the Teita, and though it is to be found, it is by no means a general weapon as is, for example, the sword. I refer those who are interested in a comparative study of bow and arrow in this part of Africa to the relevant chapter in Lindblom's book for the Kambari;<sup>1</sup> to Routledge for the Kikuyu;<sup>2</sup> and to Kotz for the Pare.<sup>3</sup> Photographs of Pare arrowheads are to be found in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*,<sup>4</sup> where Tanganyika arrow poisons are discussed. Leakey gave a comparative technical study of bows and arrows throughout Africa some 25 years ago.<sup>5</sup>

The Teita bow is rather a *rara avis* in ethnographical collections; apart from my own collection I know of no such items in European Museums (the British Museum may be an exception). Before the war the Leipzig museum exhibited at least one bow and some arrows of this type but I do not know what may have become of them. It is probable that the Coryndon Museum at Nairobi has at least one.

The bow (*ndana*) is of the plain, straight-staved type and of the same shape and size as are those of the other North-Eastern Bantu tribes, but though of the same shape it is smaller than those of the professional hunter tribes in the same area, such as Boni, Sanye and Ndorobo, who have to rely solely on this weapon for subsistence.

The length of the stave is 138 centimetres; it is round, thickest in the middle, with a maximum diameter of two centimetres and tapering uniformly towards both pointed horns. Before the string is fixed on, the stave is straight when in a fresh condition, but after many years use it remains slightly curved when unstrung, though it is never made so on purpose. When in a strung position the stave forms a very flat, almost symmetrical curve, with a maximum depth at the grip of 5.5 centimetres from the back to the sinew. The length of this bow is about normal, but variations of up to 10 centimetres occur.

The bow is preferably made of the wood of a *Dombeya* species, a wood also favoured by Ndorobo, Kambari and Kikuyu, but as the tree is not very common in the Hills, the Teita sometimes resort to one or two other kinds of trees, though bows of other material are considered somewhat inferior. His bow is prized as among a man's most

important belongings, and is always especially mentioned in cases of inheritance.

For making a bow stave, part of the tree trunk or of a large branch, the wood of which is known to be the strongest, is used. The stave is cut with axe and knife, and to make the wood pliable it is rubbed with fat and held over a fire. When the bow is ready it is polished with the tough leaves of a certain plant, or with sandpaper, and finally it is sprinkled with blood.

It takes a man several months to make a good bow, but boys make their own small bows for shooting birds within a few weeks.

The string is made of three-ply twisted sinews, usually from the back or the hindlegs of cattle, but formerly also of some hunted animal, such as a giraffe. The cord has a diameter of 1.5 millimetres and a length of 120 centimetres



FIG. 1. DETAIL OF BOW AND QUIVER

between the points at which it is attached directly to the bow. It is fastened at one end by means of a simple slipknot, resting on a stop or collar, of the same, but unworked, animal fibre, which is affixed to the stave in a fresh condition and shrinks in the drying process so as to form an immovable ring round it. At the other end, the stop is made of some sisal-like material and the string is attached in a much more peculiar fashion probably the one technically known as the 'double-string slipknot'<sup>6</sup> which leaves about 20 centimetres of superfluous cord to be wound round the horn. The stops are eight to nine centimetres from the pointed ends of the stave.<sup>7</sup> For the construction see fig. 1. The string is not protected, but a peculiarity is a knot, 21 centimetres from the upper stop, which cannot reasonably be explained as it serves no obvious purpose.

The total weight of the bow when ready for use is only 260 grams.

\* With Plate C and a text figure



It is possible to make a distinction between two types of arrows in the North-Eastern Bantu area, one represented by Teita and Pare,<sup>8</sup> the other by Kikuyu and Kamba. In the former, the iron warhead is forged in one piece, consisting of two parts: the triangular head proper and the shank; in the latter the decimetre-long wooden foreshaft holds in its cloven end the head itself wrought of iron. All arrows in this area are tanged.

Bird arrows sometimes have wooden, but often also reed shafts, and wooden heads. They are not the normal type of Teita arrow (*iwano*) but a less important variant of the main type, which has an iron head and wooden shaft. I cannot describe the bird arrows in full, as did Lindblom so admirably for the Kamba<sup>9</sup> as I did not examine the specimens I saw and have none in my own collection.

The Teita arrows are rather small, the wooden shafts being on the average 59.5 centimetres long, with a variation of 4 centimetres, the longest being 61 centimetres, the shortest 57 centimetres. These measurements are taken from 12 arrows, and it should be noted that a thirteenth is a war arrow with a different head, having an exceptional short shaft of 54 centimetres only. A fourteenth arrow, measuring 65.5 centimetres, is probably, as suggested below, not of Teita origin. The average diameter is 0.8 centimetres. It would be interesting to know whether the reputation for superiority in warfare which has been attributed to Teita and Kamba has really some connexion with their high-grade workmanship in making arrows of uniform weight, as mentioned by Weule. This primitive ballistic achievement would not be surprising to anybody who knows the extraordinary skill displayed by Teita working in technical jobs on the Kenya Railway or elsewhere. It is not, however, at all demonstrated by the material under discussion. Half a century ago Weule may have been right in assuming a direct relation between this workmanship and the Teita fame as marksmen<sup>10</sup> and deterioration in the material culture as a part process of the tribal disintegration may have set in since. He gives a medium weight of 13 grams with a difference of 0.4 grams only for 18 Teita arrows, at that time in the Leipzig Museum.<sup>11</sup> My own results are an average weight of 22.9 grams with variations from 20.5 to 27.5.

I do not know which kind of wood is used in making arrows, but it is certain from my collection that different trees, or shrubs, have been used by this particular maker.

At the rear end of the shaft, which is not circular but oval in section, there is a notch for the bowstring, immediately followed by a thick ring of unworked sinew bound tightly round the shaft to prevent splitting of the wood. The sinew is coated with a layer of gum (not unprobably gum arabic) which has impregnated the whole ring and made it immovable. One centimetre further follow the three stiff guiding wings).<sup>12</sup> I cannot explain the curious fact that one out of 14 arrows in one quiver has *four* feathers. It almost looks as if it is not a Teita arrow at all. For the purpose of feathering the plumes of the vulture are favoured, but sometimes there is resort to such birds as the guinea-fowl, or even an ordinary hen. The split feathers are stuck on the shaft with a thinner kind of gum and in addition bound

spirally with a thin thread of sinew. The shaft sections between the wings are thinly varnished. At the top end of the feather a thin ring of thread finishes the stabilizing apparatus.

The shafts are not ornamented, though some have an artificial red colour. The upper end is also wider in diameter than the shaft, but it is circular, not oval in section. It is also bound with sinew thread and an additional gum layer to prevent splitting, as is the aft end.

The foreshaft—with the head formed from one hammered piece of iron—is fixed in a hole at the upper end of the wooden shaft. The length of the foreshaft, or more correctly of the shank, is 5 to 8 centimetres, its section square, oblong or circular, diameter two millimetres. In three cases the foreshaft is heavily coated with a black glue-like poison of the *ouabain* type.<sup>13</sup> The blades are of the triangular type, mostly double-barbed, but one blade is really triangular in form. The transverse section of the blade is wedge-shaped, but a midrib fails between the wings. The cutting edges, two to three centimetres long, are ground especially sharp. As among the Kamba the shank bears a number of linear markings, parallel and cross-wise, and these may presumably be clan or lineage marks.<sup>14</sup> One of the heads has a peculiar form, but I have been told that this was commonly used for the unpoisoned war arrows of bygone years. This head is leaf-shaped, shankless, 13 centimetres long, with a maximum width of two centimetres at four centimetres from the base. Whereas the triangular arrowhead is usually poisoned, the absence of poison in this case is noteworthy. Among the Pare, who are by the way close kinsmen of the Teita, a similar arrangement appears to be found.

The leather quiver is of the type common to such North-Eastern Bantu tribes as the Kikuyu, Kamba, Pare and Teita, and also to the Ndorobo (or at least some of them). It may contain from 10 to 15 arrows and has a total length of 77 centimetres, of which seven centimetres are taken up by the detachable lid. Its section is more or less circular, with an outer diameter of six centimetres, and of seven centimetres for the lid. Bottom and lid are both dome-shaped. The main cylindrical part of the quiver is made of one piece of thick dark brown three-millimetre leather bent in the proper form and sewn together; the top of the lid and the bottom are sewn in. The quiver is carried by a strap over the left shoulder and the lid is attached to the shoulderstrap by means of a separate strip of leather. The strap runs through holes in two adjustable bands of leather which are attached to the quiver in an armlet fashion.

On the warpath or during hunting the bow and one or two arrows are always carried in one hand, usually the left. Those who carry a poisoned arrow in the hand protect themselves and their comrades against probably fatal contact with the sharp blade by a small strip of soft skin some 20 centimetres long which is wound spirally around the arrowhead. The quiver is carried with the strap over the left shoulder, or with the strap over the left shoulder and across the breast. In the first position the arrows are not easily removed from the container, but in the second the lid projects from the back over the right shoulder and it is



easy to take the arrows out one by one in rapid succession with the right hand.

It is the left hand that holds the bow. In shooting its position is almost vertical if the bowman stands upright, but oblique when he kneels behind some protecting rock or bush. The left wrist is protected by a leather band wound round it; I have not noticed the use of formal bracers. The grip is held with three fingers bent, with thumb upright or bent and with the index finger pointing towards the target. The arrow rests against the index finger at the left side of the bow. The right hand holds the arrow between two fingers while the bow is drawn with the second, third and fourth fingers, hooked, the thumb not being used (*i.e.* the Mediterranean release).

It is difficult to say whether many bows are still in use among the Teita, but I should think that only a minority of the able-bodied adult men, roughly 12,000 strong, are still in the habit of carrying the bow. Hunting is, moreover, illegal outside the Native Land Unit, which prevents the Teita from organizing their former hunting expeditions after elephant, rhino, giraffe and antelope in the Serengeti Plains or towards Tsavo River. Game is now protected there and the surrounding area forms the Tsavo National Park. Shooting of baboon, bush pig, birds and an occasional buffalo or leopard is still quite possible in the hills of Dabida, Mbololo, Sagalla and Kasigao, but this is not officially permitted either.

I do not know of any formal Teita statements regarding their shooting ability, but judging from what I have seen I

would say that the older generation can boast the same achievements as the Kamba, that is, of hitting 'at a distance of 30 steps a fruit of the size of one's fist almost every time.' But here too the present day Wa-teita have too little occasion for practice to enable them to retain the old tribal skill which their fathers gloried in.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> G. Lindblom, *The Akamba*, Uppsala, 1920, pp. 449f.

<sup>2</sup> W. S. and K. Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, London (1910).

<sup>3</sup> E. Kotz, *Im Banne der Furcht*: Hamburg (1922), pp. 138f.

<sup>4</sup> *T. N. R.*, 23 June 1947, pp. 49f.

<sup>5</sup> L. S. B. Leakey, 'A New Classification of the Bow and Arrow in Africa,' *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LVI (1926), pp. 259-300.

<sup>6</sup> For details of the knot cf. Leakey, *op. cit.*, pp. 267, 287.

<sup>7</sup> The Kamba use pieces of leather as stops, but though some Teita bows have small rings of leather round the stave these seem to serve the purpose of ornamentation—unless they have a magical meaning.

<sup>8</sup> And, one is ready to assume, Nyika.

<sup>9</sup> Lindblom, *op. cit.*, pp. 457f.

<sup>10</sup> Karl Weule, *Der afrikanische Pfeil*, Leipzig (1899), pp. 7f.

<sup>11</sup> Weight of Kamba arrow 22 grams, of Nyika 25 grams. The Pare arrows vary from 28 to 54 grams.

<sup>12</sup> 7 centimetres long for the heavy war arrow, 3 to 4 centimetres for the hunting arrows.

<sup>13</sup> The Teita are among the tribes who manufacture the poison themselves, whereas other tribes purchase it from them or from the Kamba or from one of the hunter tribes. The tree, an *Acocanthera* species, grows in the lower foothills of Teita.

<sup>14</sup> It is noteworthy that the function of these marks has vanished with the promulgation of the government game laws, and as they are represented in two of the heads only it seems legitimate to assume that these marks are bound to disappear from the Teita material culture within the near future.

## AN ANALYSIS OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN A TOWN IN BRITISH TOGOLAND

by

BARBARA E. WARD, M.A.

**43** Ethnographical description abounds in generalizations about the composition of dwelling groups. Such-and-such a people are said to be 'matrilocal' or 'patrilocal' or 'virilocal' as the case may be, but these terms may mask what are in actual fact wide variations. Despite recent examples of careful census-taking it seems that detailed analyses of the distribution of population by dwelling groups are still rare. The following is an attempt to make such an analysis for the town of Vane, seat of the Paramount Chief of the Avatime State in British Togoland. The material is taken from the house-to-house census of Vane made under my supervision in May, 1946, for Miss P. Ady's study of income structure and public finance in the Gold Coast. I am indebted to Miss Ady for permission to use the returns.

Vane is the headquarters of the Avatime, and a settlement of fairly long standing. It is included by the administration with the Ewe states of Ho and Kpandu, but the Avatime are not of Ewe stock. They have their own lan-

guage, and their culture and social organization are said to differ at several points from the 'Ewe proper.' On the other hand they are frequently bilingual, in Ewe and Avatime, and the similarities between their domestic organization and that of certain immigrant Ewe villages observed by me in the Accra plain are very marked. This account cannot, however, be taken as typical of Ewe domestic arrangements in general.

Avatime, in a hilly district of Western Togoland, probably contains about 5,000 people, living for the most part in about eight main settlements. Of these, Vane is politically the most important, being the seat of the Avatime chiefs, though Amedzofe, two miles away, where the Presbyterians have several large schools and a training college, is the largest. The population of Vane in May, 1946, was 815, distributed in 127 separate dwellings. These dwellings were mostly swish houses, rectangular huts covered with thatch for the poorest, but larger houses built in the same way, but with several rooms leading one into another, also existed,



and there were even a few buildings made in 'European style,' using bricks or concrete. Most of the houses in Vane were of recent construction, as this table shows:

TABLE I. HOUSING IN VANE

Built before 1900	1 (1896)
" 1900-1910	0
" 1910-1920	2
" 1920-1930	15
" 1930-1940	76
" 1940-1946	28

The average number of rooms was 5.25 per dwelling, including in most cases a separate kitchen and a bathing room.

Miss Ady's returns were made with the object of acquiring information on food-budget expenditure. For this purpose a domestic unit was described as that group of people who shared the expenses of everyday life, that is, whose food was provided from a common or largely common source. Thus the polygamous husband had only one domestic unit, since he must provide meat, for example, for all his wives equally. The term 'household' is employed here for a group whose members habitually sleep in the same dwelling and are also members of a single domestic unit. The 'dwelling group,' on the other hand, is that group of people who share the same roof, whether they are bound by other ties or not. A dwelling group may contain several households or domestic units.

In Vane in May, 1946, there were 127 dwelling groups, but 172 domestic units. In all but six cases these domestic units were also households in the above sense. That is, there were 166 groups whose members formed a unit which shared both the same everyday expenses and the same roof at night. Five of the six exceptional cases were of youngsters, between the ages of 10 and 15 years, who slept out but ate with the domestic units composed of their near kin; all were schoolchildren, and it appears that they slept out simply because there was no room for people of their age at home. The custom of sleeping, living and eating in the same dwelling, found here in practice, is constantly affirmed as a proper custom by Avatime- and Ewe-speakers who tend to regard the different Ashanti and Ga customs as curious if not contemptible. The sixth case concerns a domestic unit whose members were too many for their small dwelling, and too poor to build extra rooms; it was carefully explained that for this reason 'most of them sleep outside the house, with friends.' It is significant that it appeared necessary to explain this. In the following description the five cases of schoolchildren who slept out are counted as forming parts of the households of the groups with which they took their meals, while the sixth case is counted as a single household, as if its members had actually shared the same dwelling all the time. There were thus 167 households in Vane in 1946.

These can be divided into those with male and those with female heads. The latter numbered only 33. Thus 134 out of 167 households were dependent upon male heads, and it is remarkable that of these all but 17 comprised the heads' own families, with or without other dependants. Of the 17 exceptions, 14 were 'foreign' immigrants from the

Northern Territories of French Togoland, mere birds of passage; the other three were young locals aged 22 to 28, just ready to marry and set up on their own. Of the male-headed households 85 comprised the heads' own simple families only. This was clearly the normal residential unit in Vane in a statistical sense; it is interesting that it has for long been the type preferred in Ewe discussion, as reference to Spieth's *Ewe Stämme* shows.<sup>1</sup>

Like other people, however, the Avatime admit obligations of hospitality to kin. From the 32 remaining male-headed households it is possible to discover the kind of relationships which in practice seem to carry with them obligations to provide living room and food. In only two of these were there dependants who were not kin to the head or any member of his simple family; the heads of both were teachers, and the non-related dependants were described as 'servant girls,' aged about 14 years, who helped with the housework and attended school, as well as received their board and keep, in return. The keeping of 'maids' of this kind is common in the professional class throughout the Gold Coast; often, though by no means always, they are 'poor relations.'

Kinsfolk in the households who were not members of the heads' own simple families seem to fall into four main classes: heads' mothers, heads' siblings and their offspring, heads' fathers' siblings and their offspring and heads' affinal relatives. Table II makes the distribution clear:

TABLE II. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION: HOUSEHOLDS WITH MALE HEADS\*

A. Head's own simple family only	85
B. Head's own simple family plus mother, stepmother or paternal grandmother	7
C. Head's own simple family plus siblings, with or without offspring	23
D. Head's own simple family plus father's siblings, with or without offspring	3
E. Head's own simple family plus wife's relatives	7
F. Individual men	17

\* Eight of these households contained a combination of two or more of the above groups; this double counting explains the otherwise over-large total.

There were only five old mothers living as dependants of their adult sons; there was also one stepmother and one very old lady, a paternal grandmother. The husbands of all these women were either dead (six) or absent (one). The dependants of seven heads (class E above) included relatives of their wives: six of these were schoolchildren, sons or daughters of wives' siblings, living in Vane during the termtime because of its educational opportunities. This boarding-out of children of school age with relatives of any kind, and even with non-relatives, is now a common West African practice wherever there is a good school. The seventh case was of a recently divorced wife's sister, living temporarily with her brother-in-law pending return to her parents' home. Clearly these were all rather special cases. The non-family kin in categories C and D in the above table were all paternal relatives of the head. Three cases in category C comprised sisters of the head with children; none of these sisters was married. In this society, as in many others, it is not unusual for such 'illegitimate' children to be



absorbed into their mothers' lineages; they may, therefore, be regarded as patrilineal kin of their mothers' brothers. In all three cases the grandparents of these children were no longer living, or their mothers would probably have been staying with them.

Apart from the cases just described, the general trend is quite clear: the simple family with a male head formed the normal household in Vane, and where other dependants were included these are normally patrilineal kin of the head. It must be stressed that these figures refer to Vane alone; on the other hand, they do accord with the preferred forms expressed by informants from other parts of Eweland, and they do fit in with an observer's expectation of a patrilineal system of inheritance and descent.

The incidence of polygyny in Vane was low. This finding contrasts rather strongly with Professor Westermann's contention that polygyny among the Ewe is common.<sup>2</sup> In May, 1946, there were only 16 men with more than one wife (one with three, 15 with two). Of these, five were actually living apart from the first wife, from whom divorce was likely to take place. The 11 others were all mature men, over 40 years, and all but one placed by the African assistants who were engaged in collecting the census particulars and by myself in the 'middle' or 'rich' classes.<sup>3</sup> The sole 'poor' man who had a second wife, had had no children by the first one. She had not, however, left him at the time this survey was made, though general experience and the opinion of informants is that nearly all childless marriages tend to break up. An examination of the remaining 10 cases of polygyny in Vane shows no cases of childlessness,<sup>4</sup> but six in which one of the two wives had had a single child only. The work of the Ashanti Social Survey indicated that 'single-child sterility' may prove to be widespread in the Gold Coast, and my hypothesis here is that whereas complete childlessness probably does lead to divorce, a woman who had had one child by her husband continues to hope for more and is less likely to leave him. At the same time, even one child removes the reproach of barrenness, and the common belief that a child should not be taken away from its father also tends to keep the couple together. Yet a single child is unlikely to satisfy the husband completely, and thus one might expect to find a plurality of wives in cases of single-child sterility. However, these figures are obviously much too small for anything more than a tentative suggestion along these lines.

From the point of view of residential distribution the Vane returns make it clear that only nine households contained polygynous families (simple, not extended). We have seen that five of the polygynous wives were separated from their husbands. The remaining two lived some 40 or 50 miles away in the cocoa district of Buem, apparently keeping open a second home for their men who spent the months of the cocoa season on their farms there every year.

Not all the households in Vane had male heads and it is now necessary to examine those which were dependent upon females. Table III explains the composition of these.

The 21 women whose dependants consisted of their own offspring with or without other dependants were all women whose husbands were either dead or divorced. All were

past child-bearing age. The school-age dependants of the five who had kin in addition to their own children with them were the offspring of siblings of the head, or (in two cases) children of her deceased husband by another wife. The two women who had no children of their own with

TABLE III. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION: HOUSEHOLDS WITH FEMALE HEADS

Head's own children only	16	} 21
Head's own children plus other kin (all schoolchildren)	5	
No own children, but other kin of head	2	
Individual woman	10	
Total	33	

them made no reference to husbands at all; both were looking after the children of their own siblings. The 10 lone women were, again, women whose husbands were either dead (8) or divorced (2); seven of them were over 50 years of age, and one each in the twenties, thirties and forties. The youngest of these was a visiting trader, only a temporary resident in Vane. The figures are small, but the general trend is again clear: women did not become heads of households in Vane while their husbands were alive unless they were divorced, and they did not usually maintain this position unless they were past child-bearing. A woman's dependants were usually her own offspring only. One further point, which does not emerge from the table, is that in six of the seven households in which women were looking after the children of others, these were all females.

TABLE IV. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION: AGES OF DEPENDANTS UPON BOTH MALE AND FEMALE HEADS\*

Under 20 ♂ and ♀ 326	20-30 ♂ unmarried 21 ♂ married 3 ♀ unmarried 16 ♀ married 3	30-40 All married ♂ 2 ♀ 10	40-50 ♂ 2 ♀ 3	50-60 ♂ 1 (no wife or children) ♀ 7	Over 60 ♂ 0 ♀ 3
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\* This table does not include wives of independent male heads of households.

Table IV shows clearly the striking way in which children went 'out into the world' once they were past adolescence. This tendency was even more marked in the actual census returns which listed the names of the absent members of each family, their ages and their whereabouts.<sup>5</sup>

Two other striking points emerging from this table are the greater number of women than men dependants in the later age grades, and the effect of marriage upon the residential affiliations of men and women respectively. Marriage is obviously virilocal and not patrilocal. Only seven married men remained as dependants upon their parents or brothers. Three of these were young, recently married and likely to move out soon; two had recently lost their wives and had young children needing more attention than they could give them unaided; one was temporarily dependent during his wife's absence on a visit, and one (aged 40) was



at great pains to explain that he was living with his brother as an emergency measure pending the repair of his own house. This last shows the high value which is set upon the residential independence of adult men, an ideal which, as these figures show, was almost completely realized in Vane in 1946.

A similar value was not put upon women setting up on their own. The smaller number of unmarried women than of unmarried men is to be explained by the fact that women marry younger, but the number of households with women heads has already been shown to have been small in proportion to that of those with men heads (33:134). It has been seen, too, that nearly all the women who did run independent households were either widows or divorced and advanced in years, from which it might simply be argued that women who are young enough to bear children wish to marry again, when they will go and live with their new husbands. On the other hand, the large number of women emigrants from Vane which the census also disclosed argues a certain desire for independence. In this society such a desire for independence would not be satisfactorily met by a woman setting up her own domestic establishment. In the first place, as we have seen from Table III, the dependants of such woman-headed households are nearly always the woman's own offspring only. Now we have also seen (Table IV) that Vane children tend to leave their parents on marriage, and therefore a group composed of parent and offspring alone is not likely to be a stable group. A man escapes this difficulty partly through the tradition of virilocality, partly because he can, if he so wishes, marry other younger wives and produce more children. A woman cannot do this. But that is not all; the instability of a woman's household is increased by the fact that this is a patrilineal descent system. Children of a widow have no rights in the estate of their mother's lineage but only in their father's. At the same time, a woman has no right of inheritance to her deceased husband's rights. Therefore, though there are special exceptions, if a widow remains unmarried she must as a rule go to live on the property of her own lineage (in which her rights do not lapse) and her male children, having nothing to hope for there, will leave her as soon as they need to fend for themselves, while her female children will do the same on marriage. A son may of course decide to take his old mother with him to share his new dwelling on his patrimonial property, but as we saw from Table II this does not appear to be a common practice in Vane. It is true that Table IV shows that all children do tend to leave their parents when they grow up; what that table does not show, however, is how far they go. There is a difference between a man's dwelling group, which male children leave only to set up their own dwellings nearby while continuing to cultivate the same or adjacent plots of land, and a woman's dwelling group, which male members leave in order to set up house and farm in quite a different place. This difference is, of course, particularly marked if the original marriage has been between inhabitants of different villages. Unfortunately the data collected in this small survey did not include particulars of the place of origin of married women.<sup>6</sup> In this way we can

see the principles of descent and inheritance 'reaching down,' as it were, into the organization of residence.

The preponderance of patrilineal kin in those households whose membership was larger than the male head's own simple (monogamous or polygynous) family has already been mentioned, but there was another aspect of the distribution of kin in Vane in which shared patrilineal descent played its part which has not yet been considered. This is the question of the relationship between those who, though they had separate households, nevertheless shared the same dwelling.

Such shared dwellings, though only 31 in number, housed 71 different households, as against the 96 which inhabited 96 separate dwellings.

TABLE V. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION: SHARED DWELLINGS:  
RELATIONSHIP OF HEADS OF SEPARATE HOUSEHOLDS

A. Owner-occupier . . . . .	28
B. Kin of owner-occupier . . . . .	22
C. Non-kin of owner-occupier, native of Vane . . . . .	7
D. Non-kin of owner-occupier, 'foreigner' . . . . .	7
E. No owner-occupier, all 'foreigners' . . . . .	7
Total . . . . .	71

Table V shows the relationship of the heads of the different households to the owners of the dwellings which they shared. Only three were inhabited entirely by 'tenants,' all of them temporary visitors to Vane, casual labourers or traders (category E). A similar class of 'tenant' was also found in dwellings shared by the owner himself. 'Foreigners' like this were the only people who paid any money rent for their accommodation: four of the 15 paid 1s. 6d. and one paid 2s. a month. The others paid nothing, though in two cases it was felt necessary to explain that rent was waived because the 'tenants' were acting as caretakers. None of the heads of the households in category C paid any rent, and the investigator's suggestion that even kin (category B) might be expected to pay was greeted with amazement. Category C contains those households whose heads were natives of Vane but appeared to have no kinship ties with the owner-occupiers of their shared dwellings. It is possible that more stringent enquiry might have led to the discovery of some degree of kinship here; even without that, however, the preponderance of kin in shared dwellings is obvious.

What is not obvious from the table is the kind of kinship tie between the heads of different domestic households who shared a single dwelling (category B). The actual relationships were as follows: sons 6, daughters 1, brothers 3, sisters 1, mothers 2, father's sisters 4, brother's son 1, brother's daughter 1, son's wife 1, father's second widow 1, father's brother's widow 1. Thus, out of the 22 heads of households in category B, 17 were close patrilineal kin of the owner-occupier, two were widows of patrilineal kin with their children (themselves, of course, patrilineally related to the owner), one was the wife of a son temporarily absent from the town, and two were mothers of the owner-occupiers of the dwellings they shared, with dependent, husbandless daughters and their children (who, if 'illegitimate' would also be considered patrilineal kin, as explained



above). Apart from the two mothers, there were no maternal kin of any kind.

From this it is quite clear that, in Vane in 1946, the organization of residential grouping emphasized the patrilineal tie in dwelling groups which consisted of more than one household as well as within single households. The closeness of the ties linking the heads of component households is also worth notice, but so, too, is the lack of regularity in the kinds of link. There cannot be said to have been any one usual pattern of joint residence. Moreover, each of the component groups had a separate commissariat, and although there was no doubt a good deal of mutual assistance given and taken between them, this was not, as far as I know, regarded in any different light from the ordinary degree of mutual aid which was an obligation of all close kinship, extending beyond the dwelling group and, as among ourselves, even beyond the locality. Obviously kin who live under the same roof have more frequent opportunities for helping each other, but apart from that

it does not appear that the Vane people themselves looked upon kin-linked groups sharing the same dwelling as being in any way different from kin-linked groups living in separate dwellings. It seems, therefore, that the building-up of extended families was not a regular feature of Vane, or probably of Avatime, domestic organization.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> J. Spieth, *Die Ewe Stämme*, Berlin, 1906, pp. 372ff.

<sup>2</sup> D. Westermann, *The African Today and Tomorrow*, pp. 117f.

<sup>3</sup> On the basis of a common impression gained from the style and expense of house-building, and the expenditure on food, clothing and education.

<sup>4</sup> Save one—but this was of a second wife, so recently married as to be outside this calculation.

<sup>5</sup> Ages of the older people could be gauged approximately by reference to various historical events. They are probably accurate only within about five years.

<sup>6</sup> A most interesting contrast with the position of Avatime women is offered by the neighbouring but matrilineal Ashanti. See M. Fortes, 'Time and Social Structure,' in *Essays Presented to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown*, London, 1949.

## SHORTER NOTES

### Two Devices for the Avoidance of First-Cousin Marriage among the Australian Aborigines. By Donald F. Thomson, O.B.E., Ph.D., D.Sc., Senior Research Fellow, University of Melbourne

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During a survey of the kinship organization on Cape York Peninsula, North Queensland,<sup>1</sup> I found that although the terminology in several tribes suggested a simple first-cousin marriage, marriage was actually permitted only with a distant, or 'classificatory' relation of the same order and not with own or actual cross-cousins, marriage with whom was forbidden. Tribes on two sides of the Peninsula, occupying territories which are widely separated and speaking different languages, have each adopted ingenious devices to avoid marriage with actual first cousins.

Throughout the Peninsula a typical tribal organization exists, on the basis of local totemic clans with patrilineal descent—descent in clan and moiety being through the father. Marriage classes or 'sections,' which occur in many other parts of Australia, are absent.

The kinship system of the Ompela, however, although at first sight apparently based on a simple first-cousin marriage rule proved actually to be complex. As a result of careful study of Australian kinship organization, Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown has suggested that the more complex Australian kinship systems are the result of attempts to avoid marriage with the daughters of women (father's sisters) of a man's own clan, and sometimes also to avoid marriage with the daughters of own mother's brothers (i.e. who are members of the mother's own clan).

The Ompela tribe has adopted an interesting and ingenious device to achieve this end, by employing a different terminology for actual as distinct from distant or 'outside' cross cousins.

The marriage rule differs on the east and west coasts of the Peninsula. In the Ompela, a typical tribe of the *Mahkanidji*, the 'Sandbeachmen,' of Eastern Cape York, a man may marry only a classificatory cross cousin, a woman who stands in the relation to him of 'outside' (*talli*) mother's brother's or father's sister's daughter, but in the Wik Mongkan of the Lower Archer River, he marries a second cousin of a particular order, a woman who stands to him in the relation of father's mother's sister's daughter's daughter.

In both the Ompela and Wik Mongkan tribes, there is a dis-

tinction in terminology between the elder and younger brothers and sisters of the mother and of the father, and this is marked by differences in behaviour. In Ompela the term *kala* (reciprocal *mampa*) is applied to the mother's younger brother, and the mother's younger sister is grouped with the mother as *papa*, reciprocal term *mampa*. The term *mukka* (reciprocal *mukkadu*) is applied to both the mother's elder brother and her elder sister. The father's younger sister is *pima* (reciprocal *piado*) and the father's elder sister is grouped with the father's brother as *pinya* (reciprocal *pinyadu*).

#### Ompela Kinship

As has been stated above, the Ompela kinship system is based on what at first appears to be a simple cross-cousin marriage, for a man marries a person to whom he extends the classificatory term that he applies to the daughter of any 'mother's brother' or 'father's sister,' other than his own immediate kin. The system is bilaterally symmetrical and exchange of sisters is customary, i.e., a man may give his sister in marriage to his male cross cousin, receiving this man's sister in exchange.

As the levirate occurs, whereby a man marries the widow of his deceased elder (but not younger) brother and adopts his children, it was not at first apparent, even when handling actual genealogical tables, whether one was dealing with actual or classificatory relations. And because no distinction is made in terminology between actual and classificatory mother's brother and father's sister, the existence in the Ompela tribe of the distinction between cousins, and its significance, was not immediately apparent.

On closer examination, however, it was discovered that in fact a man may not marry his actual cross cousin, the daughter of his own (actual) mother's brother or father's sister, but only a distant relation of the same order—that is, the daughter of a classificatory mother's brother and father's sister. This marriage rule is enforced by an ingenious arrangement.

It has been stated that no distinction in terminology is made between own and classificatory mother's brothers and father's sisters, but the sons and daughters of the actual mother's brother and father's sister are distinguished from classificatory relations by special terms, and these terms are accompanied by patterns



of behaviour which render marriage with the daughters of near kin impossible. Thus, while the term *wullomo* (to which the reciprocal term is *piloba*) is applied to the daughter of a classificatory mother's brother and father's sister, and *piloba* (reciprocal term *moryu*) to her brother, the term *ngami* (reciprocal term *tata*) is applied to own relatives of the same order. There is, however, a further distinction in terminology, this time on the basis of age. The sons and daughters of own *mukka* and *pinya* are *ngami* (reciprocal *tata*) and of a *kala* and *pima*, *tata* (reciprocal *ngami*).

The terms set out above, for the daughters of own mother's brothers and father's sisters, are not only accompanied by completely different patterns of behaviour, which render marriage impossible by making it incestuous, but they are also accompanied by an artificial change of generation. *Ngami*, although her classificatory (as distinct from actual) sisters are cross cousins (and potential wives) to me, is said to be 'like a mother' and is transferred, from the standpoint of her own immediate relatives only, to the mother's (the first ascending) generation. This means that the children of *ngami*, instead of being 'son' and 'daughter' to me, now become my 'brothers' and 'sisters', i.e. they are placed in my own instead of in the first descending generation to which they would belong if my own cross cousin (*ngami*) were treated as belonging to my own generation—the generation into which she was born.

But a further complication now arises, this time in the behaviour pattern, because the special terminology which has just been explained applies only among actual first cousins and does not extend to classificatory relations of the same order. The woman whom I call *ngami*, and who instead of being my cousin is now 'like a mother' to me (and as stated above actually produces children who are my classificatory brothers and sisters), still marries a man who is my classificatory (but not actual) elder or younger brother. The result is that a man whom I call *yapu* (elder brother) or *ya'adu* (younger brother) applies the term *wullomo* or *kulnta* (wife) to a woman whom I call *papa* (mother) and whose children he calls *piado* (son or daughter), while I call them *yapu*, *ya'a* or *ya'adu* (brothers and sisters). Under the normal kinship arrangement, my brothers, own and classificatory, would use the same terms as ego, with the exception of those set up by betrothal or marriage, and would extend the same behaviour to all the people within our mutual kinship horizon.

A situation of potential conflict now arises between ego and the man who marries my *ngami*, but this is overcome by the introduction of an organized joking relationship. Instead of continuing to address the husband of *ngami* as *yapu* or *ya'adu* (elder or younger brother) I now apply a special term, *alma*, to him and this term is used reciprocally between us. Between the people who apply the term *alma* reciprocally, or *papabinda* (lit. 'mother carrier'), there is an obligation to joke in public, to swear at one another and to exchange obscenities, but always in a formal or ritual manner. The purpose of this formal joking relationship is, the natives say, 'to make everybody happy,'<sup>2</sup> i.e. to relieve tension, to provide relief and so to avert a situation of conflict which arises if two people, between whom there is an incompatibility in the obligatory pattern of behaviour, should meet. The inference might be that there had been a wrong, or crooked (*toi'yi*), marriage, and that incest had been committed by one of the parties which had brought about this situation.

#### Wik Mongkan Tribe

On the west coast of Cape York the Wik Mongkan tribe also avoid the marriage of first cousins, but by a different device from that used by the Ompela. In this tribe a man marries a woman who stands in the relationship to him of *kort* or *moi*, terms which are used reciprocally between cross cousins. *Kort* and *moi* are ap-

plied to own and classificatory cross cousins, sons and daughters of own or classificatory *kal'* (mother's brother) and *pinya* (father's sister) so that on first examination the marriage rule of this tribe appeared to be a simple first-cross-cousin system.

It was not until I had been working with these people for some time and understood their language well that I discovered that the system was much more complex. It is a second-cousin system, the woman whom a man may marry being determined by people in the second ascending (grandparents') generation, who select one or more of the 'sisters' of his father's mother (*ngatjawaiyo*) to be his *ngatjawaiyo mallan*. The daughters of this woman thenceforth become potential mothers-in-law to ego and whether they have daughters or not, are thereafter distinguished by a specific term, *pinya kentj*, 'father's sister tabu,' (lit. *pinya*, father's sister; *kentj*, tabu). When a woman whom I call *pinya* has been designated *kentj* (tabu), the pattern of behaviour obligatory towards her becomes one of rigid avoidance which persists throughout life, or at least until her social personality changes in extreme old age when the tabu may be removed by an approved ritual. The daughters of *pin'kentj*, who are actual second cousins (mother's father's sister's daughter's daughters), are *kort* and *moi*—terms which are applied also to all first cousins including own or actual cross cousins, i.e. to all daughters of *pinya*. The correct marriage is for a man to marry the daughter of a *pin'kentj*.

It is of interest to find that two groups of aborigines inhabiting territories widely separated geographically, on opposite coasts of Cape York Peninsula, have each developed, independently, an ingenious method of avoiding marriage with own or actual cross cousins, and so, with the daughters of women of own (father's) clan or of men of one's own mother's clan.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> A full account of the kinship organization in this territory now in manuscript will be published later as a separate monograph, *Kinship and Behaviour in North Queensland*. (Dr. Thomson has compiled two tables illustrating Ompela kinship in greater detail than could be given in this note and would no doubt be willing to show them to interested research workers.—Ed.)

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the joking relationship on Cape York Peninsula see Donald F. Thomson, 'The Joking Relationship and Organized Obscenity in North Queensland,' *Amer. Anthropol.*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3 (1935), pp. 460-490.

#### Some Inter-Cultural Differences on the Draw-a-Man Test:

**Part III, Conclusion.** By L. R. C. Haward, Senior Psychologist, Department of Psychological Medicine, Winterston Hospital, Sedgefield, Co. Durham, and W. A. Roland, c/o P. W. D., Ebute Metta, Lagos, Nigeria

In two earlier papers (MAN, 1954, 127; 1955, 34) we described the application of the Draw-a-Man test to a group of West African natives. The results were compared with three groups of white individuals, and the similarities and differences were enumerated. It must be clearly understood that this was not given as an intelligence test, nor as a test of maturity (cf. R. G. Armstrong, MAN, 1954, 228). The aesthetic qualities of the drawings did not enter into the assessment, and although the natives did not necessarily subscribe to the same artistic tradition (cf. I. R. Whitaker, MAN, 1954, 204) they did in fact produce a better range of artistic talent than the whites. See, for example, fig. 1 in Part I. Social status and education were not controlled (cf. P. Garigue, MAN, 1954, 203) since these were variables in which we were interested. In all adult groups these factors were fairly well distributed, however. Two basic facts have been brought to light. First, the natives obtained a lower numerical score than the Europeans. On statistical evidence, this is not due to their age or sex distribution. On the comparative evidence of drawings from



other cultures we do not accept that this was due to inexperience with the materials or a different artistic tradition. Neither do we believe this to be a sign of lower intelligence or intellectual immaturity, for, as we pointed out in Part I, certain individuals producing low-scoring drawings were in fact holding down jobs which many Europeans would be incapable of doing as efficiently. One of the reasons which Goodenough offers for the relation of her score with mental age is that the production from memory of a drawing of the human figure requires the ability to analyse and re-synthesize—a pattern of abstract thinking which develops slowly with age. Thus the young child, whose conceptual ability is small, will be thinking on a more concrete level than the older child. A further point here is that identification with people is necessary in producing a good human-figure drawing, and this again is not shown in the records of children. Other projective techniques, such as the Rorschach inkblot method, show that the child is practically incapable of seeing human figures in ambiguous patterns, but can see many animal shapes. One would expect the Nigerians to produce superior drawings of animals on this basis; this is certainly confirmed by the Lenge drawings we have seen, and I. R. Whitaker (*cf.* MAN, 1954, 204) confirms this in his work on Lapps. On this evidence we suggested that the Nigerian was more concrete in his thinking, and this is supported by other authorities who have examined educational processes in West Africa. We also suggested that the native identified himself with others with difficulty, and related this to the group or tribal outlook which plays such a prominent part in his cultural life.

The second fact of importance was that certain qualitative features of the natives' drawings were identical with those seen in the drawings of white mental patients. This raised the question of whether a common psychological process was involved (although admittedly of different psychogenesis), or whether the thought processes of the schizophrenic, which have been intensively studied, could suggest why these particular features arose in the native drawings.

A detailed examination of the drawings of the psychotic individual, when seen against the background of his behaviour in the ward, and the peculiarities of his thinking, indicates that much of the bizarreness seen in the drawings can be related to two prominent processes, depersonalization and loss of objectivity. These processes are probably interdependent, and stem from the same source of mental aberration. In the projective process of drawing the human figure, however, they give rise to two relatively independent classes of variation.

Depersonalization is reflected in the distortion of the body image—that is, the space-occupying concept of his own body which the individual possesses, and this distortion is portrayed in turn in the drawing.

Studies by Halpern and De Lauriers (1947), Brown and Goiten (1943), Head (1911), Lhermitte (1939), Tcherhazy (1936), Schilder (1950, 1951) and others have shown that this self-impression of the bodily schema, or postural image as it has sometimes been called, is built up during infancy, both by the natural movements and sense of touch of the child, and by the mother's manipulation of the baby's body during routine ablutions and toilet training. The latter, in addition to stimulating the child's peripheral sensory nerves neurologically, actually reinforces his attention to his bodily parts psychologically. Eickhoff (1952) in a brilliant analysis of schizophrenia in childhood, has postulated that deprivation of normal nursing and inadequate maternal handling delays the formation of the body image, which in turn gives rise to typical schizophrenic thought processes in later life.

Can the defects in the body image of the West African, as indicated in his drawings, be related to delay or inadequacies, or both, in his development of self-realization Carothers (1953),

our foremost authority on African psychiatry, describes the infancy of the African as a period of full indulgence and complete unrestraint, together with such an intimate and continuous relationship with the mother, that the realization of the self as something independent of the mother is delayed until weaning or even later. This has also been shown, by Mead and other cultural anthropologists, to exist in the primitive cultures found in the South Pacific. The consequent delay in body-image formation is vividly portrayed by Kidd (quoted by Carothers, *op. cit.*) who says:

One of the most intelligent kafirs I know once told me that he could quite well remember his first headache during childhood. He said he was conscious of something wrong somewhere, but did not dream that the pain was within his head. The pain might just as well have been in the roof of his hut as in the roof of his head; and it was only when his mother told him that his head was aching that this fact dawned upon him.

Carothers further describes how the lengthy period of unregulated breast feeding prolongs the comfort of prenatal life and fails to introduce the child to the frustrations of reality, to develop a sense of time and an ability to restrain his basic desires. Weaning is abrupt, the mother transfers her attention and emotional interest to her next pregnancy, and the child suffers a considerable emotional neglect. At this stage of development a 'split' attitude is seen to exist already in the African infant. Ritchie (quoted by Carothers) explains the conflict thus:

Because of the long period of unbroken indulgence as a nursing, ended by an unbearably sudden and severe weaning, the African has two diametrically opposite convictions about himself, reflected in an equivalent unbalanced attitude to the world. At one level of his mind he is omnipotent, at another he feels absolutely impotent, while his world is divided into two forces—a benevolent power which would give him everything for nothing, and a malevolent one which would deprive him of even life itself. As the world of reality denies his omnipotence, he is thrown back on the opposite conviction and remains helpless and psychically dependent on parents and parent surrogates all his days. His own individual personality, with all its latent powers, is never liberated and brought under conscious rational control, and self-realization is thus unknown to him.

This explanation of Ritchie's also shows the genesis of the other process to which reference has been made, that of loss of objectivity. In the West African this is a lack rather than a loss, since he has never achieved the objective outlook. By the very nature of his experience in infancy and childhood, no firm foundation is laid for a clear distinction between subject and object. The individual is merely one strut in a rigid social framework which constantly curtails the development of the child and frustrates any tendency to readjustment or personal integration.

In addition to the African process of learning and education, which is too broad and important a subject to be even outlined here, the West African is also prevented from achieving total objectivity by cultural factors of his adult status. In the individual who makes contact with the white man, either at work or under his administration, there occurs a further reinforcement of the mental conflict which first appears at weaning. Although originating from a very different source, this social pressure in two directions amplifies the conceptual conflicts which have been maintained during childhood and adolescence.

The social influences mould, almost from birth, the West African's mind, and are so strong that it is rare for subsequent experience to eradicate them or even to modify their impact in any appreciable manner. Prominent among these influences is the part played by the social unit, the tribe, with its traditional customs, prejudices and outlook. In Europe we are far more inclined to think of the family as the social unit; among indigenous West



Africans, however, the family is of far less comparative importance, as it is not often compact or easily defined. This is possibly due to the occasionally encountered system of polygamy and the non-observance of neo-Malthusian practices, which tend to result in large families and the necessity of economic dependence at an early age. The family, however diffuse, remains a contributory factor in nepotism. Ultimately, authority resides in the elders of the tribes—the Chiefs. The respect which the West African has for their judgment and wisdom in government still remains strong in spite of the contending sway over his mind of the local lawyer-politicians.

As was pointed out in Part I, the African has an extremely strong loyalty to his tribe, and this bond remains stronger than any other which may develop in his work or social life. Few West Africans, however highly educated, grow out of this into a wider national or international consciousness, and those who remain in Nigeria, however 'Westernized' they may have become, often revert to their tribal fetishes when the opportunity occurs.

A second influence, antagonistic to the first, is that encountered by contact with the white man. At present there is no ubiquitous system of free education in British West Africa. Only the more favoured children, therefore, will be able to attend the fee-paying mission schools, where in time they usually become literate and bilingual, in varying degrees, with the bias of the religious denomination concerned. Here the young West African may first come under the disciplinary control and influence of the European, in addition to the obedience which he is expected to render to the seniors of his household, and possibly he may mix with European children. As was pointed out earlier, 'education'—more properly 'schooling'—usually fits the young adult in Africa for a job as clerk or shop assistant, or as a domestic servant to a European. Here he meets more white people, sees their films and papers, and arrives at a wider, if more distorted, idea of their outlook. In one type of society (the contemporary) he is looked up to if he apes the European; in another (the traditional) he is looked down on if he becomes detribalized.

Thus he becomes conscious of two different concepts, one being the tribal with its traditions and cultural mores, the other being the new customs and sense of values of the local representatives of Western culture. The Christian religion, the importance of money, insistence on clothing for the purposes of concealment, prudence as against immediate pleasure, are all alien to the tribal philosophy of life.

At first of course, the West African merely accepts that these factors exist. As time goes on, he finds himself unable to reconcile the conflict of ideas which they evoke. His concreteness of mentation does not admit of compromise, only imitation, for it has long been established that the Negro races are natural mimics. He thus remains torn between African and 'Western' values, old and new patterns of living, progress and stagnation, and in trying to make the best of both worlds for his own advantage, he develops mental processes analogous to the 'split mind' of the schizophrenic.

One further influence deserves mention, although this is not the place to go into African politics. There is no doubt that the disintegrating tendencies of local native politicians play a large part in fostering this conflict and complicating the picture. In time, however, it may well be that these individuals will be the means of resolving the conflict, for contemporary events in British West Africa suggest that they will eventually become the real rulers, succeeding the hereditary chiefs, with the latter's consent, and moulding a future form of African society comprising a combination of concepts from both worlds. Thus loyalty to one society, even though it is itself the product of others, may eventually prove the answer to this very real problem which touches every corner of West African life.

### Acknowledgment

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**Altars or Sacred Stools: The Ibo 'Tazza' or 'Ada.'** By M. D. W. Jeffreys, M.A., Ph.D., University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. With two text figures

46 Among the Ibo it appears that sacred stools are at times also altars. Gray, commenting on the general absence of altars among African tribes, writes: 'Nowhere, except in South America, is there so general a lack of the altar as in Africa . . .'. Consequently the discovery of this object among the Ibo, who have a highly developed sun cult, is not without passing interest.

In 1930 the Nigerian Government instructed me to report on the magico-religious beliefs of the Umundri Ibo, living near Awka in the Onitsha Province. One of the chapters in this unpublished report is headed 'Sacred Stools' and this article is based on a few paragraphs in that chapter.

What has prompted me to publish these paragraphs is the appearance in the *Uganda Journal* for March, 1949, of an article 'The Masaka Cylinder: An Interpretation of its Use' by M. Bequaert. The Masaka Cylinder is an embossed, baked-clay cylinder and was found by a native woman cultivator near Ntuse (Masaka District). A description of it was published in 1945 by Mrs. Trowell as curator of the Kampala Museum.<sup>2</sup>

M. Bequaert describes 'certain objects of baked pottery made in Ruanda for ritual purposes and known as *igicumbi* or *igicyanga*.' These objects are miniature altars standing about four inches high and with a lump of flaming fat on them are used by witch-doctors for divination. Immediately, one is reminded of similar miniature altar stands used by the ancient Egyptians and Minoans. 'When presented alone they [birds for sacrifice] were sometimes placed upon a portable stand furnished with spikes, over which the bird was laid . . . It is, however, proper to observe that the Egyptian artists may have intended by this drawing to represent the burning of the offering, the apparent spikes being flames of fire, though the former is far more probable.'<sup>3</sup> A drawing of such portable stands appears on page 408 and also in figs. 7 and 9 of Plate LXV in Wilkinson's *The Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. III, London, 1878.

However, in Egypt the ordinary altars 'took the form of a truncated cone or of a cubical block of polished granite or of basalt, with one or more basin-like depressions (with drainage channels) in the upper surface for receiving libations. The surface was plain, inscribed with dedicatory or other legends, or adorned with symbolical carving.'<sup>4</sup> (I am not sure whether the herring-bone patterns on the upper surfaces of some of the *ada* 22) which



are the subject of this note represent drainage channels or are merely decorative.)

One is reminded of the description and function of the Jewish altar described in *Exodus*: 'An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep and oxen: in every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee. And if thou make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stones: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it. Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon.'<sup>5</sup> It is quite easy to detect in the Hebrew altar Egyptian origins and this influence can be traced in the forms and functions of other altars, including, I maintain, those to be described herein from Iboland.

Writing of Minoan altars Glotz says: 'These altars were of various shapes. We have a votive specimen in terra-cotta in the form of a cube with projecting mouldings and four pairs of horns on top. . . . Lastly, in order to facilitate the ceremonies of the cult, there were portable altars for offerings which, for greater lightness, had slightly concave sides. . . . Very often simple tables of clay, slightly hollowed in the middle, were considered sufficient. A good proof of the extent to which movable altars were used is the fact that there was one in the rustic house at Chamaizi and that at Nirou Chani one of the many rooms of the palace contained forty-four such altars.'<sup>6</sup>

In Greece portable altars also occur. 'According to their respective uses, altars fell into two classes. Those of the first class were pedestals, so small and low that the suppliant could kneel upon them; these were stood inside the temples, before the sacred image. The second class consisted of larger tables destined for burnt sacrifice; these were placed in the open air, and if connected with a temple, in front of the entrance.'<sup>7</sup>

M. Bequaert gives no photographs of the *igicumbi*, but the line drawings are so similar to nine fired-clay objects which I obtained among the Ibo in 1930 that I now publish photographs of my finds, which are in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, and were purchased by a grant from the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum.

These baked-clay altars were first noticed in the Ibo town of Ekwulobia. I call them altars but the Ibo regard them as stools. The functions of altars and stools are often so similar that it is at times difficult to decide whether an object is an altar or a stool. In this particular case one is safe in calling these clay objects altars.

These small altars, looking like cotton reels, are replicas, it was said, of a much larger clay one called *ada ɔɔ*, by which name the replicas are also known. The five shown in the photograph, fig. 1, all came from the Ibo town of Isuofia, where these altars are called *tazza*. No. 120577 is 2½ inches high by 2½ inches diameter and has an embossed stem with an incised herringbone pattern on its flat top. No. 120578 is 1½ inches high by 2½ inches diameter and has a saucer-like depression in the top. On the pedestal are incised markings with three rings round the waist and incised criss-cross markings round the rim. No. 120579 is 2 inches high by 3 inches diameter and has an incised herringbone pattern on its flat top. No. 120582 is a broken specimen. No. 120583 is 2½ inches high by 3½ inches diameter and has a saucer-like depression in the top with an incised groove running round the rim, and four clay loops springing from the stem. Two from the bottom on opposite sides run to the saucer top and two from the top on opposite sides connect with the pedestal. As with these, 'the upper surface of the *igicumbi* is often decorated.'<sup>8</sup>

Similar objects, but in brass, have been reported among the Bussa tribe, Northern Nigeria. 'The two cylindrical brass stools, rather like very large cotton reels, were said to be used as seats for the *bori* dancers (i.e. those "possessed" by a spirit). There is an

alternative explanation, that these seats were meant for the tutelary spirits present at the jollifications.'<sup>9</sup> The point to note is that all these objects are associated with activities of the spirit world.

The elders of Ekwulobia said that the *ada ɔɔ* were no longer used, but that in days gone by a food offering was placed on these small *ada ɔɔ* whenever a cow or a goat or a sheep produced at birth more than one of its kind. At such time the *ada ɔɔ*, the *ɔma aku* (a wooden platter) and an *ɔfi* (a symbolical mummy) were



FIG. 1. FIVE SMALL IBO ALTARS FROM ISUOFIA

grouped together and a fowl slaughtered so that its blood be-spattered them. Food was now placed on the *ada ɔɔ* and palm wine poured over it and over the other two objects.

This offering was a thanksgiving to Ajana (the earth deity) for the blessing of two at birth instead of only one. At the same time a prayer was made to Ajana to keep the young animals under its care so that none should die and to ask for continued blessings on the rest of the stock and that the present ones might continue to produce multiple births.

At Isuofia this sacrifice was made whenever a cow or a goat or a sheep produced offspring, irrespective of whether the birth was a singleton or a multiple.

The large clay *ada ɔɔ* was not seen at Ekwulobia. It is kept in a special hut by the senior titled man in the senior kindred, Ifeoke. No non-titled man of Ifeoke, nor any titled man of any other family, place or town, is allowed to enter this hut. In other places special huts are allotted to special stools, thus at Atfalla there is a special hut for the ceremonial display of a special stool called *okposi duiɔfi ɔɔ*, while in Ashanti special huts are allotted to special stools. Usually such stools are not used as seats for mortals but for spirits.

When the time arrives for *ɔɔ* titles to be taken, this large *ada ɔɔ* is moved out of its hut and placed on the ground at the beginning of 'the road for *ɔɔ* running,' (*Ogboli ɔɔ*; *okpolo ɔɔ eze ɔɔ*). One of the steps in the ceremony of taking the *ɔɔ* title is the running down a specially prepared road. This stage occurs at dusk. All the candidates for this title assemble. Each *obu* (extended kindred) has provided fowls for its candidates and these are sacrificed over the *ada ɔɔ* before the oliphant-blower, by sounding a tonal phrase on his oliphant, calls on each title man to answer to his new or *ɔɔ* name.

Having slaughtered a fowl, each candidate from that *obu* dashes down the *ogboli ɔɔ*. When the ceremony is over the *ada ɔɔ* is taken back to its hut.





FIG. 2. JEWISH ALTARS FOR INCENSE

Miss Green reports similar objects in use elsewhere among the Ibo: 'A supernatural object called *odo eze elu*, associated with the spirit of thunder, Amade Oha, can be invoked against an un-

known offender. Certain people 'get' or possess *odo eze elu*, though no one in Umnake had it as far as I know, and it is to them that application must be made if its services are required.'<sup>10</sup>

Attention is directed to similar objects used by the Jews. 'Incense was offered upon small upright altars, placed within the shrine. This was the Jewish system, in which the altar of incense was the smallest and stood within the most holy place.'<sup>11</sup> Reproductions of these are given (fig. 2) by kind permission of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Gray, in Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. 'Altar (African)', London, 1908, Vol. I, p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> K. M. Trowell, 'A Rosette Cylinder of Clay from Uganda,' *MAN*, 1945, 100.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1878, Vol. III, p. 408.

<sup>4</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th ed., Vol. I, p. 705.

<sup>5</sup> Exodus XX, 24-26.

<sup>6</sup> G. Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization*, London, 1925, p. 259.

<sup>7</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th ed., Vol. I, p. 706.

<sup>8</sup> M. Bequaert, 'The Masaka Cylinder: An Interpretation of its Use,' *Uganda J.*, March, 1947, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> D. F. Heath, 'Bussa Regalia,' *MAN*, 1937, 91.

<sup>10</sup> M. M. Green, *Ibo Village Affairs*, London, 1947, p. 118.

<sup>11</sup> W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Egypt and Israel*, London, 1921, p. 48.

## REVIEWS

## AFRICA

**Chiefs and Gods: Religious and Social Elements in the South-Eastern Bantu Kingship.** By Olof Pettersson. Lund (CWK Gleerup), 1953. Pp. 405.

47 If industry in the pursuit of literary sources and skill in their subsequent collation were sufficient to establish anthropological merit, this would be a very good book indeed. For, with the aim of showing that the authority of south-eastern Bantu chiefs and kings really rests on a religious basis, the author has collected many thousands of references from the several hundred books dealing, from one point of view or another, with the peoples of this part of Africa, and has presented this material, unencumbered by critical comment or analysis, in such a way as to bear out his general thesis. Unfortunately, however, a study may be a monument of industry without being a good book, and a critic of the present work is bound to ask what has been achieved when enormous ethnographic collections of this kind have been made.

The data are presented on the following plan. First, a composite picture of the social and political organization of the peoples of the area is conveyed through a mosaic of quotation and reference (footnotes average about seven to a page). An account of the religious beliefs of these peoples is then similarly presented. Finally, the chieftainships and kingships of the region are exhibited in their religious aspect, as expressive of the all-pervasive ancestor cult. The reader is borne along, willy-nilly, in an unrelenting and turgid flood of ethnographical minutiae, in which are commingled many different literary, tribal and linguistic currents. In such a flood errant or deviant trends are quickly lost and reabsorbed in the main stream. Thus it is necessary to the argument to show that Africans, and in particular the south-eastern Bantu, had no conception of God as the creator of the universe, and that, indeed, any notions they may have had of supreme beings as active agents were ultimately derived from the ancestor cult. This thesis can only be sustained by asserting dogmatically that any African notions of the deity as creator must be due to foreign influence (a thesis which the evidence adduced in the recent symposium *African Worlds* does much to refute), and by supposing that in certain cases 'a confusion between the sky beings and the ancestral gods has taken place' (p. 196). No evidence is offered, however, as to how or when this confusion occurred.

Despite the obvious fascination and, sometimes, the extreme readability of studies of this type (they are in the *Golden Bough* tradition), there are, from the standpoint of contemporary social anthropology, certain telling objections to them. For one thing, the sources used cannot all be equally reliable—many may be most unreliable—and the criteria by which one version rather than another is accepted should be stated. Again, this mosaic technique of building up a picture of a tribe or group of tribes by a sort of montage of extracts from a multiplicity of sources cannot provide (what the modern social anthropologist cannot do without) a true understanding of tribal society as a functioning system. Finally, the extent of our knowledge about the different kingships and chieftainships found among the south-eastern Bantu may be considered to be as yet hardly adequate in quality to sustain a detailed comparative study of this scope. Any spare ethnographical energy might, it may be thought, be more usefully directed to enlarging our actual knowledge of existing kingships in the area.

This is not to deny the usefulness of comparative studies, indeed they are essential to ethnographical progress. But it is first necessary to establish that what is compared is in fact comparable, and this requires it to be shown that the authorities relied upon were in fact asking the same kinds of questions. It is also necessary clearly to define and demarcate the area of comparison. The book under review, though evidently a work of devoted scholarship and a valuable mine of ethnographical information, cannot be said to be entirely immune from criticism in these respects.

JOHN BEATTIE

**A History of the Sudan from the Earliest Times to 1821.** By A. J. Arkell. London (Athlone Press), 1955. Pp. xviii, 249.

48 Price £1 15.

There is little material for a history of the Sudan, and Mr. Arkell has made the most of what there is. From archaeological sources there is evidence of neolithic cultures in the region from Khartum to the north, some of them having affinities with those of Egypt. History begins with Egyptian expeditions into Nubia under the Sixth Dynasty, and from the Twelfth Dynasty the frontier was fixed at the second cataract, where it remained with some interruptions till under the New Kingdom an advance was made, and about



1625 B.C. Tuthmosis I conquered the whole of Upper Nubia or Cush, as far perhaps as the Atbara, and made it into an Egyptian province. With the decline of the power of Egypt in the eleventh century Cush regained its independence, and in 725 B.C. its king, Piankhy, conquered Egypt. Driven from Egypt 65 years later, Piankhy's descendants ruled Cush for a thousand years. In 23 B.C. Cush was weakened by a Roman invasion, apparently made to stop frontier raids, and in A.D. 350 was conquered by the Abyssinians. Afterwards split up, it was converted to Christianity about the sixth century, and from the seventh century on was gradually conquered and converted by the Arabs. From then until recent times such history as there is records little more than the wars of the small Arab kingdoms with each other and with their neighbours on the east and west.

Of the southern or negroid half of the Sudan almost nothing is known from any source before the nineteenth century.

Mr. Arkell describes and illustrates many of the tombs and temples in Nubia which have yielded the inscriptions on which his history is based. In identifying the names of modern tribes and places with those found in these inscriptions, he seems not to realize how hazardous, in the absence of known systems of sound change, all such identifications must be.

It is surprising that he should not have adopted a recognized system of transliteration, and in particular that he should have made the letter 'g' do double duty. RAGLAN

**The Prehistory of East Africa.** By Sonia Cole. London (Penguin), 1954. Pp. 294, 43 text figs., 16 plates, 10 maps, 6 tables. Price 2s. 6d.

49

This book is a worthy addition to the valuable series of Pelican books on archaeology. The amount of information available for 2s. 6d. is remarkable. There are three introductory chapters, followed by six more which are the substance of the book, and a final chapter on the beginnings of history and the need for further

work on that period. The inclusion of chapter sub-headings in the table of contents makes it easy to assess the scope of the book and find the section of information required. The specialist as well as the student of archaeology should find this book with its excellent reference index a useful summary. Mrs. Cole is a student of Dr. Leakey's, and clearly has done everything possible to make her survey careful and up-to-date. The non-specialist, however, if he knows little of the prehistory and geography of Africa, may find it heavy going. Inevitably, in a subject of such wide scope and classification, there are a number of culture and place names that may be unfamiliar. Yet Mrs. Cole successfully breathes life into the bones of prehistory by the evocation of important sites like Olduvai and Orlogesailie with descriptive passages and plates. In that context I welcome figures 10 and 19 as part of a trend to 'brighter prehistory' while wondering what evidence there is that Upper Kenya Capsian man wore a cloak while hunting. To an ethnographer, interesting points are raised by the occurrence of present-day Negro culture traits such as sedge and ostrich egg-shell beads and the removal of the lower central incisors in neolithic times, before the Negro arrival.

The last chapter was to me the most interesting and tantalizing. Knowledge of the last 2,000 years of East African culture and history is only fragmentary. Even the extent and nature of Egyptian influence on African culture needs further study and clarification, while the proto-history of the Hamites and the early history of Ethiopia open up a large field of inquiry. Too little is known of the antecedents of present-day African cultures, and the extent of Mediterranean and Asiatic influence, especially on the great West African cultures of Nok, Ife, and Benin. East Africa might well supply some links in the chain. Further work too is needed on the dating and culture distribution of African rock paintings to clarify their possible relationship with the Levantine art of Spain and the newly discovered cave art of Italy. It would have been a great pity if Mrs. Cole had left her last chapter out. M. A. BENNET-CLARK

## EUROPE

**The Piltdown Forgery.** By J. S. Weiner. O.U.P., 1955. Pp. xii, 214. Price 12s. 6d.

50

It is, I suppose, something of a tribute to the innate honesty of the scientific mind that for 40 years various distinguished representatives of it struggled to reconcile the discrepancies of the Piltdown assemblage without any of them crying out 'fake.' For discrepancies were recognized immediately on the demonstration of the Piltdown finds at the now famous meeting of the Geological Society back in 1912, and continued to be brought forward right through the years. Weidenreich, one of the latest doubters, would only go so far as to label Piltdown man a chimera, possibly the result of a fortuitous association, inexplicable and unacceptable, never hinting anything more even in private conversations.

The dénouement fittingly enough was the result not of a carping suspicion of deliberate wrongdoing but of the self-correcting methods of science itself. The first inkling that all was not right grew from the re-examination of the fossil bones by Dr. K. P. Oakley who, having established the value of the fluorine content of buried bones for relative dating, thought of applying this new method to the much debated problem of the geological age of Piltdown. This was in 1949. The percentages of fluorine reported in these first tests were surprising since they suggested an age of only 50,000 years against the long accepted one of early Pleistocene. The new date, of course, meant that the mismatched ape-like jaw and the *Homo sapiens* cranium became even more difficult to accept than if they could be referred to a much earlier epoch. It was this enhanced strain on the fine-spun Piltdown fabric that led Weiner and Le Gros Clark to join forces with Oakley in a very thorough re-examination of the Piltdown material, using all the analytical resources now available. The results, widely publicized, are too well known to require repetition here. The plain fact is that Piltdown was proved beyond a reasonable doubt to be a forgery.

Since some of the greatest names in British palaeontology and anthropology were deeply involved as partisans of Piltdown, it was an obvious duty that the whole complicated history be carefully

scrutinized so that the innocent might be cleared of any vague suspicions and that reputations unblemished by guilt remain intact. Dr. Weiner has accomplished this task in an admirable account of the discovery of the forgery, the scientific basis for the decision and the reconstruction, as far as that is possible, of the forgery itself. He has used extreme caution in his development of the Piltdown affair. His careful weighing of motives and events is very thorough and masterly. Although his language is generally very guarded in leveling accusations, he has built up at least in my mind an extremely strong case for the guilt of Charles Dawson, the 'discoverer' of the Piltdown remains.

The repercussions of the exposure of Piltdown man in the public mind were perhaps not unexpected. Much was made of the failure of this evidence for human evolution and the antiquity of man. What was, however, not generally recognized is that in the 40 years since the 'discovery' of Piltdown man an amount of fossil evidence had accumulated on these questions that could not be shaken by one forgery. And perhaps even more important, that Piltdown man was rapidly becoming untenable anyway as the weight of other evidence continued to pile up. Even before the forgery was uncovered, a number of influential scholars were finding it necessary to relegate Piltdown to a kind of limbo. The moral is that the mills of science grind slowly—sometimes—but always exceedingly fine.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO

**The People of the Sierra.** By J. A. Pitt-Rivers. London (Weidenfeld & Nicolson), 1954. Pp. xvi, 232. Price 18s.

51

I thoroughly enjoyed reading this account of the people of a small mountain township of southern Spain. Although Dr. Pitt-Rivers carefully preserves the self-effacement customary in good anthropology, his enthusiasm for the people he studied is clear and contagious. He sets out to give the all-round picture to which we have become accustomed in anthropological studies of small rural communities in civilized societies. The first four chapters describe the *pueblo* and its social setting, and give us



the main facts about the economy, and about the social distinctions recognized within it. The *pueblo* demands that its members should as such be regarded as equals, and yet this egalitarian demand is inconsistent with the actual differences in wealth, in power, and in attachment to the wider society of the middle classes in the cities. Next come three chapters on sex, marriage and the family. He outlines two main 'values,' one for each sex. Honour is a masculine virtue, directly connected with male physique, and easily turning to aggression and pride, while '*vergüenza*,' the sense of shame, of sensitivity to public criticism, is essentially a feminine virtue. Men of course can be accused of shamelessness, but to make such a charge reflects not only on the man, but on his mother, and in turn on her mother. Made seriously, shamelessness is a very serious charge.

In the chapters on the political system, Dr. Pitt-Rivers is mainly concerned with evasions. The rigidity of the formal system is mitigated by the principle of personal friendship and the informal client-patron relations, by which it is adapted to the real social situation. To some extent, it is evaded by solidarity of the whole *pueblo* against certain provisions, a solidarity founded on the informal power which a small permanent community wields over its resident members. The final three chapters are concerned with the mechanisms of this informal power, and with the sanctions of the state law—under the title 'Law and Morality.' Public opinion is partly expressed anonymously by the insulting nickname and by communally sung songs at festivals; or in cases of sexual brazenness, by the rowdy ridicule of nocturnal visitors, who assemble outside the victim's house. In one case, a man who defied *pueblo* morality is said to have died after three months of such nightly visits. The duality of the control system is illustrated by two sets of people who do not conform—the bandits, who are hunted by the state, but are still within the moral community of the *pueblo*, and the gypsies, who are law-abiding but shameless, impervious to gibe and insult, and not expected to conform to the local morality. Finally, Dr. Pitt-Rivers deals briefly with the unorthodox beliefs about the supernatural, and their contrast with the formal Church system—still under the heading of 'Law and Morality.'

The plot of the book now becomes clear. Authority and discipline are related to the male 'values,' the informal pressures which depend on people's sense of shame to the feminine values. In this way, Dr. Pitt-Rivers is able to describe the social system as a conflict between two sub-systems, the external hierarchical system of the state, the rich, the authorities, the ecclesiastical hierarchy church, built on the male values of aggression and pride, and the internal system of the *pueblo*, the closed egalitarian community where morality is supported by informal pressures which rest on the feminine virtue of shame.

This scheme enables Dr. Pitt-Rivers to avoid making his book openly a catalogue of social institutions, and instead to present it as a social system. He seems to be attempting to apply the dictum of Professor Evans-Pritchard, that social systems are moral systems. The attempt is most interesting, but I cannot help feeling that it does not altogether succeed. To examine carefully key words in the local morality is plainly a part of the anthropologist's duty, but to generalize from this to 'values' abroad in the community seems to be dangerously vague, almost impressionistic. The attempt to link these values to the political and economic structure, and summarize the whole as two complementary and conflicting systems, I find altogether too simple. In fact, what is of interest in this as in other books of this type, is the detail of daily life, and the insight of many of the author's comments. From this point of view, the book is after all a catalogue, however well chosen, well arranged. Nevertheless, Dr. Pitt-Rivers is to be congratulated on the attempt to make it something more, and on making the attempt without loading his account with pseudo-scientific jargon.

In detail, many of Dr. Pitt-Rivers' comments are illuminating. The traditional hospitality serves to keep the guest at social arm's length, without damaging the *pueblo's* reputation. Secrecy about one's affairs is essential to the preservation of normal social relations in the community, and this secrecy 'operates not only to protect community from the state, but also to protect the authorities from each other.' The prices of goods in the shops vary with the social relationship of vendor and customer. On the other hand, I felt at

times that I would like clearer and more concrete support for some statements, a clearer exposition of what in fact the author actually saw going on, and clearer information on such matters as land holding. But we must allow for the need for discretion in a study of this kind.

The social anthropologist uses his skill in two ways when he makes and writes up a study. He is reporting ethnographical information of a sort which others would not be able to collect, or not so systematically. He is also, in the very process of attempting to describe and present the material, selecting and analysing it, and applying more or less explicit social theories. Ethnographically, a report of this calibre on a Spanish *pueblo* is fascinating, and of great importance both inside and outside social anthropology. One may hope that perhaps more detail will be published on some matters—on wise women and witches for example. On the other hand, though Dr. Pitt-Rivers' anthropological background makes for some interesting comments, he seems to fail to make his work of general theoretical interest in the way that others who have studied village communities have failed before him, and in the way that at least one who hopes to come after him is also aware of failing. He dismisses the problem of the size and social context of the unit of study as a 'pseudo-problem,' but I am not satisfied with this. Successful anthropological accounts of primitive societies have shown concrete systematic connexion of different social institutions with a single society. With these successes in mind, social anthropologists perhaps approach their studies with a theory which, however modified, is still based on the notion of an integrated whole, in which everything that happens is 'functionally' dependent on everything else. This dogma is false, but in the modified form, 'look for the connexions,' it has proved extremely fruitful in modern studies of limited aspects of primitive societies. But it does not apply equally well to a village, which is a partial society within a complex national society. The larger society cannot be treated as given in the way that the biology or geography of the society can be taken as given, because the social relations of the people one is studying lead directly to these outside social institutions. Land tenure is largely determined by state-prescribed laws, the ritual system is laid down by a large religious system with a hierarchy far removed in time and social distance from the village. The social institutions of the village are often partial and unrelated. The anthropologist must then restrict himself to one which is contained within the village theme, as Arensburg and Kimball restrict themselves to kinship; or else treat in fact of a number of institutions which have no systematic connexions with each other, but each involve an adaptation of the externally imposed institution to village society. This second method means in fact a catalogue, not a description of a 'total social system.' And in fact it is precisely this that Pitt-Rivers has done for us.

If I am right, and the problem of presenting a village study as a single social system is insoluble, then it is a little unfair to criticize Dr. Pitt-Rivers for failing to solve it. On the other hand, others may feel that I am wrong, and that he has solved it successfully. But in either case, the book remains a most interesting and competent contribution to social anthropology—and, it seems, to Spanish studies.

PAUL STIRLING

**The Dock Worker: An Analysis of Conditions of Employment . . . in the Port of Manchester.** Liverpool (U.P.), 1954. Pp. 283. Price 17s. 6d.

**52** This survey of life and labour in the Port of Manchester was undertaken by the Department of Social Science in the University of Liverpool during the winter of 1951-2 to examine the impact upon dock workers of the post-war Dock Labour scheme. The authors point out that to attribute labour trouble in the dock industry (their enquiry was limited to the Port of Manchester) to the influence of agitators is both to over-simplify the problem and to misunderstand its character. This would seem to bear out the findings of the Leggett Committee that in the smaller ports troubles are not so easily fomented by mischief-makers. Whilst the Dock Labour Board plan has produced great advantages many perplexing problems have not yet been faced or solved. Responsibilities of management are divided; confusion and uncertainty are widespread as to the duties, obligations and limits of authority of those who



undertook the business of directing the affairs of the Port. The loyalties of the workers are divided; the absence of a clearly defined line of administrative control has brought with it weakness in communication, e.g. few opportunities are given to the dock worker to exchange information and opinions, to discuss important decisions in advance, or to participate in any way in making them.

Whilst this picture is familiar to others who have knowledge of the dock industry this study will prove of value since it is yet another plea for a thorough overhauling of the machinery of the National Dock Labour Board scheme. ROBERT R. HYDE

#### Mœurs et coutumes de la Corse dans l'œuvre de Pr. Mérimée.

By Giulia Sorvillo. Preface by Raffaele Corso. Naples (*L'Arte Tipografica*), 1954. Pp. 123, 10 illus.

53 Mérimée's novels *Mateo Falcone* (1829) and *Colomba* (1840), which both bear the sub-title 'Corsican Customs,' have been critically analysed by Professor Sorvillo. In the later work, written after his visit to the island, the renowned French novelist conscientiously corrected some misconceptions taken from previously published travel descriptions. One misunderstanding, however, has been only recently elucidated by Professor van Gennep: the terms *lamento* and *vocero* are not local variants, as Mérimée explained, but differentiate between laments improvised at a natural and a violent death. The *rimbecco* is a public, deadly insult for not fulfilling the sacred obligations of the *vendetta*, which demands that any offence committed against one member of the family has to be avenged by the relatives. The Genoese imposed severe punishments for the reciting of the *rimbecco* (fines, banishment from the island and even the piercing of the tongue), but did not succeed in putting an end to this incitation to murder. Up till now it has been generally believed that the *vendetta* dated from the unjust and corrupt Genoese régime, which caused the Corsicans to take the law into their own hands. Professor Sorvillo proves, however, that the *vendetta* is not only mentioned in chronicles preceding the Genoese domination, but was also customary in Sardinia, Calabria, Sicily, Albania and Montenegro as well as among the Circassians, Druses, etc. Moreover, murderous revenge was strictly forbidden by Moses, and Mahomet substituted for it a ransom which the murderer had to pay to the family of his victim. Professor Sorvillo's explanation that the *vendetta* is a survival from ancient and widespread clanship is plausible and highly significant.

E. ETTLINGER

#### La Population de la Région de Nográd au Moyen Age. By

54 P. Liptak. *Acta Ethnographica (Acad. Sci. Hungarica)*, Vol. III (1953). *Palæo-anthropology of Magyars*. By P. Liptak. *Acta Linguistica (A.S.H.)*, Vol. IV (1954).

*Le cimetière du XI<sup>e</sup> Siècle de Kerpuzsza*. By P. Liptak, J. Nemeskéri and B. Szoke. *Acta Archaeologica (A.S.H.)*, Vol. III (1953)

Dr. Liptak has here published accounts of skeletons from old graves. The measurements are given for many individuals and several are well illustrated. The author deprecates emphasis on averages except in cases of an approach to genetic homogeneity. There are dolichocephals allied to Mediterranean types, 'Cromagnoid' forms but with strongly marked glabella, East Baltic forms, broad mesocephalic in skull, plani-occipital broad heads approaching what is usually known as the Dinaric type, and more rounded broadheads suggesting Alpine types. Archaeological finds link the Kerpuzsza community with the Slavonic peoples. The average age

seems to have been 23.8 years. There was very heavy mortality of people between 30 and 40. Evidence of Mongoloid traits is small. Kerpuzsza yielded remains of 395 individuals, and 167 crania could be studied.

H. J. FLEURE

**Themes in French Culture.** By Rhoda Métraux and Margaret Mead. (Stanford U.P.), 1954. Pp. xi, 120. Price \$1.50

55 This is a study of the part which the 'foyer,' the group of parents and children within the home, plays in French culture, and shows that it is more of a closed group than in English-speaking countries, and that the training of children is directed rather to making them conventionally acceptable members of such a group, whether as spouses, parents or siblings, than members of a wider society. The conclusions reached in the text are reinforced by appendices on 'The Family in the French Civil Code,' 'Plot and Character in Selected French Films' and 'An Analysis of French Projective Tests.'

RAGLAN

**Die Glockenbecherleute in Mittel- und Westdeutschland.** By Kurt Gerhardt. Stuttgart (*Schweizerbart*), 1953. Pp. x, 212. Price DM. 30

56 The Bell-Beaker pottery and a type of skull called by Gerhardt *Plano-Occipital Steilkopf* appear together in late Neolithic times in Central Europe; and Gerhardt gives us a study of 130 skulls, with sketches of 73 of them, where possible three sketches of each being shown. The *Plano-Occipital Steilkopf* with the back of the head almost a vertical plane is the chief, the most numerous and the most marked type among the skulls showing strong brows and jaws and other features with a considerable range of variation. But there are also 'Nordic' skulls, Gracile Dolichocephals suggesting Mediterranean men, and a fair number of Alpine skulls. Gerhardt uses the generally accepted hypothesis that the Beaker men moved rapidly, often without women of their own, and that they accordingly married girls of the indigenous people among whom they developed their stations. Whether they were herdsmen-warriors interested in trade and in prospecting for metal is not very clear. The result of the mixed unions was, according to Gerhardt, a population within which there was diversity of type rather than one in which distinctive elements were averaged down. The author is very concerned to avoid metric abstraction. Gerhardt emphasizes the anatomical relation of the chief type of Beaker Men to an Anatolian-Armenian breed in a proportion of the men in which one finds that steep rise of the hinder plane of the skull, but admits that there is as yet too little evidence from Armenia of the Beaker period. His view is that the type spread west in the Mediterranean. He notes the skulls of appropriate form from Paestum near Salerno as well as Beaker-like pottery from Mauretania. Spain is no longer thought the birthplace of Beaker culture but Gerhardt leaves it to archaeologists to discuss whether Beaker people and culture reached Germany via eastern France and or northern Italy. Evolution within the Beaker Culture in any one locality, except perhaps Britain, is relatively slight, and the north Italian Beakers are thus not too closely datable. Gerhardt, admittedly on negative evidence, does not think the Beaker people reached Central Europe via the Pontic steppe or the Balkan peninsula. He thinks that, though the chief type of Beaker man is related to the Dinaric type of Illyria, the latter element reached that region only much later.

H. J. FLEURE

## CORRESPONDENCE

#### The Rhodesian Magosian Culture: An Important Correction.

57 Cf. J. R. Anthropol. Inst., Vol. LXXVI, pp. 59-68  
Sir,—Some years ago the late Dr. Neville Jones and I contributed a paper to Vol. LXXVI of the *Journal* entitled 'The Magosian Culture of Khami, Southern Rhodesia.'

The assemblage which we described came from a gravel digging varying in depth between one and three feet. As time has passed the pit has been steadily extended, disclosing an increasingly deep deposit and I have had further opportunities of examining material which has been collected by Mr. C. K. Cooke, our colleague in the original excavation.

Cooke himself dug a test section nearby in 1950 which has been

published ('The Middle Stone Age Site at Khami: A Further Examination,' *S. Afr. Arch. Bull.*, Vol. V, pp. 60-68) and more recently has collected a fresh series from a carefully controlled dig which is connected to our original area by a continuous section.

As a result of a re-examination of Cooke's 1950 material and that just excavated I cannot escape the conclusion that Jones and I were mistaken in assigning all our material to the Magosian. Now that the shallow stratum which we described can be seen in greater depth it is very clear that there are three distinct cultural horizons involved: Rhodesian Still Bay, Rhodesian Magosian and Southern Rhodesian Wilton. Jones and I were able to separate such of the Wilton material as was in humus, but it now seems that this industry goes deeper into



the level numbered 2 on our section and it is very probable that some Wilton microliths and microlithic-blade cores are included in our description. At the other end of the scale Rhodesian Still Bay tools in considerable quantity have been included in our assemblage and have given an undue weight to the proportion and size of points, bifacial and unifacial, as well as to the larger backed blades.

It is extremely unfortunate that in working on a shallow section containing an apparently homogeneous cultural deposit both Jones and I should have been misled into publishing what was intended to be a definite description of the Rhodesian Magosian and it is desirable that all workers should realize that our paper ought no longer to be considered authoritative.

Cooke's brief description of the finds from his levels 8-11 did not pretend to give a complete picture of the Rhodesian Magosian and so there is at present no published Southern Rhodesian site where the Magosian is adequately described. However, when the Still Bay and Wilton elements are subtracted from the described Khami assemblage the result does not appear to be very different from the description of Rhodesian Magosian given by Clark (*The Stone Age Cultures of Northern Rhodesia*, Capetown, 1950, pp. 101-7) and it may well be that there is less difference between the Northern and Southern Rhodesian facies than at one time seemed to exist.

National Museum of  
Southern Rhodesia, Bulawayo

ROGER SUMMERS,  
Keeper of Antiquities

'Die Soziale Organisation in Mikronesien.' Cf. MAN, 1954, 284

**58** SIR,—In his review of my work Dr. E. R. Leach states that 'the bibliography stops at 1950.' This is not so. Had he examined the bibliography more carefully he would have seen that it includes 13 works and articles published after 1950, not to speak of 24 unpublished reports of the CIMA expedition and the *Economic Survey of Micronesia*, which I was able to consult. A number of these reports are still unpublished. May I add that my bibliography was 'strong on the early German sources' because in fact these 'early German sources' are the most numerous, if not always the most valuable, sources for the subject? Again, had Dr. Leach examined my work more carefully, he would have seen that I am very well acquainted with the work—the most valuable carried out so far—of the American anthropologists and in the main relied on their reports, including several not yet generally available—as of course must every student of the subject.

Dr. Leach states also that my work is 'drawn up according to the classical principles of the *Kulturkreislehre*.' This too is incorrect. Again, as a more careful perusal of my work would have shown, my use of the German terms *Mutterrecht*, *Totemismus*, *Dualsystem*, *Männerhäuser* is in a sense entirely different and removed from that in which they were used in the largely outdated *Kulturkreislehre*. I am acquainted with Dr. Leach's work and I cannot help but express astonishment that a scholar of his eminence should not have given my work the serious and detailed attention which is surely the due of any serious study.

Finally, I may perhaps—not without satisfaction—quote the description of my work (*Amer. Anthropol.*, December, 1954) by G. P. Murdock, whose special work in Micronesia scarcely needs emphasis, as 'the first full-length analysis of the social organization of Micronesia to incorporate the results of field work in the area since World War II,' and as 'an important contribution, reasonable and essentially modern in spirit.'

London, S.E.3

B. R. STILLFRIED

**Webs of Fantasy.** Cf. MAN, 1953, 152, 229, 281, 304; 1954, 19, 74, 42, 98, 124

**59** SIR,—Mr. Cranstone finds my statement (1954, 98) about the attitude of social anthropologists to history, prehistory and non-history 'surprising.' If I had really said what he alleges that I said, his surprise would be natural. But in fact I neither said nor implied that social anthropologists are 'not really interested' in material which may help 'to explain the social significance of some existing feature of the culture.' I said the exact opposite.

My point was a simple one. Social anthropologists apply two criteria to allegedly historical data. They ask, first, are the facts asserted verified or unverified, or perhaps unverifiable? And they

ask, secondly, are they relevant? Do they, that is, contribute to the understanding of the social anthropologist's particular subject matter, the institutionalized relationships which subsist between social beings in existing societies, together with the cultural modes in which these are expressed and the beliefs and values associated with them? Unless the material supposed to be historical satisfies both of these conditions social anthropologists disregard it. Why should they do otherwise? Certainly some historical material does satisfy these conditions, for example, the recent history of European influence on primitive institutions. But it so happens that ethnologists do not usually concern themselves with material of this kind. Many, if not most, of the statements of ethnologists about the origins, whether by diffusion or by independent evolution, of (mainly) technological cultural characteristics, interesting and important though they are in other contexts, in fact fulfil neither, or at best only one, of the above conditions.

From the fact that a single student can no longer master all the branches of the science of man it follows that students must select particular fields of enquiry and concentrate on them. This does not debar them from using the findings of enquirers in cognate fields, when these findings are proven and relevant to their own fields of enquiry. But it does mean that they are well advised to leave the investigation and evaluation of hypotheses in fields other than their own to those who specialize in such fields. That they merit no reproach for doing this was the point of my reply to Lord Raglan.

Human nature may well be, as Mr. Cranstone claims, 'innately unsystematic.' But we must assuredly reject the implication that our study of it must therefore have the same character. If an ordered science of man is possible, it is so only because, as in any other complex undertaking, the component tasks can be divided up and allotted to those best qualified to undertake them. And, whether we like it or not, such a division of labour has already taken place in anthropology. Failure to see that at the present time ethnologists are dealing with problems of one kind and social anthropologists with problems of another kind can lead only to confusion.

J. H. M. BEATTIE

*Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford*

**60** SIR,—In my letter (MAN, 1954, 74) I did not, as Dr. Mair suggests, define a scientist, but said that he was a person who studied change, and thereby differed from Mr. Beattie's social anthropologist. He does so because the aim of science is prediction, and there is little to be predicted from the observation of static phenomena.

Dr. Mair says that 'the events of the remoter past are not susceptible of the type of analysis which they [i.e. the social anthropologists] have found necessary.' They therefore, it seems, ignore the past altogether. She does not say for what purpose their analyses are necessary, but one supposes that it is for understanding the institutions analysed. An analysis differs from a mere description in that it is concerned with the why and how as well as the what, and nobody would attempt to analyse a European institution without reference to its history. This is because all such institutions contain anachronisms, that is to say features due to causes which are no longer operative. That the same applies to savage institutions cannot reasonably be doubted, but the history of savage institutions is largely unknown and any analysis of them must be to that extent defective. One might expect, then, that a scientist would jump at any fact which might afford a clue, and one suspects that the fact that African cattle are of foreign origin is ignored not because it is 'irrelevant' but because it is unwelcome, because that is to say it tells against the 'functional' theory of origins. It is paradoxical that processes of diffusion in the present are the only processes described by those who refuse to allow for such in the past, and that they seem never to find, or even to look for, those processes of internal development which their theory postulates.

Usk, Monmouthshire

RAGLAN

Note

The Hon. Editor greatly regrets that through a clerical oversight these two letters, which had been set in type for the June or July issue of 1954, were mislaid until now. He trusts that the fires of this controversy have not been permanently damped.—Ed.









(a) Mani wall on a pass above Mapung village



(b) Mani wall at the southern end of the Solu valley



(c) Stone slabs and carved wooden posts set up by Rai in the course of a Feast of Merit in the vicinity of Okhaldhunga

# PRE-BUDDHIST ELEMENTS IN SHERPA BELIEF AND RITUAL

Photographs: C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, 1953



# PRE-BUDDHIST ELEMENTS IN SHERPA BELIEF AND RITUAL\*

by

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61 In the course of an ethnographical survey of part of Eastern Nepal I spent two months in 1953 among the Sherpa of the Khumbu and Solu regions, and subsequently paid a brief visit to those of the Helmu area.<sup>1</sup> Though a detailed study of Sherpa religion was beyond the scope of this preliminary investigation, the material which I collected points clearly to the coexistence and partial integration of two heterogeneous ritual systems. All Sherpa profess the Buddhist faith in its lamaistic form, and lamaistic institutions and ritual play an important role in present-day Sherpa culture. But as in other areas marginal to Tibetan Buddhism, and indeed also in Tibet itself, there seems to persist among the Sherpa a substantial substratum of religious concepts that are alien to Buddhism and represent almost certainly the remnants of an older folk religion.

Very little is known of the history of the Sherpa. Their own traditions tell of a migration from Tibet along the course of the Rongshar River into the Solu region of Nepal and hence into the Khumbu highlands. But whether this oral tradition refers to a movement of the bulk of the Sherpa people or to the immigration of a group whose antecedents became identified with those of the whole tribe must for the time being remain an open question. While until the middle of the nineteenth century, Khumbu belonged politically to Tibet, there are linguistic and cultural differences between the Sherpa and the Tibetans which—though no bar to social intercourse and even inter-marriage—indicate a period of independent development extending over many generations.

The main Buddhist institutions in the Sherpa country, on the other hand, such as the Ningmapa (or 'red-hat') monasteries of Thyangboche and Chiong (Chiwang), are of very recent origin and their founders and the time of their construction are well remembered. Some of the village temples (*gumba*), notably those of Thami, Pangboche and Gumila, are undoubtedly considerably older, but even their foundation, ascribed to Sang-ngak-dorje, a re-incarnated lama from the Dzarongphu (Rongbu) monastery in Tibet, does not seem to lie more than 250 years back.

While all Sherpa participate on many occasions in Buddhist ritual, visit Buddhist shrines, observe the Buddhist festivals and employ lamas for the performance of most domestic rites and particularly all those connected with funerals and mourning, many of their religious practices and beliefs seem to stem from a different sphere.

Prominent among such features unconnected with orthodox Buddhist practice is the cult of mountain gods, regarded as the lords of certain geographical regions. Thus

the Sherpa of the Khumbu area look upon a god known as Khumbe-yül-lha<sup>2</sup> as the highest and most powerful deity in their pantheon and the cult of this deity extends also to the regions of Pharak and Solu. Khumbe-yül-lha is believed to have two principal seats: one is a mountain of 19,297 feet altitude, bearing the same name as the god himself and situated roughly in the centre of the seven villages of Khumbu, and the other a hill above Mapung, a village in Solu. This suggests that the god Khumbe-yül-lha is not considered merely as the personification of a specific mountain, but as a deity with more than one residence. His power over the region of Khumbu is believed to be great, and some of my Sherpa informants described him as the 'King' of Khumbu and Solu, likening the other gods to governors subject to Khumbe-yül-lha. Within his realm the Sherpa comply fairly strictly with what they consider to be his wishes, and as it is believed that Khumbe-yül-lha has a distaste for fowls, poultry is normally not kept in any of the Khumbu villages.

According to orthodox lamaistic belief deities designated by the term *yül-lha* ('country gods') are ancient local gods who have no recognized place in the Buddhist pantheon, but an educated lama of Chiong monastery told me that Khumbe-yül-lha would be classed among the lower group of *srung ma*, i.e. gods considered as 'defenders of the doctrine'; a statement which represented probably an adjustment of theological views to the realities of religious practice.

The occasions for the worship of Khumbe-yül-lha are numerous. At the three main seasonal rites known as *Lhachöto* or *Lha-sang-tang-go*, which are celebrated in *Baisak* (April-May), *Shravan* (July-August) and *Kartik* (October-November), coloured flags are put on the rooftops as offerings to Khumbe-yül-lha. At the same time individual householders dedicate yak or sometimes sheep to Khumbe-yül-lha, and such an animal, while continuing to live with the owner's herd, may not be killed, sold or shorn. Female yak given to Khumbe-yül-lha, however, continue to be milked. If a dedicated animal dies by accident its meat may be eaten, though some Sherpa will not take such meat to their home, but cook and eat the flesh sanctified by the animals' dedication to Khumbe-yül-lha in the village temple (*gumba*).

Lamas assist at the dedication rites, and on the preceding day donors are likely to employ a lama to recite certain texts from Buddhist scriptures. But the rite by which the animal is actually handed over to the god is simple, and though a lama is present it is the owner and not the lama who affixes ribbons to the yak's or sheep's hair, in order to signify its sacred state.

Prayers to Khumbe-yül-lha are not confined to the

\* With Plate D and two text figures



occasions of formal worship at the seasonal feasts. Whenever a Sherpa drinks beer or liquor he first scatters a few drops and invokes Khumbe-yül-lha, Guru Rinpoche, a saint revered by Sherpa and Tibetans alike, and the god of his own clan, asking them 'to drink first.'

On such occasions Khumbe-yül-lha is addressed as the 'white god,' but in contradistinction to the deities of the Buddhist pantheon who have their conventional iconographic forms, there is no traditional way of representing Khumbe-yül-lha. When recently it was decided to incorporate an image of the god in a new fresco, several lamas and painters were summoned to help in devising a suitable shape and expression.

Though convinced of Khumbe-yül-lha's superiority over the other local gods, the Sherpa of Khumbu cannot explain why a deity associated with a comparatively minor mountain should be greater than Chomolongo, the goddess of Mount Everest, and the three male gods Choyo, Chogaro and Chochering who reside on other peaks of the Mount Everest group. To none of these deities are yak or sheep ever dedicated, nor do they figure in, or receive offerings at, the seasonal rites.

The type of worship proper to Khumbe-yül-lha links him with two distinct categories of deities: the gods of individual Sherpa clans, and the *lu* or serpent gods. These deities too are given yak and sheep and it would seem that this relinquishment of important economic assets represents an approach altogether different from the cult of the deities of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon known as *chos skyong*, 'protectors of the religious law,' to whom much of the orthodox lamaistic worship is directed.

Every Sherpa clan (*phu*) reveres a clan god of its own, and thrice a year, at the *Lhachöto* feasts all those clan members who reside in the same village or its immediate neighbourhood join in the worship of their clan god. The generic term for these clan gods is *dabla*, which is probably derived from *dahlha*, the Tibetan term for a category of deities who afford protection in war. Pharil-lhafdzen-karbu, Thonak-lhafdzen-karbu, Taowdze and Loudze, are the names of the *dabla* of clans prominent in Khumbu. They are tutelary deities connected with specific localities or mountains, but they are worshipped wherever the members of their respective clans happen to have settled, and not only within specific regions.

The third type of deity to whom Sherpa dedicate yak or sheep is the *lu* or serpent spirits. These gods occupy a prominent place in Sherpa belief, and their nature is far more complex than that of either Khumbe-yül-lha or the various clan deities. The members of every family worship a *lu* as their house or family deity, and this *lu* resides inside the house, in a stone structure outside the house, or in a nearby tree. When a son separates from his parental household he makes offerings to his family *lu*, asking it to come and reside in his new home. The *lu* are believed to afford protection to those who worship them, but they are by no means always benevolent. Their nature is not constant, and they are inclined to assume alternatively one of three aspects: as *karmu* a *lu* is white and beneficent, as *nakpu* it is black, malevolent and dangerous, and as *than* it is black and

white, being partly good and partly evil. The same house *lu* may assume any of these aspects, and the help of a shaman or *lhawa* is required to discover the *lu*'s nature at any given time. If placated by an acceptable offering a black *lu* may turn white and become benevolent without necessarily passing through the intermediate ambivalent stage.

Whereas Khumbe-yül-lha is a powerful but remote god, a *lu* may manifest itself by taking possession of a shaman, and using such a medium as mouthpiece often dictates behaviour and asks for specific offerings.

The relation between a family and their house deity is thus a close one, and before setting out on a major journey a Sherpa formally takes leave of his *lu*, promising the gift of a cloth in the event of his safe return. There is the firm belief that it is within the power of a *lu* to send calamity as well as good fortune, and every endeavour is made to keep the house *lu* well disposed.

The cult of the *lu* or serpent deities is not confined to the Sherpa. It is common in Tibet, and is said to play a particularly prominent role in the Bön religion, though *lu* figure also in the lamaistic pantheon.<sup>3</sup> Since the worship of such serpent deities is not likely to have its source in Buddhism, and the cult of the *lu* lies—at least in so far as the Sherpa are concerned—outside the competence of the lamas, it seems probable that they are a feature of an older folk religion which forms a substratum of Tibetan Buddhism. Although the term *lu* occurs quite frequently in Tibetan religious writings, little is known of the ritual and the beliefs concerning this class of deities in Tibet.

Khumbe-yül-lha, the clan god and the family *lu* are the three deities that every Sherpa of Khumbu worships, and the offerings, dedication of animals and prayers addressed to them have the purpose of soliciting immediate benefits, whereas much of the devotion flowing through the channels of lamaistic ritual is intended to build up a store of religious merit (*söndam*). To assist people in the acquisition of such merit is the province of lamas, but the establishment of direct contact with local deities, *lu* and spirits by the way of trance experiences is exclusively the task of shamans (*lhawa*).

Sherpa shamans are capable of falling at will into a state of trance. In this they become the mouthpiece of gods and spirits, who speak and answer questions. Even the body of the shaman is supposed to turn invisibly into that of the god, and if, for instance, a *lu* has inadvertently been hurt, the *lhawa* will feel the pain in the corresponding part of his own body. In contradistinction to the shamans of some tribes of the Eastern Himalayas<sup>4</sup> Sherpa *lhawa* are not believed to enter the world of the spirits or to journey to the land of the dead, but it is always the spirits and deities who answer the *lhawa*'s call and take possession of his body.

One of the shaman's most important functions is to detect the harmful influence of witches and to devise the means to avert it. The Sherpa's belief in the activities of witches is based on the idea that part of a woman's personality can detach itself from her body and bring illness or misfortune to other persons. This malignant part of a woman is called *sonde* (living spirit) or *pem*, and some



Sherpa interpret it as an evil spirit which lives inside a woman. The equivalent spirit attached to a man is called *hangbo*, but the Sherpas do not think that a *hangbo* will ever cause pain or misfortune. What distinguishes the Sherpa view of a witch's nature from that current among many Indian populations is the belief that a woman is not conscious of, and consequently also not fully responsible for, the dangerous activities of her *pem*, which may stray on its evil errands not only while the woman is asleep but even when she is awake. To be a witch is hence considered more an affliction than a crime. Often the visitation of a *pem* is nevertheless attributed to an injury or insult inflicted on the witch, and this would seem to indicate that the doings of the *pem* are not always thought of as entirely independent of her conscious volition.

A shaman can recognize the presence of a *pem*, for in trance he sees the face of the woman from whom the *pem* emanates, and he can also indicate the type of offerings with which the *pem* can be appeased.

No less dangerous than *pem* or *sonde* are the ghosts of certain deceased persons, both men and women, who have become evil spirits (*shinde*) as the result of their failure to gain religious merit during their lifetime. These ghosts too can be identified and placated with the aid of a *lhawa* or shaman.

It is significant that for the control of all these concrete and imminently threatening forces, the Sherpa rely on shamans, whereas the ritual practices of lamas are believed helpful in acquiring merit in the strictly Buddhist sense.

Many Sherpa make great efforts to gain such merit, and there are few who are indifferent to the fate of their souls in the life after death. While it is thought that even the



FIG. 1. STONE PLATFORM WITH MANI STONES IN THE HELMU AREA

poorest man can obtain merit by piety, prayer, the circumambulation of *gumba* and *mani* walls and the turning of prayer wheels, there is the strong belief that by an appropriate use of wealth a person can, apart from adding to his own merit, benefit deceased kinsmen and facilitate their progress in the next world. Among such meritorious acts is the construction of the so-called *mani* walls, rough stone structures built along a path and containing upright stone

slabs, which bear incised inscriptions of such sacred formulæ as *Om mani peme hum* (Plate Db and fig. 2). Such *mani* walls are not a peculiarity of the Sherpa country, but occur also in many other parts of the Himalayas and in Tibet. Yet they are unknown in other Buddhist countries, and it seems therefore highly unlikely that they have any fundamental association with Buddhist concepts. In the Sherpa country they are often combined with stone platforms, built for the comfort of travellers carrying loads (fig. 1). Many of these are found at considerable distances



FIG. 2. MANI WALL OUTSIDE THE SHERPA VILLAGE OF THARKA GHYANG IN THE HELMU AREA

from any village, and a favourite situation for such stone structures is the highest point of a pass (Plate Da).<sup>5</sup> Sherpa *mani* walls are usually set up in memory of a deceased kinsman, and new sections may be added whenever it is desired to commemorate another member of the family. This double function of adding to the merit and prestige of the builder and of benefiting or commemorating departed kinsmen, is reminiscent of the concepts associated with the megalithic structures which play so significant a role in the social and ritual life of some of the hill tribes of Assam. Among the Sherpa's southern neighbours, the Rai, stone seats are also built in commemoration of deceased kinsmen, and particularly of those who died far from home. The Rai are not Buddhists, and there is no reason to believe that this custom developed in imitation of Sherpa structures. For apart from such commemorative stone platforms, the Rai erect stone slabs and wooden poles on the occasion of sacrificial feasts of merit reminiscent of the megalithic ritual current among the hill tribes of Assam (Plate Dc).<sup>6</sup>

Seen against the background of these parallels from non-Buddhist regions, the Sherpa practice of erecting *mani* walls and stone platforms appears to fall into line with a ritual complex which elsewhere has no Buddhist associations. It would seem therefore, that despite the use of Buddhist symbols and texts and the present idea of acquiring religious merit by the erection of such structures, the practice of building stone platforms and *mani* walls in commemoration of the dead represents the continuation of an old pre-Buddhist tradition, the ramifications of which extend to several of the tribes of Nepal. To what extent this tradition



is linked also with the megalithic stone circles and alignments reported from various parts of Tibet we cannot tell, for the present populations of Tibet seem to be ignorant of the significance of these prehistoric monuments.

The idea that merit can be gained by conspicuous expenditure may well stem, however, from concepts associated with megalithic ritual in Assam and other parts of South-East Asia. Among the Sherpa it finds expression above all on the occasion of funeral rites, in the course of which rich men expend large sums in feasting as many as a thousand guests from surrounding villages. By such a display they gain not only social prestige, but above all religious merit which according to Sherpa belief can be employed to smooth the deceased's path in the world beyond.

The re-interpretation in Buddhist terms of what seems to be a custom rooted in a different and older ideology, is typical of the manner in which various heterogeneous concepts and practices have been accommodated within the framework of lamaistic Buddhism. In this respect the Sherpa differ from such tribes as the Tamang, among whom Buddhist and tribal ritual are clearly distinguishable, and lamas refrain from active participation in sacrificial rites conducted by the priests of the old tribal cults.

In Sherpa religion, on the other hand, distinct systems of belief and ritual are sufficiently harmonized to allow of their frictionless coexistence. While the more learned among the inmates of monastic institutions and even some of the secular lamas share to the full in the philosophical and ritual traditions of Tibetan Buddhism, the bulk of the population recognizes certain Buddhist tenets and employs lamas for the performance of various rites, but at the same time adheres to the cult of local non-Buddhist deities, and relies in illness and misfortune on the ministrations of shamans. It would seem that, on the whole, shamans are concerned exclusively with the relations between men and supernatural beings in this life, whereas the function of lamas is principally to prepare human beings for the life in the world beyond and assist even the souls of the departed on their way to paradise. The two spheres of activities overlap in so far as lamas are also believed capable of influencing events on this earth by prayers and worship and of exorcizing evil spirits. Shamans, on the other hand, do not seem to lay any claim to efficacy in controlling human fates in the after-life. The different functions of the two categories of ritual experts are expressed also in their social status; the learning of lamas is greatly revered and they are treated with every sign of respect; many shamans, in contradis-

tion, are persons of humble status and though their services are adequately rewarded, they do not enjoy a socially eminent position.

There is a similar dichotomy of beliefs. Such ideas as that of the supremacy of Khumbe-yül-lha over all other deities are logically incompatible with the doctrine contained in the Buddhist scriptures, but the average Sherpa is not aware of this incompatibility. Those learned lamas, on the other hand, who are familiar with the orthodox view of the hierarchy of deities do not make any effort to interfere with the beliefs of the laity, though I have heard it said that an educated monk will not worship a *dabla*, the cult of such deities 'being the affair of villagers, traders and robbers, unworthy of the attention of lamas.'

Tolerance relates not only to beliefs and ritual, but also to the persons of the shamans expert in the propitiation of the local deities and spirits. There seems to be no jealousy between the practitioners of the two different religious systems. Lamas may advise on the consultation of a shaman, and shamans often prescribe the recitation of sacred scriptures by a lama as part of the remedies for an illness caused by the wrath of a god. Thus there are none of the conflicts which in Tibet characterized the relations between Buddhism and the old Bön religion, and the gradual interpenetration and harmonization among the Sherpa of lamaistic Buddhism and indigenous folk religion may be considered indicative of the manner in which many oriental religions attained by the absorption of heterogeneous elements their great complexity and wealth of ritual.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> My travels in Nepal were greatly facilitated by a generous grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, to whose director and trustees I am deeply indebted. I am grateful also to Mr. Upendra Man Malla, M.A., of Kathmandu, who throughout my stay among the Sherpa acted as my interpreter and research assistant.

<sup>2</sup> Khumbe-yül-lha means literally 'god of the Khumbu country,' but the Sherpa use the term like a proper name and have a tendency to pronounce it 'Khumb-ila.'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. von Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 'Die Tibetische Bön-Religion,' *Arch. f. Völkerk.*, Vol. II (1947), pp. 40f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. C. von Furer-Haimendorf, 'The After Life in Indian Tribal Belief,' *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LXXXIII (1953), pp. 42f.

<sup>5</sup> The construction of the *mani* wall illustrated in Plate Da cost the man who had it built about 500 rupees; besides paying for the labour and the carving of the stone slabs he had to reward the lamas who consecrated the wall and entertain the villagers at a feast in his house.

<sup>6</sup> To Professor G. Tucci I am indebted for the information that various 'megalithic' monuments, including rows of menhirs, are found also in Western Nepal in the regions of Jumla and Tibrikot.

## THE JAGA AND THEIR NAME FOR IRON\*

by

G. A. WAINWRIGHT

62 Over the centuries various opinions have been expressed about the origin of the Jaga. In the late sixteenth century Lopez was certainly wrong in saying

\* With a text figure

that they came from 'Serra de Lion,' as Purchas has remarked in his marginal note 'Lopes was deceived in their originall.'<sup>1</sup> Later opinion has also rejected Lopez's view, and has brought them from somewhere in north-



east Africa, identifying them with some such peoples as the Galla or the Masai.

The present study also indicates that they originated from that part of Africa, though not from either of those peoples. It takes a new line of enquiry and is based on the diffusion of a name for iron which can be shown to belong to the Jaga. The foundation of the study is Sir Harry Johnston's great collection of vocabularies published in his book *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*. There he has grouped his words into families, and marked on the map the position of each language. The list of languages attached here is that of his family of *tale* and its varieties as a name for iron which he publishes on p. 331 of his second volume. The map (fig. 1) is that



FIG. 1. SKETCH MAP ILLUSTRATING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE JAGA NAMES FOR IRON

*The use of a magnifying glass is recommended*

of the same family, abstracted from his map at the end of the same volume.

Kara (151b), kale (39a), tale (2) (4), thali (53), tale (57), tali (58), tale (59), dare (63), dari (64), tare (64a) (66) (68), rale (72), rale rala (73), tali (76), tali tale (77) (78), tari (81), tale (82), tare (86), tali tale (88) (94) (97),<sup>2</sup> tadi tari (98) (100), tali (101) (102) (103), tadi (110) (112a, tali) (114, also tali), tari (122), kale (143) (144), tali (176) (179), tele (180), talu (181), tali (189) (190), dala (222), tali south-eastern Angola.<sup>3</sup>

The languages to which the numbers refer are: (2) Uru-nyoro; (4) Lu-ganda; (39a) Kilega; (53) Chi-tonga; (57) I-chuabo or Chuambo ('Quilimane'); (58) Chi-mazaro

(Chi-kunda or Chi-gunda); (59) Chi-nyungwi ('Tete'); (63) Chi-nyai (Chi-nyau or Loze) and Chi-nanswa; (64) Karanga dialects (Chi-swina, Shona); (64a) Chi-ndau (Vandau, 'Sofalah'); (66) Rongero (Bazaruto); (68) Mashangana ('Shangaan, 'Changana'); (72) Chi-venda; (73) Sesutho; (76) Gaza-Angoni (north-east Zulu); (77) Lenje; (78) Ila (Chi-ila, Shukulumbwe or Lumbu and Shala); (81) Yeye (Makoba, Bakhoba); (82) Nyengo (south Luyi 'Bampukushu'); (86) Lu-jazi; (88) Kioko; (94) U-mbundu (Nano); (97) Songo; (98) Ki-mbundu (Mbaka, Mbondo); (100) Kishi-kongo; (101) Kakongo; (102) Ki-yombe or Chi-luango; (103) Ki-lumbo of Mayumba; (110) Lunda; (112a) Mi-nungu; (114) U-mbangala or I-mbangola; (122) Pende; (143) south-east Ki-lega; (144) north-east Ki-lega or Balega; (151b) Bangminda; (176) Ki-mbuno or Badi (south-east Teke); (179) Ntege or west Teke; (180) Mu-tsaya or North Teke; (181) Ba-mbete or north-east Teke; (189) Li-duma (A-duma, Ndumu, Ivili); (190) Njavi or Njabi; (222) Gundi or Ba-gundu.

The map shows that languages Nos. 88, 114, 97, 86, 86a form a compact mass where *tale*, *tare*, etc., are used as the name for iron. From this centre the use of the word spreads out in streams away to the north-west and south-east, and it has outliers which are isolated by themselves far away to the north-east. The north-east outliers prove to be of great importance as pointers to the direction whence the use of the name originated in the first place, before arriving in the country that is now the central group.

The peoples speaking these central languages are the Kioko, No. 88, the Umbangala or Imbangola, No. 114, the Songo, No. 97, and the Lujazi, Nos. 86 and 86a. Two of these names give the clue to the originators of the word *tale* and its varieties, and this people's history in its turn explains at least the north-western and south-western extensions from the central block, for there we have some history. The bringers of the word turn out to be those terrible raiders, the Jaga, and their far-flung depredations are the reason of the wide scattering of the word out from that centre.

The Jaga only arrived in Angola in the sixteenth century, when they made their appearance in history in A.D. 1558 in the Kingdom of Kongo.<sup>4</sup> Thus, of all the families of words for iron collected by Sir Harry Johnston, we are able to fix the date of at least this one and to say that it at any rate is not ancient but only goes back some four hundred years or a little more.<sup>5</sup>

At this centre we get the two names Kioko and Imbangola. The Kioko are the descendants of the Jaga,<sup>6</sup> as indeed would be supposed by the similarity of the two names. The name 'Jaga' was not that by which the bearers of it called themselves, but that by which the people of the kingdom of Kongo called them.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand the Imbangola still bear the name by which the Jaga called themselves. Thus, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1614), p. 702 (wrongly numbered 699), reports that 'He [Battell] sayth; they are called Jagges by the Portugall, by themselves Imbangolas,'<sup>8</sup> and Jagger is still the title of the chiefs near Kassange in the Imbangola country.<sup>9</sup>

Both these peoples (languages Nos. 88, 114) use no



other word for iron; hence it is no doubt native to them, in other words to the Jaga, whereas nearly everywhere else the word is additional to some other, meaning to say that it was imposed. Interesting corroboration of this is to be found in No. 86, Lujazi, and its dialect Ngangela, No. 86a, lying next to the south of the central cluster, for they not only use the *tare*, *tale* of the Jaga, but also a word *kobo* (also used in the form *kubo* by their neighbours the Mbunda, No. 85). They are Ngangela languages, and Jaspert says that the Ngangela are probably the aborigines of the country who were overlaid by peoples coming from the far north-east about A.D. 1500.<sup>10</sup> In view of what will be seen later, the people coming from the far north-east at this date would have been the Jaga once more, and it would have been they who imposed the word *tare* upon the Ngangela.

Next north of the Kioko and Imbangola, descendants of the Jaga, the Bayaka live on the Kwango River; their name is clearly that of the Jaga once more,<sup>11</sup> and their presence therefore strengthens the central group of Jaga peoples. They, however, do not use any form of the word *tale*, *tare* and for a very good reason. It is that the art of smelting is unknown to them and, having learned of iron from their neighbours on the north, they appropriately enough call it by a version of their name for it.<sup>12</sup> Rather is it, however, that they have lost the art, for their neighbours to the north, the Mambala, fled to them to escape the slavers, and the Bayaka made them work for them.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, it is clear that this central compact mass of peoples using *tale*, etc., are descendants of, or had the word imposed upon them by, the famous Jaga of the sixteenth century A.D.

Working out from this central cluster, we meet Jaga elsewhere in country where varieties of *tale* are used. In the first place it was from this country of the central compact mass that the Jaga moved out north-westwards and overran the Kingdom of Kongo in 1558.<sup>14</sup> Here, yet again, these people have left evidence of their presence in the *tadi*, which is used for the name of iron in Kishi-kongo, language No. 100, spoken at San Salvador, the capital of the kingdom. A few years later de Gouvea drove them off in 1574, when they went north, crossed the Congo and destroyed Bango, which is neighbour to Loango.<sup>15</sup> Here also the Jaga have made their mark on the languages of the area, for *tali* is used by each of the languages Nos. 101, 102 and 103, Kakongo, Chiluango and Kivili (northern Luango). Each of these languages, except No. 102, Chiluango, uses some other word for iron, showing that there have been admixture and introductions from elsewhere.<sup>16</sup>

South-west from San Salvador and on the coast we come to St. Paul de Loanda, in the hinterland of which the Jaga established themselves. Here language No. 98 is spoken by the Kimbundu, who call iron *tadi*, and these people are said to agree very well with the accounts of the Jaga.<sup>17</sup>

Further south again, the Umbundu, language No. 94, live round Benguella, a country that at the beginning of the seventeenth century was destroyed by the Jaga Kalandola.<sup>18</sup> These people use *tali* as a name for iron in addition to *vela* which is native to No. 94's language family.<sup>19</sup>

Thus, here also *tali* is an importation and it was clearly the Jaga who imported it.

Inland from Benguella and next south of Nos. 88 and 97 lies Bihé, where a dialect of the Kimbundu language is spoken,<sup>20</sup> and the people belong to the Kimbundu stock.<sup>21</sup> Bihean, or Viye as Johnston calls it, is his No. 94a which he groups with No. 94 Umbundu. Bihean, therefore, no doubt shares with Umbundu the *tali* which is given under Nos. 94, 94a.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, iron is called *utali* in Ondulu,<sup>23</sup> which is either in the Bihean country or just over the northern border.<sup>24</sup> Of the Biheans also Hambly says that much of what Battell reports of the Jaga corresponds well with them,<sup>25</sup> and Capello and Ivens say that the chiefs of Bihé call themselves Ca-jaggas and came originally from the north.<sup>26</sup> Also adjoining Bihé on the north-west lies Kombala-an-Kamesse where the Kesila laws were still being taught in the middle of the nineteenth century. These would be the cruel Quixilles laws of the Jaga of which the Portuguese had so much to say.<sup>27</sup> Thus, it has become evident that both Jaga influence and the use of versions of *tale*, *tare* as names for iron are widespread in and around Bihé.

Spreading out, then, from the central area of Nos. 88, 114 and 97, 86, 86a, there are found the use of *tale*, *tare*, etc., and also memories of the Jaga: in Bihé and its neighbourhood on the southern confines of Nos. 88 and 97; round Benguella to the west of Bihé in No. 94, where there is definite connexion between this word and the Jaga; in No. 98 further up the coast at St. Paul de Loanda west of No. 114; further up again in No. 100 at San Salvador; and across the Congo in Nos. 101, 102 and 103.

Thus, once more, as at the central cluster so in the outliers, it is clear that the words *tale*, *tare*, etc., were brought by the Jaga. Hence, wherever we meet it we may take this name as evidence for the presence of these people.<sup>28</sup>

The first record that we have of the Jaga is that they invaded the Kingdom of Kongo in 1558, coming up from the south-east, that is to say from the direction of the central cluster of our name for iron. But whence did they reach that central cluster? It has already been noted that Jaspert thinks that the country of Nos. 86, 86a, where *tare* is used, suffered an invasion coming from the far north-east about A.D. 1500. Here again the map gives a useful indication. Far away to the north-east and in complete isolation, the Urunyoro and Luganda languages also use *tale* as one of their names for iron; an indication that the Jaga had been there at one time or another.

This presence of the word in the very far north-east fits in with the views that have been expressed from time to time as to the origins of the Jaga. Ever since the sixteenth century attempts have been made to equate them with the Galla, but as long ago as the beginning of the nineteenth century Bruce rightly rejected as fallacious the grounds on which these views were based.<sup>29</sup> To Bruce's objections may now be added that of the difference in names for iron, for the Galla call it *sibila*<sup>30</sup> which bears no resemblance to *tare*, etc.

Others have assimilated the name Jaga to that of the Chaga, a neighbouring tribe to the Masai.<sup>31</sup> However, the



Chaga do not call iron *tale*, *tare*, etc., as do the Jaga, but *menya ya mringa*.<sup>32</sup> Besides this, as has been seen, the people's real name was not Jaga but Imbangola, and Jaga was only a sobriquet given them by the local Bantu-speakers and meaning 'raging, furious, violent.' Again, on p. 105 Avelot puts forward yet another suggestion, that the Masai prefix *eng-* was the original of the first part of the form Engangiaghi<sup>33</sup> which Cavazzi gives instead of the usual Jaga. But, unfortunately, *eng-* in Masai is a pejorative with the meaning 'something of a weak or feminine nature, and also of a diminutive or affectionate character,'<sup>34</sup> all of which is peculiarly unsuitable to a race of warriors distinguished for their ferocity. Besides this, the Masai do not call iron by any form of *tale*, *tare* but *e-seghengei*.<sup>35</sup> Thus, the Jaga cannot have been originally Galla, Chaga or Masai.

However, these enquirers were on the right track, for the map shows that the Jaga have been in Unyoro and Uganda, countries which are not far removed from these other peoples. But then again they could not have originated from Unyoro and Uganda either, for the use of *tale* is exceptional there, where the standard word is *oma*, *uma*.<sup>36</sup> Whence, therefore, did the Jaga and their word *tale* reach Unyoro and Uganda on their way to Angola?

A search in the languages of north-eastern Africa quickly produced satisfactory results in two languages on the River Omo, which flows from southern Abyssinia into Lake Rudolf. They are those of Kaffa and Hadia, of which Kafficho calls iron *turo*,<sup>37</sup> and Hadia, just across the river, calls it *tara*.<sup>38</sup> The neighbouring Ghimira Nao calls it *turas*.<sup>39</sup> These words are no doubt derived from the Amharic *tor*<sup>40</sup> and the Geez *ṣor*,<sup>41</sup> as Conti Rossini supposes.<sup>42</sup>

Thus, distant though Kaffa and Hadia are, it would certainly seem as if the Jaga originated from those lands or somewhere near them. There is nothing improbable in the Jaga having come from so far afield, since for one thing they have shown themselves as great wanderers. For another thing some 600 years before them, Galla had travelled as far as Southern Rhodesia, and they originated from the country neighbouring to Kaffa.<sup>43</sup> Then again, far as the Jaga may have migrated to have reached Angola, it is not so far as the Hottentots have come, who though now living in South Africa speak a language of Hamitic extraction, and hence are thought to have come from Somaliland.<sup>44</sup> Their cattle and sheep are also of northern origin.<sup>45</sup>

The Jaga broke into history for the first time when they overran the Kingdom of Kongo in 1558, coming up from the south-east, the country of the central cluster of users of *tale*, *tare* in modern times. They therefore cannot have left Unyoro and Uganda later than about A.D. 1500.<sup>46</sup>

In the previous pages we have been directed back to the far north-east, to Kaffa, Unyoro and Uganda, as countries where the Jaga had been at one time. It is, therefore, interesting to find that in these latter two countries, traditions are preserved of a 'white' race, the Bachwezi, who came from the north-east, ruled for some generations and disappeared, going away in a southward direction. They would have gone at some time about A.D. 1500, for it was about that time that invasions of the Lwoo Nilotes were

breaking up their kingdom.<sup>47</sup> This is just the time that the Jaga are likely to have left, also going in a southerly direction, as has just been pointed out. Not only were the Bachwezi 'white' and immigrants from the north-east,<sup>48</sup> but it is even possible that their name is a Bantuized form of an Ethiopic word *chewa* meaning 'soldier.'<sup>49</sup> If so, they would have called themselves, and no doubt have been famous as, warriors, just as were the Jaga. Moreover, in coming from the north-east they would have come from the general direction of Kaffa, and that is the country where the Jaga's name for iron has a relative.

Thus, we have two warlike peoples, the Bachwezi and the Jaga, each of whom were originally connected with Kaffa or its neighbourhood, each of whom at one time occupied Unyoro and Uganda, and each of whom finally departed in a southerly direction somewhere about the year 1500. Is it possible that the Jaga had started out as some group of Bachwezi?<sup>50</sup>

### Conclusions

The conclusions reached in this essay are that (a) *tale* and its varieties as a name for iron were brought by the Jaga; (b) the word arrived in the sixteenth century and is, therefore, comparatively modern; (c) the Jaga were neither Galla as has often been supposed, nor yet Masai, but originated from Kaffa or its neighbourhood in south-western Abyssinia, and passed through Unyoro and Uganda en route for Angola; (d) they may perhaps have been a group of the Bachwezi, a people who went away southwards at about the time that the Jaga would have moved out; (e) the map shows that the Jaga have been in the valleys of the Zambezi and its tributaries and have got down into the Zimbabwe neighbourhood and even as far as Basutoland. On the other hand, it gives no indication that the Jaga ever went anywhere near Mombasa and Kilwa, as has sometimes been supposed.

### Appendix

Among the members of this family of names for iron Sir Harry Johnston includes the *kale* of Nos. 39a, 143, 144 and the *kara* of No. 151b. However, I am told that these do not belong here, but are a different word meaning 'stone.' But still, they are very rare and it is worth noting that they appear isolated and in significant places on the map. Nos. 39a, 143, 144 make a little group on what may have been the road from Unyoro and Uganda to Angola.

The position of the *kara* of No. 151b is made interesting by the following information. It is used on the Ibba River in the southern Bahr el-Ghazal,<sup>51</sup> and therefore next door to the tribes of the Jur and the Belanda or rather Bor. These peoples are a portion of the Shilluk who came directly westward and settled on the Such River,<sup>52</sup> which is next to the Ibba River of No. 151b's *kara*. Like the Jaga, the Shilluk originated from the neighbourhood of Kaffa, and as they were able to push through past the Ibba as far as the Such there is no reason against the Jaga having reached the nearer of these two rivers. Is it not possible, therefore, that after all the normal *t* has, in these cases at any rate, changed into *k* and that the two forms make part of the one family which was brought by the Jaga?

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Purchas his Pilgrimes (1625), Vol. II, p. 974.

<sup>2</sup> See Johnston's Supplementary Additions and Corrections, Vol. I, p. 781, for the use of *tali* by No. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Read in *J. Afr. Soc.*, 1902-3, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Avelot, 'Les grands mouvements de peuples en Afrique: Jaga et Zimba,' p. 109, note 6, in *Bull. de géographie historique et descriptive*,



1912; a publication by the Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques of the Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux Arts, Paris.

<sup>5</sup> Of the others at least *uma* and *bulo* seem likely to be considerably earlier than *tale*. While it is not yet possible to deduce any definite dates for *londo* and *ela*, they would both seem to be at least earlier than *tale*, and of the two *londo* gives the impression of being the earlier.

<sup>6</sup> Sir H. H. Johnston, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 99, and cf. Avelot, *op. cit.* pp. 167ff.

<sup>7</sup> It appears to have been derived from the Bantu root *-jaka* 'to be raging, furious, violent,' or possibly from the root *-thaka*, *-dzaku*, 'bush,' i.e. 'people of the bush,' cf. Avelot, *op. cit.*, p. 104, who, however, does not accept the view. Certainly a word with such a meaning as 'raging, furious, violent' seems very apt for a people of the Jaga's characteristics. In fact Döhne, *A Zulu-Kafir Dictionary*, p. 146, says that the root provided the name of Chaka, the famous Zulu conqueror.

<sup>8</sup> Purchas clearly had this from Battell as he says. The statement does not, however, appear in Battell's own account published in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), Vol. II, pp. 970ff. Battell had lived with the Jaga for 16 months. While agreeing that the modern Im-Bangala are descendants of the Jaga, Plancquaert (*Les Jaga et les Bayaka du Kwango*, p. 78) decides that their blood cannot be of the purest. But there can hardly be any pure Jaga blood anywhere, for they recruited themselves by adopting the biggish children from the towns they destroyed (*Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), Vol. II, p. 977). In the same neighbourhood as the Im-Bangala there is another tribe which preserves the name of Jaga, but their language presents a problem (Johnston, Vol. II, pp. 113f.). They are the Bayaka who inhabit the country between the Rivers Kwango and Inzia (Torday and Joyce in *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. XXXVI, 1906, p. 39) and are accepted as descendants of the Jaga (Plancquaert, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-69), yet they do not use any form of *tale* for 'iron,' for which see note 12.

<sup>9</sup> Capello and Ivens, *From Benguella to the Territory of Yacca*, Vol. I, p. 320, Vol. II, pp. 9, 11. It is also the title among their neighbours the Bondo, p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> F. and W. Jaspert, *Die Völkerstämme Mittel-Angolas*, p. 3. The land of the Moropu is named as the place whence they came.

<sup>11</sup> Plancquaert, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-4.

<sup>12</sup> They learned of iron from the Mambala (Bambala) to the north of them, who themselves learned of it from the Bahuana still further to the north (Torday and Joyce in *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. XXXVI, 1906, p. 44). All these peoples use a version of the one word, thus, Bayaka *Don*, Mambala *Dondo*, Bahuana *N'don* (Johnston, Vol. I, p. 430, languages Nos. 116, 118, 119).

<sup>13</sup> Plancquaert, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 94.

<sup>14</sup> Avelot, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 114.

<sup>15</sup> Mgr. J. Cuvelier in *Congo*, 1930, Part 2, p. 474, and cf. Avelot pp. 135f.

<sup>16</sup> Iron had already been introduced to the Kingdom of Kongo at least 150 years before the arrival of the Jaga. Tradition states that Ne Kongo, the founder of San Salvador, the capital (Cuvelier, pp. 471, 481), had a knife as the insignia of his dignity and power and of this knife it is specially recorded that it was of iron and native made. Even its name *Sabala* is kept in memory (p. 482). The Portuguese discovered the country in 1482 (H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, Vol. I, p. 70), and as it was then in a flourishing condition it could hardly have been founded later than about 1400. This was the first appearance of iron in the country, for before Ne Kongo's arrival from north of the Congo (Cuvelier, pp. 472, 474) the only inhabitants had been Pygmies who had no iron weapons (Cuvelier, p. 479).

Further to the south on the right bank of the River Kwanza lies Dongo, a little fief of the Kingdom of Kongo. Here a knowledge of iron-working was introduced about 1475 or earlier by a certain Mussuri. His name merely means 'King Blacksmith' (Avelot, p. 140, note 3; Wainwright in *MAN*, 1942, 61). Weeckx (*Congo*, 1937, Vol. II, pp. 151f.) is certainly too late in dating him to 1526. Elsewhere in this part of Africa iron-workers and Mussuri come into connexion again. Thus, along the middle course of the not far

distant River Kwango the Tsamba are looked upon as autochthonous and have left a great reputation as iron-workers (Plancquaert, *op. cit.*, pp. 43ff.). Kiluanji kia Samba (Kiluanji of the Land of Samba) would have been one of their chiefs, and would seem to be named by Cavazzi as Angola Chilanguis Quisama or as he spells it further on Angola Chilugni Quiasamba (Cavazzi, *Istoria Descrizione de' Tre Regni, Congo, Matamba et Angola, Situati nell' Etiopia Inferiore Occidentale* (Bologna, 1687), pp. 291f., 295). The Italian spelling would represent Kiluanje kwia Samba, and he married one of Mussuri's daughters (*loc. cit.*). Plancquaert, pp. 45, 47, considers that the Batsamba were already established in the land before the arrival of Mussuri and his Ambundu.

<sup>17</sup> L. Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika in den Jahren 1849 bis 1857*, p. 270, note.

<sup>18</sup> Purchas, *op. cit.*, p. 974; Purchas, *His Pilgrimage* (1614), p. 703.

<sup>19</sup> This language belongs to Johnston's Group X consisting of six languages (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 354). Four of them all use a form of this word, one is not recorded and the sixth uses something quite different. Umbundu, No. 94, is the only one of Group X to use *tali*.

<sup>20</sup> Jaspert, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>21</sup> Magyar, *op. cit.*, p. 238. W. D. Hambly, *The Ovimbundu of Angola*, pp. 114, 116, speaks of the Biheans as a section of the Ovimbundu and differentiates to some extent between the Kimbundu and the Ovimbundu, p. 115, where he also says that the *ovi-* is a plural prefix.

<sup>22</sup> The combined languages Nos. 94, 94a also use *vela* as well as another word *manya*.

<sup>23</sup> Read in *J. Afric. Soc.*, 1902-3, p. 49.

<sup>24</sup> Magyar, *op. cit.*, p. 238, says that the land of Bihé is bounded on the north by Andulo. Read, *loc. cit.*, says that Ondulo is three days' journey north of Fort Belmonte, otherwise called Silva Porto. Fort Belmonte is in Bihé and is about 250 miles due east of Benguella.

<sup>25</sup> Hambly, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 117.

<sup>26</sup> Capello and Ivens, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 158.

<sup>27</sup> Magyar, *op. cit.*, p. 408 and note.

<sup>28</sup> On these terms it is evident in the first place that the Jaga passed all along the Kubango and its tributaries, the upper tributaries of the Zambezi, and also the middle and lower course of the great river itself. Again, it is evident that from the middle Zambezi they went southwards not only to the Zimbabwe area in Southern Rhodesia, but on southwards again even as far as Basutoland. As for the Zambezi world it seems uncertain at present which way they were going, whether down the river or up. Students generally bring them direct from the far north-east to their central cluster in Angola, in which case it would have been a later move that brought them to the Zambezi, and their passage would have been down it. On the other hand Plancquaert (pp. 70f.) thinks that they reached their Angolan centre from the south, in which case they would have come up the river and its tributaries.

Besides this, it is to be noted that the map gives no suggestion that the Jaga ever went anywhere near Mombasa, Kilwa and such places on the east coast, as it has sometimes been supposed that they did, for instance Johnston, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 99, note 2; Frobenius and von Wilm, *Atlas Africanus*, No. 2, Plate 10, fig. 7.

<sup>29</sup> J. Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (2nd edn., 1805), Vol. III, p. 423. For a discussion of the question see E. G. Ravenstein, *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell*, pp. 149-53. Avelot discusses the question and on p. 100 thinks the resemblance of Jaga to Masai to be very strong.

<sup>30</sup> J. L. Krapf, *Vocabulary of the Galla Language*, p. 19; Hopley in *MAN*, 1912, p. 20.

<sup>31</sup> Avelot, p. 109. Avelot doubts this equation.

<sup>32</sup> Gurman in *Zeits. f. Ethnol.*, 1912, p. 93, and cf. Johnston, Vol. I, p. 118, No. 17.

<sup>33</sup> Actually the word seems to be a short sentence meaning 'I am a Jaga,' given in reply to an enquiry as to the speaker's tribe. In the Angolan and Congolese countries overrun by the Jaga the form *ngi*, *ngu*, etc., is widely spread as the personal pronoun 'I' (cf. for example Johnston, Vol. I, pp. 360, 373, 389, 435). A directive *n* may be attached to it making a form *ngi-ni*, etc., giving the meaning 'this is so-and-so' (*loc. cit.*, p. 32). In the language of San Salvador,



one of the countries overrun by the Jaga, the verb 'I am' is *ngina* (W. H. Bentley, *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, p. 690). Hence, as I would suggest, the peculiar Italian form *Eng-angiaghi* could be broken up into *eng-am-Giaghi*, reproducing the sentence 'I am a Jaga.' It is the sort of thing which has often happened.

<sup>34</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 9.

<sup>35</sup> Hobley in MAN, 1905, 21.

<sup>36</sup> See my study, 'The Diffusion of *-uma* as a Name for Iron,' *Uganda J.*, Vol. XVIII (1954), pp. 113-36.

<sup>37</sup> Reinisch in *Sitzungsber. d. phil.-hist. Classe d. kais. Ak. d. Wiss.* (Vienna, 1888), Vol. CXVI, p. 339 (*Die Kafa-Sprache in Nordost Afrika*); F. J. Bieber, *Kaffia*, Vol. I, pp. 399, 412. Reinisch noticed the resemblance to the Bantu *tale, tare*.

<sup>38</sup> J. Borelli, *Éthiopie méridionale* p. 464.

<sup>39</sup> E. Cerulli, *Studi Etiopici IV, La Lingua Caffina*, p. 511.

<sup>40</sup> Colonies of Amhara were brought into Kaffa throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Bieber, Vol. I, pp. 75f.), and it would have been through them that the Kafficho got both their *turo* and their *birato*, discussed in note 42. The Kafficho only learned to speak their present language when they arrived in Kaffa in the fourteenth century. They came from the country they call Lower Amhara (Bieber, Vol. II, pp. 496f.) speaking Tigré (Bieber, Vol. I, p. 76; Vol. II, p. 496), yet they did not introduce the Tigré word *hatsin*.

<sup>41</sup> Whence did Geez get it? Not from the fourth century Ethiopic of which Geez is the closest descendant, for there iron is called *hatsin* (E. Littmann, *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, Vol. IV, p. 33, *Inscr. No. xi*, line 19). Can it have been Meroitic? But unfortunately that is still an undeciphered language.

<sup>42</sup> Conti Rossini in *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*, p. 141, 'Notes sur l'Abyssinie avant les Sémites.' Like Reinisch he notices the resemblance to the Bantu word, but thinks it less likely that the Kafficho should have come from the Bantu than from Amharic and Geez. Similarly the Kafficho have taken one of the other words *birato* (Reinisch, *op. cit.*, p. 274) from the Amharic, for this is the Amharic word *birat* (C. H. Armbruster, *Initia Amharica*, Vol. II, *English-Amharic Vocabulary*, p. 152) which the Kafficho have taken over in a vague sense, using it for either 'bronze' or 'iron.' This is curious for it is the fourth century Ethiopic word *birti*, which did not mean 'iron' but 'brass, bronze.' Other languages of Abyssinia which have turned to Ethiopic for a word for 'iron' and have used some variation of *birti* are Saho, Dankali or Afar, Somali, Agau, Gafar, Gonga and Harari. Similarly W. Leslau, *Ethiopic Documents: Gurage*, p. 150, says that the Gurage use *brät* as meaning 'iron, rifle.' There is also a third word in Kafficho, *gino* (Beke in *Proc. Philolog. Soc.* (1845), Vol. II, p. 101).

<sup>43</sup> Wainwright in MAN, 1949, 80, 'The Founders of the Zimbabwe Civilization.'

<sup>44</sup> C. Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, pp. 211ff.; *id.*, *Introduction to African Languages*, p. 100, and cf. G. McC. Theal, *Ethnography and Condition of South Africa before A.D. 1505*, pp. 80-7. Frobenius actually connects the coming of the Hottentots with the wanderings of the Jaga, but gives no evidence for his view (Frobenius and von Wilm, *Atlas Africanus*, No. 2, text accom. Plate 10, fig. 7). But on the contrary the two could not have been connected, for the Hottentots were already established in South Africa well before the Jaga are first heard of in history. Vasco da Gama's account of the natives he met at St. Helena Bay in 1497 shows them to have been Hottentots (G. McC. Theal, *The Beginning of South African History*, p. 139). In the Hottentot country there is another people

who show signs of having come from the far north, though from a very different part. These are the Bergdama, who use a number of words derived from various Sudanic tongues (C. G. Seligman, *Races of Africa*, p. 94).

<sup>45</sup> Theal, *Ethnography and Condition of South Africa before A.D. 1505*, p. 84.

<sup>46</sup> A parallel military irruption is known to have taken rather less than 50 years. It is that of the Angoni. These people left Zululand about 1821-2 (A. T. Bryant, *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, p. 459). They reached Ugogo, Masailand, Ujiji and Lake Victoria, and many of them finally settled in Ruanda. Elsewhere under the name Wahehe they settled in Uhehe due west of Mafia Island. Under the name Watuta they made alliance with Mirambo, the Nyamwezi king (Bryant, pp. 459, 469-71), who figures in 1872 in the latter part of Livingstone's *Last Journals*, Vol. II, p. 183. They therefore took less than 50 years over their journey of some 1,800 miles, which is roughly the distance from Zululand to Lake Victoria. H. M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. I, pp. 499f., 503, has much to say of the Watuta.

<sup>47</sup> Dr. Roland Oliver in MAN, 1954, 57, puts the invasion to 'about 500 years ago,' i.e. about A.D. 1450, and it would have taken the invaders some time to consolidate their kingdom, as Father Crazzolara shows, *The Lwoo*, Part I, pp. 101ff.

<sup>48</sup> Crazzolara, *op. cit.*, pp. 91ff., tries to controvert the usually accepted view that the Bachwezi were Hamites. He would make them to be Lwoo, yet no one could call the Lwoo 'white' or pale-coloured. Moreover, in *Uganda J.*, Vol. XVI (1952), p. 85, Mr. Wright points out a number of objections to such an argument.

<sup>49</sup> Wright, *loc. cit.* It is a Cushitic word. Thus in Bilin, which is a sub-group of the Cushitic Agau, there is a word *ciba* meaning 'tribe, family, etc.' which Reinisch relates to another Bilin word *djiba* meaning 'war, plundering expedition' (*Die Bilin-Sprache*, Vol. II, pp. 168, 177), though Brockelmann denies the relationship ('*Abessinische Studien*', p. 8, in *Ber. über d. verhandl. d. Sächs. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig: Philol.-hist. Klasse*, Vol. XCVII (1950)). Reinisch further relates it to an Egyptian word which was borrowed from the Semitic in the New Kingdom. He calls it *djabau*, 'warrior,' but more accurately it should be *djebi*, 'army' (Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch d. Aeg. Sprache*, Vol. V, p. 562). *Chawa* has entered Geez with the meaning 'troop' and in the language of Kaffa, which is Cushitic, there is a related word *cho'a* meaning 'the meeting of a council' (Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>50</sup> On their journeyings they adopted the children of the tribes they overrun. Hence, by about the year A.D. 1600 there were left only 12 men and 14 or 15 women who were real Jaga out of some 16,000 persons in the camp (*Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625), Vol. II, p. 977). By this time Battell also describes them as 'the greatest Canibals and Man-eaters that bee in the World, for they fed chiefly upon mans flesh' (*id.*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 974), of which custom there is no suggestion in anything that we hear of the Bachwezi. Can this habit have been acquired on their wanderings?

<sup>51</sup> It is so far north that questions of space forbid the extension of the map to include it. Those who wish to find it can see it in the map at the end of Sir Harry Johnston's second volume.

<sup>52</sup> Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. li. Another Shilluk tribe, the Ber, settled alongside the Belanda, see the map following p. lxviii. The relationship between the Jur and the Shilluk comes out again in their words for 'iron.' The Jur call it *nieng, niing* (G. Schweinfurth, *Linguistische Ergebnisse einer Reise nach Zentralafrika*, p. 62 (published as a Supplement to *Zeits. f. Ethnol.*, Vol. IV), which is clearly the same as the Shilluk *nyên* (Westermann, *op. cit.*, p. 298).

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

The Totemic System of the WaniNdiljaugwa. By Peter M. Worsley, M.A., Ph.D. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 17 February, 1955

63

The totemic system of the WaniNdiljaugwa reveals signs of historical changes, recognized by the people themselves,

to a degree not usually found among Australian aborigines. These people, formerly living on Groote Eylandt and neighbouring islands in the Gulf of Carpentaria, are now concentrated into two settlements, and are no longer nomadic. They number 450 individuals.



They have had lengthy contact with non-aboriginals, first with Indonesian voyagers who visited north Australia annually over many decades up to 1907, and who employed, and traded with, the aborigines; and secondly with Europeans, from the early sporadic contacts with explorers up to the period of more intensive contact since 1921.

The twelve clans of the WaniNdiljaugwa are divided between two unnamed moieties. The clan totems are mainly topographical features, animal and other natural species, the three seasonal winds (North-West, South-East and North) and Ship. 'Increase' ceremonies are no longer performed; there are no prohibitions on eating the totemic creatures, nor any concept of eponymous descent from the totem; nor is there any longer a belief in the Creation Period. Today, the totems emerge in the form of totemic songs and dances performed on the diminishing number of ritual occasions; the non-sacred songs are also sung for æsthetic enjoyment.

The natural-species and topographical totems rarely occur singly, a set of totems usually being linked together in a myth of origin. With the wind totems, there are no origin myths, and both linguistic usage and pictorial symbols suggest that whilst the winds symbolize the all-important seasonal changes, they acquired additional importance when these winds became associated with

the annual arrival and departure of the Indonesians. 'Ship' is a totem of recognized Indonesian connexion.

For most clans, certain principal totems are more important than the many secondary ones. Some clans share the same principal totem, the secondary totems having a diacritical function. The totems, being numerous, might appear to represent an elaborate compendium in conformity with some abstract philosophical basis of classification. In fact, the process by which sets of totems are acquired is cumulative, through extra-tribal marriage, the creation of new totems to celebrate events of social significance, and so on. Such totems may eventually graduate from this status and become more and more important.

The totemic compendium thus reflects the aborigines' concern with the natural species and objects upon which they used to depend for existence, the places which were important in their hunting-and-collecting life or which were striking topographical features, as well as important historical events which had long-term effects upon the society. As symbols of group affiliation at various levels, they represent both the interdependence and the separateness and opposition of groups. Yet whilst they are thus linked to, and symbolize, the social units in the existing order of society, they have a historical content which is recognized by the people, and not merely apparent to the observer.

## SHORTER NOTES

**Prehistoric Stone Objects from New Britain.** By Dr. Alphonse Riesenfeld, *American Museum of Natural History, New York.*

64 *With a text figure*

In this brief note I should like to call attention to a stone mortar and a few stone pestles observed among the Bola or Bakovi, Willaumez Peninsula, by Dr. W. H. Goodenough of the University Museum, Philadelphia, during his recent visit to this area. Dr. Goodenough has kindly placed his observations at my disposal for analysis. The accompanying picture of a mortar and three pestles was made by him at Talasea.<sup>1</sup> The natives were ignorant of the provenance and function of these objects.

This record of the occurrence of stone mortars and pestles not only extends our knowledge of the distribution of this important archaeological element, but is also of interest because of some of the technological details of the specimens. A row of bosses encircles the mortar below its rim. The upper part of one of the pestles too, has a few protruding knobs, though their number is not easily determined from the photograph.

Stone mortars studded with similar rows of protruding knobs or projections encircling the mortar near the rim have been found at several places on the Ramu River (at Vrimsebu and Atembre villages, Edie Creek and Infuntera Creek),<sup>2</sup> along the Wahgi River,<sup>3</sup> and at Lake Kutubu.<sup>4</sup> Further east, such mortars are reported at the Koranga Creek, Bulolo District,<sup>5</sup> and in the Yodda Valley,<sup>6</sup> and a mortar found at Sagsag on the Gima River in the extreme west of New Britain also has similar bosses on its four handles.<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note that, besides actual stone mortars, Wirz<sup>8</sup> found mortars on the Chimbu River, a tributary of the Wahgi River, and among the Minembi tribe near Mount Hagen, which, though resembling stone, were actually made of coarse, very hard and highly fired clay. These clay mortars also had a row of bosses encircling the vessel slightly below the rim. They are not made by the present people; the Minembi actually believe that they are descended from one of these mortars, and rites are performed in connexion with them. These facts suggest that these clay mortars may be prehistoric.

Although stone mortars and pestles have a much wider distribution in Melanesia, it would seem from the above data that the

decorative element consisting of protruding knobs or projections is confined to certain parts of eastern New Guinea and western New Britain. A similar opinion has been expressed by Bühler.<sup>9</sup>

A small number of stone pestles with protruding knobs near the upper end of the handle have also been recorded. One from the Sattelberg in the interior of the Huon Gulf area has four prominent projections forming a cruciform handle,<sup>10</sup> another from the neighbouring Bukaua apparently has near the end of the handle a few less protruding knobs.<sup>11</sup> One pestle found at Giserum, Rook Island,<sup>12</sup> is virtually identical with the Talasea knobbed pestle in the spherical base, the long handle, the arrangement of the knobs, and possibly also the slight depression at the top of the handle, a detail not clearly visible in the Talasea specimen. The Rook specimen has five knobs, which may possibly be identical with the number on the Talasea specimen, although here again our photograph is not clear enough. Bühler<sup>13</sup> mentions stone pestles with



FIG. 1

'decorated' handles from Rook, New Britain, New Ireland and New Hanover in the Museum at Basel, so that the distribution of this type of pestle would seem to correspond to some extent with that of the knobbed mortars, although the evidence concerning such pestles is somewhat scanty. The 'serrated comb' of the 'cockatoo' stone head from the Watut River described by Sherwin<sup>14</sup> may possibly be only a special expression of this custom



of decorating stone mortars and pestles with such protrusions; this is, of course, purely a tentative suggestion. Of particular interest in this connexion is the upper part of what may be an anthropomorphic stone pestle from the interior of the Huon Gulf, north of Cape Arkona, published by Schuster.<sup>15</sup> At its upper end it has two rows of projecting knobs that are reminiscent of the rows of knobs on prehistoric pineapple clubs of New Guinea. McCarthy<sup>16</sup> has clearly called attention to the morphological and technological relationship between such knobbed clubheads and mortars and pestles, pointing out that they are all prehistoric, have similar knobs, very frequently have a ridged lip, and are made by an identical pecking technique. It seems therefore to me that in the discussion regarding the possible cultural relationships of knobbed pineapple clubs this affinity with knobbed mortars and pestles should not be overlooked especially since the cultural associations of the latter seem to be better established.

Dr. Goodenough further informs me that he learned from Mr. R. I. Skinner of the District Services, Papua, of the existence of stone mortars on Unea (Vitu Islands). A stone pestle had previously been recorded on this island by Parkinson.<sup>17</sup> The natives told Mr. Skinner that their ancestors filled the mortars with water and used them as mirrors. This familiar explanation by present-day natives has frequently been recorded in New Guinea, for instance, among the Orokaiva and Mafulu, on the Yodda, Kiapou, Musa and Barigi rivers, and in many other places. Mr. Skinner has, moreover, seen stone heads of apparently massive size on the island. In regard to the megalithic stone tables previously recorded by Parkinson,<sup>18</sup> he learned from the natives that they were formerly used as altars on which the bodies of humans and pigs were carved. If this report is substantiated, it would establish a complete functional identity with the corresponding stone tables of the New Hebrides. It would also furnish additional evidence for the relative uniformity of megalithic culture within certain areas of Melanesia to which I have called attention on previous occasions.

#### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Goodenough has also published this photo on p. 11.
- <sup>2</sup> Kasprusch, pp. 650, 653, fig. on p. 648; Miles, 1935, p. 185, fig. 1, and 1938, p. 96, fig. 1.
- <sup>3</sup> Bramell, pp. 40f., frontispiece; Murphy, p. 37; England, p. 236; McCarthy, 1949, pp. 155-157, Plate VIII, figs. 2-4, Plate XI, figs. 27, 28.
- <sup>4</sup> Williams, p. 148.
- <sup>5</sup> McCarthy, 1936, p. 111, fig. on p. 110; 1949, p. 157, Plate VIII, fig. 1.
- <sup>6</sup> Seligman and Joyce, p. 329, Plate IX, fig. 7; Monckton, 1922, Plate facing p. 120; Monckton in *Annual Rep. Ter. Papua* 1903-4, Appendix D, p. 31.
- <sup>7</sup> Sherwin and Haddon, pp. 160f., and fig. on p. 161.
- <sup>8</sup> Wirz, pp. 290-3, figs. 2, 4, Plate XXIII, p. 302, note 2.
- <sup>9</sup> Bühler, p. 579.
- <sup>10</sup> Schuster, p. 248, Plate Y, fig. 1; Neuhauss, fig. 54, p. 138.
- <sup>11</sup> Neuhauss, fig. 55, p. 139.
- <sup>12</sup> Bühler, p. 233, fig. 3 b, c.
- <sup>13</sup> Bühler, pp. 583f.
- <sup>14</sup> P. 71, fig. 3.
- <sup>15</sup> Pp. 247f., Plate X.
- <sup>16</sup> 1949, pp. 157, 162, Plate X, figs. 21, 24, 25.
- <sup>17</sup> Parkinson, 1899, p. 5.
- <sup>18</sup> Parkinson, 1907, p. 208, Plate 14.

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#### Notes on the Indians of Patagonia Made by W. Mogg in 1829. By Dr. L. E. Taverer, University of Southampton.

65 For three centuries after Magellan discovered his Straits, the fascinating 'Land of Magellan' drew curious adventurers and eager merchants whose chronicles embodied, in a medley of fact and fiction, all that was known of these southern shores of the South American continent. During the years 1826-1836, however, H.M.S. *Adventure* and H.M.S. *Beagle* were commissioned by the British Admiralty to make a scientific survey of the coasts of Patagonia, Chile and the Fuegian Archipelago. The survey was under the command of Captain P. P. King, and Charles Darwin was invited to accompany the *Beagle* as naturalist.

The *Beagle* was a small, well-built vessel of 235 tons, rigged as a barque, and carried six guns. The *Adventure* was a larger vessel of 330 tons. In June, 1827, the two ships were undergoing a refit at Rio de Janeiro, when H.M.S. *Ganges* arrived in the port. The *Ganges* was the flagship of Sir R. W. Otway, who had recently taken over the South American Station.

Serving in the *Ganges* was a William Mogg. Mogg was a remarkable character. He joined the Navy in 1811, at the age of 15, and for the next 50 years kept a private journal.<sup>1</sup> The *Journal* consists of six volumes, closely handwritten and profusely illustrated, of which Volumes II and III are of particular interest because they describe his experiences on the *Hedra* and *Fury* expeditions of 1821 and 1823, under the command of Captain (Sir William) Parry, to discover a North-West Passage: and also his experience as purser, for several months, of the *Beagle*. While the *Ganges* was in port at



Rio de Janeiro, Mr. Atrill, purser of the *Beagle*, was taken ill, and Mogg was appointed purser in his place.

His record of the *Beagle* expedition is similar in several respects to the official journals of Captain P. P. King and of Darwin, but Mogg was an observant man and some of his notes are of peculiar value. For instance, he made vocabularies of words used by various tribes in Patagonia and made comments on the habits of a number of tribes that were becoming extinct.

NOTES MADE BY W. MOGG ON THE INDIANS OF PATAGONIA WITH WHOM HE HAD FREQUENT OPPORTUNITIES OF STAYING IN 1829

*Tribes.* In the part of Patagonia bordering on the eastern shore of the Straits of Magellan, there are four distinct Tribes of Indians: each consisting of about four hundred men, women and children,—the females being in the proportion of two to one of the other sex.

*Riches.* The wealth of these Indians consists principally in Horses and Dogs. The rich have from forty to fifty horses, while those in humbler life not more than one or two each.

*Hunting.* The men, mounted and accompanied by their dogs, go out in parties in pursuit of game. At times they have to ride long distances before coming up with a herd. They give chase to the first object they see, whether fox, guanaco, jaguar, ostrich or skunk. (The skunk or cervello is a small quadruped of the polecat family, black with a white stripe down the back. It has a singular and powerful defence when pursued by ejecting a nauseous fluid). On their return the proceeds of the hunting excursions are all deposited together, carefully divided and portioned out to the several families in proportion to the number in each family. If it should so happen that any family consumes their stock before the rest, they go to the nearest wigwam and cut off from their neighbour's stock of meat as much as they require, without a question being exchanged.

*Food.* Their greatest dainty is the flesh of the young horse which is broiled over a wood fire and eaten with a lump of fat. They prepare the fat of the horse and ostrich by boiling and putting it into bladders for future use. The fat of the guanaco it seems is by far the most delicious and is always eaten in a raw state.

*Tus.* There are two roots used by them, one called Tus—the other, Châlis. Tus is a bulbous root and when baked becomes mealy. Sometimes though rarely, it is eaten with their meat.

*Châlis.* Châlis is a long white root about the thickness of a quill. It is baked or boiled and sometimes put into a soup they make.

*Drink.* The only drink they appear to make is from the Barberry. Fortunately they seem to have no idea of fermentation. The process of making is simply by bruising the berries in a little water, the juice thus mixed is drunk without any other preparation.

*Tents.* Their wigwams or tents are covered with green skins of the guanaco, sewed together. They are about twelve feet long by nine broad and somewhat resemble the roof of a house, with one of the gable ends—that facing east—being left open. They are about six feet in height, supported by poles and gradually decrease in height towards the back, where they do not exceed two feet. Two and sometimes three families occupy one tent.

*Sleeping.* At night skins are spread on the ground on which they sleep. One skin is placed along the head rolled up and resembling a long bolster. The skins are rolled up in the morning and each seems to have its appropriate place. Their dogs lie at their feet. The children have a little square place to themselves in one corner, with the exception of young infants in the cradle. The cradle is always near the mother.

*Marriage.* They appear not to marry until 18 to 20 years of age and the ceremony attending it seems little. If a young man should take a fancy to a young girl he immediately solicits the consent of her parents. When this is obtained and also that of the damsel the bargain is completed.

*Polygamy.* Polygamy is not uncommon among them; some men having from two to five wives according to their worldly circumstances.

*Employment of women.* The principal occupation of their women is that of preparing, making and painting the mantles worn by each sex, and nursing their offspring.

*Mantles.* The skins are generally of the guanaco, skunk, fox and

sometimes of the jaguar, the latter being not so frequently caught. The skins are neatly sewn together with thread made from the sinews of the ostrich which is strong and durable. In making their dresses they hold the edges of the two skins together and with a small awl or stiletto make a hole into which they pass the thread.

*Paint.* The paint they use is found on the tops of some of the hills in the interior. It is of an earthy substance, of several colours and when required for use is moistened with water, made into the shape of crayons and then dried in the sun.

*Children.* Little care or attention is paid to them after they can run alone—but during infancy mothers appear to show great affection to their offspring. They use a rude cradle in which the infant is suspended; it is constructed of a flat piece of wood with a few pieces of sticks bent over it. Pieces of the skin of the guanaco are placed inside and there is a covering of the same fur. When travelling or making excursions, this rude little piece of furniture is hung to the mother's saddle—it must be understood that they are all equestrians from a very early age.

*Baptism.* They seem to have no form of baptism although each person is separately and distinctly named. There appears to be no distinction of superiority among them.

*Hair.* The women have their hair parted behind and before. It is bound up with narrow pieces of skin and appears like two pigtails hanging at each side of the face.

*Sickness and Medicine.* They appear to be a healthy race. When any are sick they use only a few simples. The Châlis root which is in great abundance, is dried and pulverised into a powder, mixed with water and taken. Should this medicine fail they then try the effect of two rude instruments in the shape of a printer's devil, made of hide and in which are some stones. This is rattled at the poor patient until he either recovers or dies.

*Death.* Should the patient die he is again rattled at until the interment takes place.

*Burial.* The body is wrapped in its best mantle and placed in a grave or hole about six feet deep where many others appear to have been deposited. The favourite horse is then killed in the following manner. It is held over the grave at the funeral until a certain part is performed, when one of the relatives of the deceased, with the Bola used in hunting, strikes the beast in the forehead; it falls dead immediately and is then stuck in the neck, skinned, stuffed and placed over the grave, with the head towards that of its late master. It is supported by props and stakes.

The remaining portion of the wardrobe such as mantles, spurs, boots, bolas etc. are then buried near and a mound of earth is raised over them and the body of the deceased.

*Funeral feast.* The ceremony is finished by a feast of horse flesh at the tents.

*Manslaughter.* Manslaughter is not infrequent. It is generally caused by quarrelling or through ill-using the horse or dog of another. The aggrieved in a rage draws his knife and in the encounter that follows one is generally killed. He is buried in the manner above described and no animosity seems to be engendered nor is any more mention made of the affair.

*War.* War between the tribes generally occurs in the following manner. If one party finds itself stronger than its neighbour it begins to encroach on its neighbour's territory. Hostile measures are immediately adopted. On these occasions the warriors put on their thickest mantles generally three, the two outside have no hair or fur on them but are finely painted. A cap of horse hide in the shape of a cone covers the head. Sometimes a war cap is used with a tuft of ostrich feathers at the top.

*Arms.* Their weapons are generally swords, long knives fixed firmly in a strong handle about three feet long, and lasso. Thus equipped the attacked sally forth to meet the intruders and when within speaking distance they demand the reason of their encroachment and in hostile and peremptory language order them to quit their territory. The non-compliance of the intruders with this demand is the immediate signal for combat. The parties close and a hand-to-hand fight is the result. The victorious party takes possession of the property of the conquered.

*Time.* They count their time by moons.

*Religion.* The only form of worship observed among them, there



is reason to believe originated from a person they call 'Captain Pelippa' who was probably commander of some small vessel that had visited these shores some time previous to the *Adventure* and *Beagle*. Captain Pelippa was presumably a Roman Catholic<sup>2</sup> as they learnt from him to worship a small rude image of wood, intended to represent the figure of the head and body of a man. This image is rarely produced, except at death or some exceptional occasion. They call it their Christ.

Mogg also made vocabularies of the words used by various tribes visited along coasts of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego. They were collected into three groups.

#### 1. Vocabulary of the Patagonians of Gregory Bay, June 1829

English	Patagonian	English	Patagonian
Arbutus	Amacoro	Man	Indio
Age	Pickle	Meat	Yeprar
Be-off	Oros-chaños	Mouth	Chorillo
Another	Sark	No	Comps
Band (when worn round head)	Cochin	Pot	Ask
To bed or sleep	Cotes	Privates (Male)	Merca
Boots	Choca	Privates (Female)	Oskar
Bridle	Sumo	Put	Cal
The barberry	Calgar	Root	Tus
Boat	Ta lenar carro	Root	Chālas
Cranberry	Pillico	Ostrich	Mashcore
Comb (made of coarse fine grass)	Parchin	Sword or knife	Cachillo
Clothes	Geronar	Ship	Carro
Dog	Warchin	Skunk	Surrina
Drink (made of bruised barberry)	Lecone	Spurs	Ta
Four (number)	Cargar	Slings (with 2 balls)	Somai
Give it to me	Aniots	Slings (with 3 balls)	Achico
Fire	Yeak	Sinews of ostrich (for thread)	Illoyar
Guanaco	Co	Small or little	Ta-lenar
Horse	Calyo	To go to stool	Kehuran-nucasa
Look	Urrooks-i	Tent	Cow
Knife	Paika	Woman	Chenar
Kiss	Como-aniki-os	Water	La
Knife (small)	Pepa	Wood	Cark
Me	Catean	Yes	Ohoi

#### 2. Vocabulary of Patagonians of Peckitt's Harbour

English	Patagonian	English	Patagonian
Balls used in hunting	Somoe	Horse	Waw-mun
Beads	Loria or Lor-ee	Knife	A-tus-kee
		Let me see it	Mec-ra

Band for head	Ko-cheel	Looking glass	Kay-ha
Bows and arrows	Shate shoot	Mantles	Ky or Kii
Boots	Choka	Ostrich	Ames-tras
Bread or biscuit	Gallat	Skunk or pole-cat	Cerello
Cold, it is	La-ma-nin		
Dog	Watchmak	Spurs	Tee or To-a
Drinking cup	Sulk	Smoke	Pa-ha
Fire	Yiek	Tent	Tow-ua
Fox	Putana	Tent pole	Ca-roo
Guanaco meat	Yee-pa	Wine	Sus-see
Grog or spirits	Awee-reen		

#### 3. Vocabulary of the Patagonians of Tierra del Fuego on the Western Coast of South America

English	Patagonian	English	Patagonian
Axe	Katcher	Otter skins	Altaka-woos
Antlers or deer horn	Norkauxa	The large muscle	Kuchaway
Beard	Afcha-yok	Potatoes	Ah-quena
Bread	Estasch	Pearl	Tappanax
Balls, and hunting	Etapparo	Rock or islet	Nuxawork
Boat or vessel	Cheroo or Sha-roo	Rainbow	Kimnah
Child, and dog	Petit, Pee-leet, Potela	Shag (Aquatic bird)	Oxe-ep
Clam (shellfish)	Capachelo	Snipe (bird)	Eit or Yit
Dog	Choro	Sun or moon	Assharrook
Eyes	Stasch	Smoke	Cascot
Fire	Cucha	Saw	Shois-cal
Fish	Sarka	Silence! (on the occasion of a dog barking)	Tab-ba
Fur seal	Araa Cassa	Spear	Askaska
Heart	Terwah	Teeth	Scharacte
Hand	Amox	Toad or Frog	Padar
Hair seal	Ah-looweches	Woman	Abucich
Knife	Cochele	Whale	All-rase
Necklace of shells or beads	Why-a-day	Wood	Kutcheo
		Foot	Ch-haht

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> The Private Journal of William Mogg. The Journal, together with rock specimens and other objects of interest which he had collected on his travels, was presented to the Library of the University of Southampton.

<sup>2</sup> It seems more probable that 'Captain Pelippa' refers to Philip II, King of Spain. Sarmiento founded San Felipe 'the city of King Philip' some months after he had established 'the city of Jesus.' After many distresses and several attempts to return to Spain, Sarmiento's party settled at San Felipe, but the colony was cruelly neglected and soon perished.

## REVIEWS

### GENERAL

**A History of Technology, Vol. I.** Edited by Charles Singer, E. J. Holmyard and A. R. Hall. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1954. Pp. lv, 827. Price £7 7s.

**66** This first volume of five, which are being produced under the patronage of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., relates the history of technology from palæolithic times up to approximately the beginning of the Hellenistic age. The later instalments are to carry on the story as far as the end of the nineteenth century.

According to the preface, this work is designed for continuous reading by those pursuing technology and applied science, to provide them with 'some humane and historical background for their studies.' It does not intend to be encyclopædic, and in particular does not say much about achievements in the Far East, because these had little direct influence on Europe.

It would not be fair, therefore, to criticize the book for being

incomplete—though some of the omissions, like clothing, medicine and music, seem very arbitrary—nor for lacking a consistent policy about bibliographies. But the student of technology will presumably need an introduction to the principles and methods of ethnology, and although the chapters on 'Skill as a Human Possession' and 'Early Forms of Society' are excellent for this purpose, the crucial discussion of 'Discovery, Invention and Diffusion' is not sufficiently thorough. It elaborates a somewhat academic theory of invention by 'mutation,' based on a clumsy biological analogy, but gives no serious account of the problems of independent invention, of degeneration, of parallel and convergent evolution, or of the mechanism of diffusion.

Chapter 8, on the economy of surviving 'foraging, hunting and fishing' peoples, fits awkwardly into the scheme of the work. It seems intended to illuminate the study of prehistoric tools, and



perhaps also to give some understanding of technological development outside Europe and the Near East. Certainly a section of this sort is welcome to counteract the excessive emphasis which the book places on the debt of the rest of the world to neolithic western Asia, and to remind the reader that peripheral peoples did not lack the capacity for invention. But a more historical chapter would have done this better, and the editors might have arranged to tell us why the Bushmen and others have remained so primitive, or who first grew rice, maize and yams, and how much they learned from the Fertile Crescent.

The chapters on domestication, cultivation, metal implements and fine metal work in particular contain many fresh ideas, though it is to be expected that a great part of a work of this sort will consist of republished material. Perhaps some of the familiar theories included here will benefit from the criticism of practical technicians; it would be interesting, for example, to know if a wheelwright agrees that a wooden wheel cannot be made without a saw (p. 207). Certainly a flint-knapper would not be satisfied with the account of blade manufacture. In particular, the important Pressigny technique is not mentioned at all in chapter 6, and a perfunctory reference on page 509 only shows that it has not been understood. Again, there is no certainty that the so-called 'anvil technique' was used in upper paleolithic times (p. 136), for a burin can be made quite easily by direct percussion. That a modern experimenter can manufacture a tool in a certain way is not by itself proof that early man did so make it.

The line drawings are well chosen and finely executed, and it is therefore all the more surprising that the maps are so inadequate. On map 4 Toprakale is well out of position, and Alalakh is on the wrong side of the Orontes.

Without doubt this work will be of value to technical colleges by providing an account of much modern ethnological work for which until now a special library would have been necessary. As a textbook, however, it suffers from having too many editors, advisers and contributors, and before opening it the technical student would still do well to find his bearings by reading Tylor's *Anthropology*.

W. C. BRICE

**Method and Perspective in Anthropology: Papers in Honor of Wilson D. Wallis.** Ed. by Robert F. Spencer. Minneapolis (U. of Minnesota P.). (London Agent: Cumberlege), 1954. Pp. xii, 323. Price £1 16s.

This *festschrift* is dedicated to Professor Wallis on his retirement from the chair of anthropology at the University of Minnesota. It contains 12 essays, all concerned with methods of procedure in anthropology and a concluding review by Professor Kroeber. Haskovits thinks that the time is ripe for checking much early ethnographic work. Sister Hilger tells how she extracted childhood memories from American Indians; and Miss Colson describes the census technique which she devised for investigating a large tribe in Northern Rhodesia. Bowers thinks that sociological theory can be advanced by means of applied work, though Kroeber does not agree. Greenberg propounds a statistical means of classifying languages by form, and hints at how it may be used to demonstrate linguistic evolution. Linton courageously puts forward a list of values which all societies honour, though in different ways, and Spencer suggests how cultural anthropology may use data from the humanities, for instance in assessing national character. Ackerknecht makes a convincing case for a return to the comparative and historical method in anthropology, and Kroeber supports this view with a lucid note explaining the history of anthropology in the nineteenth century and why the early evolutionists went astray. On more specific topics, Wilford describes the progress of archaeology in the eastern U.S.A., and Mandelbaum contributes an intensive study of the dry funeral ritual of the Kotas. There is welcome relief from theory in a modest but important essay in which Holmberg tells what happened to a Bolivian forest tribe when he gave them metal tools. Finally, Stewart argues forcefully that anthropologists have underestimated the power of people of even simple economies to modify their environment in a comparatively short time. By way of example he shows that the American tall-grass prairies and long-leaf pine forests were not types of natural vegetation, but were caused by regular fires started by the Indians.

W. C. BRICE

**Conflict, The Web of Group Affiliations.** By Georg Simmel. Glencoe, Ill. (Free Press), 1955. Pp. 195. Price \$3.50

68 Simmel's *Soziologie* appeared in 1908 and has long since attained the status of a classic. Its author, who belongs to the heroic epoch of German social thought, is widely recognized as one of the founders of sociology, equal in importance to Pareto, perhaps even to Durkheim and Spencer, excelling no doubt Toennies, and overshadowed only by the towering figure of Max Weber. He is considered to be the founder of the formalist 'school' of sociology, whose most distinguished exponents are (or were) Alfred Vierkant, Leopold von Wiese, Czeslaw Znamierowski and Recasens Siches. The essence of this approach is the conceptual analysis—phenomenology, to use Siches's expression—of forms of human interaction. Its adherents aim at formulating propositions which would be almost self-evident. They do not attempt to substantiate them by assembling large arrays of data. The observations to which they make appeal are for the great part open to anyone—they involve little specialized knowledge of facts. Such a method has great limitations. In the first place, many important generalizations have been formulated which can be verified only empirically, and cannot be reduced to anything of quasi-analytical nature. Secondly, only a really outstanding thinker, like Simmel, can discover self-evident propositions which are not trivial; the danger of falling into a quagmire of verbal quibbles is very great. This approach, therefore, could never be usefully adopted by a large number of scholars. Fortunately the assimilation of the results of Simmel's labours does not necessitate adherence to his method.

It would be preposterous to attempt to discuss Simmel's view in a short review. He has a place in all serious accounts of the development of sociological thought. Even if he had written nothing apart from these two chapters of *Soziologie*, the translations of which constitute the book under review, he would have deserved our gratitude. It is a pleasure to follow his disquisitions, deftly woven by his nimble mind and rich in illuminating vistas. But then, of course, Simmel wrote at the time when thinking had not yet been replaced by research methods. His views are by no means unassailable and—though this is a tribute rather than a criticism—these analyses could be (and on some points have been) pushed further. But nobody treating related questions can fail with impunity to take his contribution into account. Thus, some pronouncements, of much later date, on general aspects of the phenomenon of conflict, seem banal and crude in comparison with those of Simmel. May this publication prevent further neglect of his work!

The present volume, which is a credit to the translators, belongs to the series of translations of European classics of sociology published recently in America. This reflects the growing awareness among American sociologists that description unaided by constructive theoretical thinking is sterile.

S. ANDRZEJEWSKI

**The Colour Problem.** By A. H. Richmond. London (Penguin Books), 1955. Pp. 371. Price 3s. 6d.

69 The scope of this book is much narrower than the title suggests. It is no more than a study of the recent relations between whites and Africans or people of African extraction in the Union of South Africa, the British colonies in Africa and the Caribbean, and Great Britain. The author tells us that this limitation is not meant to imply that there is no colour problem outside these regions (p. 12), but it can hardly fail to suggest it. Within the limits which he has set himself he sets out the facts clearly and readably, but there is little which will be new to those who have studied what has appeared on the subject in the Press.

RAGLAN

**Essays on the History of Religions.** By R. Pettazzoni. Leiden (Brill), 1954. Pp. vii, 225. Price 26.50 guilders

70 Professor Pettazzoni is an eminent scholar whose writings cover a very wide range, and we may say with Professor Rose, his translator, that while we do not always agree with his opinions we are moved to admiration for his learning and ingenuity.

In his first essay, on the formation of monotheism, he holds that



monotheism must be later than polytheism because 'the affirmation of monotheism is always expressed by the negation of polytheism' (p. 6). Of creation myths, he says that the Creator is inactive after the work of creation is finished because his activity might disturb the world (p. 32). But there is probably more to it than that; by his very quiescence he preserves the quiescence of the world.

In his paper on Io and Rangi he recognizes that the marriage of the 'primordial pair' Sky and Earth is a widespread phenomenon (p. 38), but when discussing Greek religion he treats it as peculiar to Greece, a result of the fusion of Indo-European with Mediterranean religion (p. 73). In the same essay he maintains the probably

erroneous view that 'social duality is rooted in ethnic duality' (p. 77).

Of savage confession he says that, owing to the mystical power of the spoken word, when a sin is declared it is brought out from the person who committed it (p. 49).

There are papers on various aspects of Egyptian, Roman, Gallic, German, Thracian and Slav religion, and finally a very interesting paper on the conflict between state religion and individual religion, which he takes back to the suppression of the Bacchanalia by the Roman state in 186 B.C. (p. 203).

Professor Rose's translation reads excellently.

RAGLAN

## AMERICA

**Culture and Mental Disorders: A Comparative Study of the Hutterites and Other Populations.** By J. W. Eaton, with R. J. Weil. Glencoe, Ill. (Free Press), 1955. Pp. 254. Price \$4.

The Hutterites are a fundamentalist but not fanatical Christian sect founded in Switzerland in 1528 and domiciled since 1877 in western America and Canada. They number 8,542 and live in 93 colonies. The members of each colony own property communally and engage chiefly in subsistence agriculture. They are pacifists. Their culture shows a high degree of homogeneity, though communally controlled trade and educational contacts with the surrounding population have increased in recent decades. Previous visitors to the colonies reported an almost total absence of mental illness and of crime. The authors, a Wayne University sociologist and a Canadian psychiatrist, with the aid of a research team, tested the validity of these reports, and their book is a thorough epidemiological study of the incidence of mental disorders among Hutterites. Comparative data are drawn from earlier statistical surveys of mental illness in nine other groups, from Arctic Norway, North and West Sweden, Baltimore, Tennessee, Bavaria, Bornholm Island, Thuringia and Formosa.

Briefly, the authors conclude that Hutterites have a 'normal' incidence of mental illness: discounting differences or inadequacies of diagnosis, their sect appears to rank third or fourth in degree of morbidity among the ten selected populations. Communal ownership of property, social and economic security, multiplex social relationships and a consistent ideology in themselves provide therefore no royal road to mental health. But Hutterite culture does appear to channel the types of mental illness which may develop, the range of symptoms, and the mutual attitudes of the mentally healthy and the sick. In the psychoses, there is a marked preponderance of manic depression over the schizophrenias, which the authors tentatively relate to the cohesion of Hutterite society, the pressures to social and religious conformity, and the strong guilt feelings which their religious training inculcates. Similarly, psychoneurotics tend

towards turning against the self, rather than projection or acting out, of aggression, so that there is among them a high proportion of depressive or neurasthenic reactions and psycho-physiological autonomic and visceral disorders, as against a very low proportion of obsessive-compulsive or psychopathic traits. The proportion of mental defectives is comparatively low, despite somewhat intensive inbreeding. Important for therapy is the Hutterite sympathy for the mentally disturbed, who are regarded not as 'crazy' but as 'ill.' Great emotional support issues from relatives and neighbours, who encourage patients to participate in social life and give them tasks appropriate to their needs. Probably as a result of this treatment, symptoms in all forms of mental illness tend to remain mild.

A conclusion of the authors is that whereas the graver forms of mental illness found in any culture are limited in kind and scientifically diagnosable, types of 'mental health' are legion and assessments of the relative 'health' of populations with different cultures must remain value judgments rather than scientific pronouncements. Hutterite culture maximizes emotional security and perhaps reduces the chances of grave mental illness for the normally or slightly subnormally intelligent, but it can stifle and drive into neurosis some of those with exceptionally enquiring minds. Hutterite religious beliefs can help to provoke illness in individuals of certain temperaments, yet they often also provide limited therapy.

The book is, as far as I can judge, psychologically and statistically competent. A fuller account of the Hutterite social system, and more case histories, would have been welcome, and I suspect that the authors, in emphasizing the homogeneity and 'cohesion' of the Hutterite colony, have tended to underweight the emotional pressures of life in a minority group at odds with the society which threatens to engulf it. No mention is made, for example, of possible differences in the problems of Hutterites domiciled in the United States as against those in Canada. Nevertheless, I personally find this book fascinating and think that it does much to further understanding of the selective influence of culture on forms of mental illness and mental health.

KATHLEEN GOUGH

## ASIA

**Asia East by South: A Cultural Geography.** By J. E. Spencer. New York (Wiley). (London Agents: Chapman & Hall), 1954. Pp. 453. Price £3 8s.

This comprehensive volume of 455 double-columned quarto pages, freely illustrated with maps, plans and graphs, is a very ambitious work. As stated in its introductory 'On the Geography of Asia,' its aim is to present for India, China, South-East Asia and its islands 'a reasonable statement of the appearance of the several landscapes of the oriental realm, what goes on in them, how their peoples developed particular patterns of culture, and how these peoples happened to achieve their present positions in the world at large.' To this end the volume is divided into three parts. Part I, called 'Systematic Geography,' deals with geomorphology, climatology, minerals, soils, plants and zoology; with the geography of health and disease; with the peoples and their languages, laws, religions and society; with settlements and their architecture (in the widest sense of the word); with the patterns of historical contact and the processes of modernization. This occupies 170 pages. Part 2 (215 pages), called 'The Regional Growth of Culture,' deals with the history down to 1954 of, in turn, India, Burma, Siam,

Indo-China, Malaya, Indonesia, the Philippines, China, with Tibet, Mongolia and Manchuria, Korea, and Japan. Part 3 (46 pages) contains a statistical abstract, a selected bibliography, and indices of place names and of subjects.

A field as vast as this treated in the compass of a single volume inevitably involves broad generalizations and consequential inaccuracies of detail. These may not be of much significance to geographers, but they will not quite do for naturalists or for anthropologists. Thus Professor Spencer remarks (p. 92) that marsupials are now found nowhere in the world but in Australia and New Guinea; but the opossums of America are in fact marsupials; that the lion in Asia 'is a late arrival from Africa who never penetrates beyond the Narbada': true, he is now confined to the Gir forest, but little more than 100 years ago was shot near Rampur and Moradabad east of the Ganges, and there is much to suggest that his range was at one time a good deal farther east still. And it is surely wrong to write of the elephant as a domestic animal; though caught and tamed for human use, for several thousand years perhaps, the elephant has never been domesticated.

Again, Professor Spencer mentions that the Buddhists of Burma



have a nominal tabu against the killing of animals, but that 'nowhere is the tabu as strong as in India.' Clearly he is without experience of Hindu sacrifices, and has perhaps confused the very strict Hindu prohibition of killing cattle with one of killing animals in general, which is stronger in Buddhist Burma. Writing of race mixture (p. 119) he attributes a direct contribution of Mongoloid stocks to all the areas of South-East Asia except part of North-West India and India south of the Himalayan mountain wall; but Mongoloid stocks have contributed directly and largely to Assam, to parts of Bengal, and probably in some degree to central India as far south as the Orissa hinterland. Caste he describes (p. 129) as 'a one-way road, all down-hill': generally speaking this neat apophthegm holds good for the individual in his present life, but is by no means true of castes as groups. 'The Christian Church,' he writes (p. 159), 'has made numerous assaults upon Asia, but none of the pre-Columbian programs lasted'—hardly fair to the Nestorian church, strongly entrenched in southern India from at least the fourth century, even if the St. Thomas of Mylapore was not in fact the Apostle himself.

But the faults which the specialist may find in the treatment of his own area tend to dwindle to minutiae when the whole field is taken into account. Professor Spencer does not claim infallibility; he has achieved his original purpose handsomely; there is little to criticize and very much to praise. The author is probably at his best on China and the Chinese, but there can be very few if any of his contemporaries to write with such an intimate knowledge of South-East Asia as a whole, or to bring its past and its present into such a convenient and convincing perspective. For his treatment comes right up to date and in his select bibliography of 15 double-columned pages there is hardly a publication dated earlier than 1940. And this implies no neglect of ancient knowledge, since bibliographies themselves are included. It is an enviable and remarkable piece of work.

J. H. HUTTON

**Les Esprits des Feuilles Jaunes.** By H. A. Bernatzik, translated from the German by A. Tournier, with notes and bibliography by George Condominas. Paris (Plon), 1955. Pp. v, 272. Price 900 francs.

In 1936-7 Dr. Bernatzik and his wife made a tour of South-East Asia for the purpose of collecting information about and artifacts from the wilder and less known tribes. Their scientific results have been published in monographs on the tribes which they visited, and this book consists mostly of an account of their travels and adventures. Its title is derived from a wild and shy tribe of nomadic food-gatherers called Phi Tong Luang by their neighbours, and Yumbri by themselves, who live in the forest-clad mountains on both sides of the northern Siam-Laos frontier. They roam in small parties, one of which the author found with great difficulty and

persuaded to accompany him and some Meo villagers on a hunting expedition. M. Condominas tells us in a note (p. 244) that some members of this tribe have been photographed and measured by French scientists, but that the author and his wife are the only Europeans to have spent any time with them. They also visited the sea gypsies of Southern Burma, the Semang of Southern Siam, some tribes of the northern Siam-Burma frontier and the Moi of Viet-Nam. Of the first we are given some myths and folktales; for the rest we have a chatty, pleasantly written account of some little-known regions and their inhabitants. There are some excellent photographs.

RAGLAN

**Contributions to Ethnography, Linguistics and History of Religion.** Rep. Sci. Exped. to the N.W. Provs. of China under the leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin, Publ. 38 (VIII, Ethnography, 6). Stockholm (Statens Ethn. Mus.), 1954. Pp. 128

The Hedin Expedition Series has added another volume to its stately row of publications communicating the results of Dr. Sven Hedin's last great expedition. This time we are faced with a collection of shorter studies in the field of humanities.

W. A. Unkrig edits a short medical text in Tibetan and Mongolian, dealing with hydrophobia with a valuable list of drugs. G. Bexell is the author of an article on the mixed population of the Nan-Shan mountains, in which he accounts for the distribution of Tibetans, Uighurs and Mongols. This is the more important since the minorities are rapidly being absorbed by the Chinese. Of one of the native groups, the Dungenocks, a Tibetan tribe, there is an ethnological description with numerous photographs. The late Folke Bergman left behind him at his death in 1946 a manuscript of a paper on some finds of currency notes from the Yuan and Ming times in Swedish collections compared with material in other countries. Toni Schmid edits a bilingual passport, Tibetan and Mongolian, from 1714 with elaborate verbal commentary and facsimile. An extremely valuable work of reference is Pentti Aalto's catalogue of Mongolian xylographs and manuscripts in the Ethnographical Museum at Stockholm, all, with the exception of six, acquired in the course of the Hedin expedition. Attention should also be drawn to his introduction, setting forth the principles of Mongolian dating. The descriptions of the books include title, colophon and date. There is an index of titles at the end. A beautiful *thangka* is studied in detail by Ferdinand D. Lessing, who accounts for all the details of the representation of 'The Eighteen Worthies Crossing the Sea' and for the history and the ritual role of the representation. Details are reproduced photographically.

Further publications of the rich treasures of the Hedin collections will be enthusiastically welcomed by ethnologists, linguists and historians.

KAARE GRÖNBECH

## CORRESPONDENCE

**Eeltraps.** Cf. MAN, 1934, 178; 1936, 179. With a text figure

**75** Sir,—Peate (MAN, 1934, 178) describes the eeltraps of the River Severn and shows the upstream end of the trap closed with a plug of grass, and Tebbutt and Sayce (MAN, 1936, 179) describe the eeltraps of the Fens of Huntingdonshire. Here the same end is closed with a wooden plug. Very similar eeltraps to the Fenland 'hive' were till very lately used on the Wiltshire Avon and its tributaries, but here the upper end was plugged with chalk, cut to fit; it also acted as a weight to hold the end down. These chalk plugs still survive in some numbers on the river bed, but the traps have long since decayed. Few people now even know what they are. Fig. 1. illustrates a good and very realistic example; it is 9½ inches long and the expanded end has a groove across the top in which lay a cord holding it in place. If these were found with neolithic pottery and other objects of the same date, they would no doubt be taken as evidence of Phallic worship. This specimen was



FIG. 1

thrown on the bank by a dredger and became frosted, which caused the chalk to flake, but this has been repaired with plaster.

R. S. NEWALL









(a) The Ngombe sculptor, Bosokuma, at work carving the figurine illustrated in fig. 1(b)



(b) Bosokuma, as 'wizard of the hunt,' dancing with a figurine before the hunting shrine



(c) Bosokuma's shrine, of rocks, poles, trees, plants and spider webs, with two figurines at the base



(d) Additional figurines, showing the range of style. The largest, Midwa, was supposedly given to Bosokuma by his father's spirit.

# ART AND THE SUPERNATURAL IN THE UBANGI DISTRICT

Photographs: A. W. Wolfe



# ART AND THE SUPERNATURAL IN THE UBANGI DISTRICT\*

by

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**76** Although the Belgian Congo is famed for its artists in wood, the great majority of examples come from the southern part of the territory while the north-west corner of Congo, the Ubangi District, is represented in publication by no more than a few examples.<sup>1</sup>

The two figurines depicted on fig. 1 are unique among works of art from the Ubangi, not only in that their provenance is documented, but even more in that the artist is known and the function of the figurines in the life of the group has been studied. These latter points, the artist and the effects of his work, rather than the æsthetic style of the product, are the special concern of this paper.<sup>2</sup> The artist is a Ngombe man, Bosokuma, from the Ngombe village of Bosolimbongo in the Territory of Bosobolo, Congo-Ubangi District of the Belgian Congo. The works, however, must not be considered as typical of the Ngombe art tradition: first, because Bosokuma is the only Ngombe

important part of a man's life. The men spend as much time in the gardens as do the women, a situation which would be unthinkable for the Gonji Ngombe of the Congo forests. When Bosokuma was quite young, before he had married, both his father and mother died, leaving him 'a child of sorrow' without so much as a sister whose bridewealth he might use to obtain for himself a wife. Shortly after the father's death, his spirit came to Bosokuma in a dream and gave him a wooden figurine with the help of which he was to kill an animal the very next day. Heeding his respected parent's advice, Bosokuma went hunting and returned successful with a wild boar. The next day he repeated the attempt, and killed another wild boar.

The next visitation included not only his father's spirit, but that of his mother, and of his grandfathers in both lineages. Though the Ngombe are patrilineal, they recognize very close ties with the lineage of their mothers as well. These ancestors asked him, with frankness, 'What sort of work do you want?' He could well have been expecting such a question, for this is one of the ways in which a Moswea Ngombe man becomes a *molombe* or *nganga*, an expert, with both natural and supernatural powers in any particular field. The term 'wizard' perhaps best expresses the abilities of such an individual—'wizard' in the sense of a wise man, one endowed with exceptional skill or ability to achieve the impossible, a magician and a conjurer, but not in the sense of a witch or a sorcerer practising black magic. One finds among the Moswea Ngombe such titles as: *molombe o liboma*, wizard of the forge, or ironsmith; *molombe o sika*, wizard of the forest, or great hunter; *molombe o bila*, wizard of war or great warrior; *molombe o bana*, wizard of children or good midwife; *molombe o lilako*, wizard of oracles, or seer. This list could be extended to great lengths to illustrate that a *molombe* or *nganga* is someone who has much natural and supernatural knowledge for the accomplishment of any of the various ends deemed important to Ngombe society.

Thus, Bosokuma's ancestors informed him that they would assure his success in whatever field he chose by granting him the wisdom and power necessary. Bosokuma's answer was that he wanted only to kill animals. He did not want to steal; he did not want to sleep with other men's wives; he only wanted to be a great hunter. Upon hearing his answer, the ancestral spirits took him away, into the forest, where he remained for several months, learning the various medicines and skills which now warrant his title *molombe o sika*, or wizard of the hunt. He has never divulged the precise location of his private schooling, nor told much more about it than that at one point the first wooden figurine which his father's spirit had given him came to him in a dream, saying that its name was *Midwa*. (The largest figurine in Plate Ed.) This is the only figurine that was given to



FIG. 1. TWO FIGURINES CARVED BY BOSOKUMA  
(a) 10 inches high, (b) 12 inches high.

wood-carver known, and all the figurines seen in Ngombe villages of this area were carved by him; secondly, because Bosokuma's people are a small enclave of Ngombe (Bantu-speakers) completely surrounded by Mbanza, Ngbaka, Ngbandi, and Togbo peoples who have been classed as Sudanic-speaking. The much larger Ngombe groups in the south, near the Congo River, appear to have no tradition of figurine-carving whatsoever. The story of Bosokuma's becoming an artist, in what is probably Mbanza or Ngbandi style, is an interesting study in acculturation.

Bosokuma belongs to the group of Ngombe called Moswea, who live generally east of Bosobolo, around Bososama, and at Dula on the Ubangi River. Unlike the major Ngombe groups of the south, they are more interested in agriculture, so that hunting is no longer the most

\* With Plate E and a text figure







goes out into the bush. Those who remain in the village know of his successes, for when he kills a large male animal the male figurine falls from its standing position; when he kills a female animal, the corresponding figurine topples. Though little could be learned of the mechanisms which act within or upon the figurines to cause them to fall, the fact that there are no spirits in the figurines was agreed by all.

An interesting aspect of this situation is that despite the recognition of Bosokuma as the greatest Ngombe wizard of the hunt because of his powerful figurines, little pressure is put upon him by others who want to share his knowledge. Only one other wizard has learned medicines from Bosokuma, and even in this case he learned only the use, not the production, of figurines. One of the reasons why the complex does not spread more widely in this area is that hunting is simply not so vital to the Moswea Ngombe as it is to their cousins near the Congo River. Just as Bosokuma himself undoubtedly learned the wood-carving technique, as well as certain medicines and songs, from Ngbandi or Mbanza peoples, so have all the Moswea Ngombe, through contact with these Sudanic agriculturalists, taken over the tradition of agriculture as the basic, and hunting as the supplementary, aspect of their economy. Further, among the Moswea Ngombe such an aid in hunting remains the private property of an individual, whereas among the Gonji Ngombe of the Congo forests a supernatural aid of this type would most certainly be directed not toward individual goals, but toward the good of the whole village, as in the case of the *demba* power discussed in an earlier article.<sup>4</sup>

These few pages by no means conclude the story of Bosokuma and his art, but rather they should be seen as an introduction to a problem of cultural dynamics with ramifications far beyond this one artist and these few figurines. Here is a local man, not deviant in other respects, who introduced figurine-carving into his own group, to whom

the tradition was foreign. He uses his carvings as part of a hunting-magic complex, and it is in this respect that the figurines are valued. In the near future, when the originator retires, will others carry on the wood-carving, or will it be remembered only as the peculiar skill of the 'wizard' Bosokuma? If it is continued, by whom will it be done, and in what style? Such variation as is present in Bosokuma's works makes stylistic definition difficult. In order fully to explain the acceptance or rejection of this pattern, many factors outside the field of art would have to be considered, such as the future success or failure of the figurines to be convincing aids in hunting, or the possible decline of hunting as an occupation of high prestige, or the Ngombe attitude that a son must not show himself eager to usurp the skilled tasks of his father. Such a study, though it begins with a few figurines, extends into every aspect of culture, and should shed light on the general problem of distribution of sculpture in Africa.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Olbrechts, in *Plastiek van Kongo*, Antwerp, 1946, p. 90, says that the data on the Ubangi District are so scanty that the time has not come to give a thorough summary of them. Tanghe illustrates one clay figurine used by the Ngbandi in mourning but he does not discuss art in his *De Ngbandi naar het Leven Geschiedt*, 1929. Others, such as Segy (*African Sculpture Speaks*, New York, 1952), Kjersmeier (*African Negro Sculptures*, Copenhagen, London and New York, 1947) and Kochnitzky (*Negro Art in Belgian Congo*, New York, 1952), illustrate figurines from the indefinable 'Bangala' people who could be any of the numerous peoples who live along the Mongala River; cf. H. Burssens, 'The So-Called "Bangala" and a Few Problems of Art-Historical and Ethnographic Order,' *Kongo-Overzee*, Vol. XX (1954), Part 3, pp. 221, 229.

<sup>2</sup> The research upon which this article is based was carried on in 1952 and 1953 in the Ubangi District of the Belgian Congo, under the auspices of the Program of African Studies of Northwestern University and the Social Science Research Council.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. Vergiat, *Les Rites secrets des Primitifs de l'Oubang*, Paris, 1951.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Wolfe, 'The Institution of *Demba* among the Ngonje Ngombe,' *Zaire*, Vol. VIII, No. 8 (1954).

## CRANIAL AND CEREBRAL ASYMMETRY AND HANDEDNESS\*

by

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**77** Cranial and cerebral asymmetry are well recognized phenomena. The idea that a correlation exists between them and handedness, the left cerebral hemisphere being larger than the right in right-handed subjects, the converse being true in left-handed people, led Keith (1915) to deduce that the now discredited Piltdown man was right-handed. From the fact that the left side of the occipital bone was larger than the right, he concluded that there was a prominence of the left occipital pole and that therefore the individual was right-handed.

\* With six text figures

In order to investigate the possible correlation between cranial and cerebral asymmetry and handedness, studies were made on unselected autopsies carried out in the Department of Morbid Anatomy at St. Mary's Hospital.

*Cranial and cerebral asymmetry.* It is the practice in this department to remove the brain at autopsy by sawing through the skull in its greatest horizontal diameter and cutting the brain in the same plane, thus removing the upper part of the cerebral hemispheres still within the skull vault. The resultant plan of the cerebral hemispheres and ventricles afforded an opportunity for studying cranial and



cerebral asymmetry, and measurements were made around the outside of the skull from the line of the attachment of the falx cerebri in front to a similar point behind; *i.e.* AB and A'B' (fig. 1).

Because of the necessity of not mutilating the soft tissues of the face and the limited time during which the subject was available for examination, the usual methods of determining a standard plane of section could not be used.

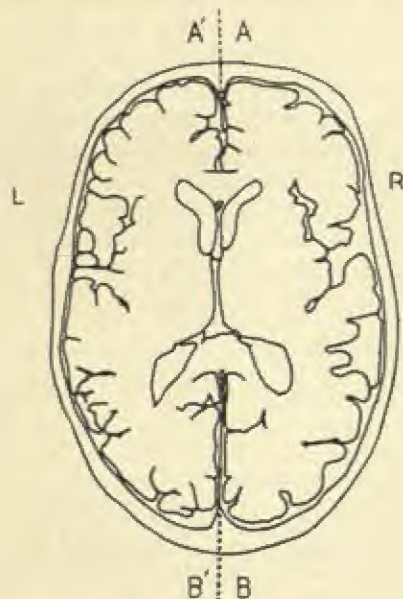


FIG. 1. PLAN OF CEREBRAL HEMISPHERES AND VENTRICLES SHOWING POINTS FROM WHICH MEASUREMENTS WERE MADE

It was decided therefore to cut the skull in what appeared to be the greatest horizontal diameter and to use only those cases which showed a similar ventricular pattern, those in which the cut had obviously been made too high or too low being discarded.

Despite the obvious imperfections of the method and the fact that, because of the variable thickness of the skull, cranial asymmetry would not necessarily reflect small

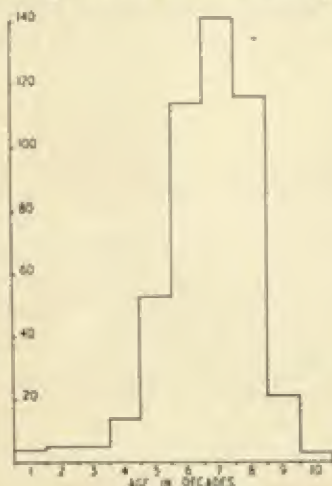


FIG. 2. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE 500 CASES EXAMINED

degrees of cerebral asymmetry, it was considered that some indication would be obtained of the probable incidence and degree of cranial asymmetry.

A total of 500 cases were examined. Their ages ranged from 1½ to 95 years, 78 per cent. being in the sixth, seventh and eighth decades (fig. 2). Measurements were recorded in gradations of 2.0 millimetres and the results are illustrated in fig. 3, which shows that not only is the left side

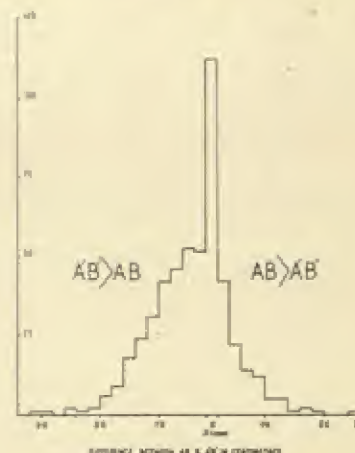


FIG. 3. DISTRIBUTION AND DEGREE OF CRANIAL ASYMMETRY IN THE CASES EXAMINED

of the skull greater than the right in the ratio of approximately 3:1 but that the difference in the two sides tends to be greater when the left side is bigger than the right. Pantographic tracings of 60 skulls and brains were made as a permanent record.

The superior sagittal and transverse sinuses were inspected in 453 cases. A relationship was noticed between the greater prominence of the left occipital pole and the deviation to the right of the superior sagittal sinus, the latter tending to drain into the right transverse sinus which was usually bigger than the left. This asymmetry of the

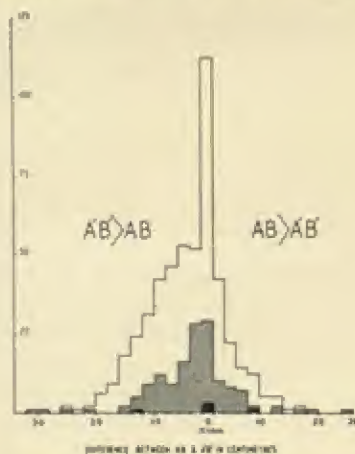


FIG. 4. DISTRIBUTION OF CRANIAL ASYMMETRY AND RIGHT- AND LEFT-HANDED WRITERS

Right-handed writers: hatched  
Left-handed writers: black



occipital poles and the venous sinuses at the torcular was one of the varieties of asymmetry reported by Clark (1934).

**Handedness.** Information of handedness as indicated by writing was obtained in 169 cases and of these only 5 or 2.9 per cent. wrote with the left hand. The distribution of right- and left-handed writers amongst the 500 subjects examined is shown in fig. 4.

#### Discussion

The more extreme cases of right-sided cranial prominence, who might have been expected to write with the left hand, in fact used the right hand (fig. 4). Although one of the left-handed writers showed a left-sided cranial prominence, and one a right-sided prominence, the number of left-handed writers was too small to be significant.

As the incidence of left-handed writers in this group (2.9 per cent.) was considerably less than the generally

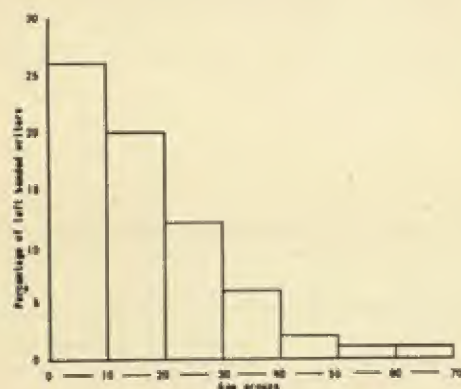


FIG. 5. INCREASE IN LEFT-HANDED WRITERS AMONGST YOUNGER AGE GROUPS

After Noordhof, 1953

accepted incidence of 6 per cent. in males and 4 per cent. in females, a survey was carried out amongst medical students at St. Mary's Hospital. This showed that 10.4 per cent. of students of both sexes wrote with the left hand, but this figure included 3.3 per cent. who had written with the left hand when young and had later been trained to use the right hand. Regarding these as right-handed writers, the incidence of left-handed writers in this group was 7.1 per cent. which approximates to the generally accepted incidence.

The increase of left-handed writers in the younger age groups was demonstrated by Noordhof (1953), following a radio enquiry, the results of which, although subject to certain biases, are shown in fig. 5. There can be little doubt that the relaxation of the custom of forcing left-handed writers to use the right hand is at least partially responsible for this increase.

That writing is an unreliable indication of handedness is demonstrated in fig. 6. This shows the incidence of certain left-handed activities amongst a group of subjects (Noordhof, 1953). Blau (1946) demonstrated that handedness was only one aspect of sidedness or preferred

laterality. The results of his enquiries amongst 532 adolescents of both sexes are shown below:

	Per cent.		Per cent.
Right-handed	84.2	Left-handed	53.2
Right-footed	72.4	Left-footed	25.3
Right-eyed	68.4	Left-eyed	31.8
Hop on right leg	46.8	Hop on left leg	53.2

The fact that the difference between those who hop on the right leg and the left leg is less than that of any other activity suggests that the more specialized the activity the greater the preference for one or other side.

The causes of preferred laterality are obscure. Chamberlain (1928) reported a 17.3 per cent. incidence of left-handedness amongst children one or both of whose parents were left-handed, whereas only 2.1 per cent. of children, neither of whose parents were left-handed, showed this trait. He deduced that left-handedness was

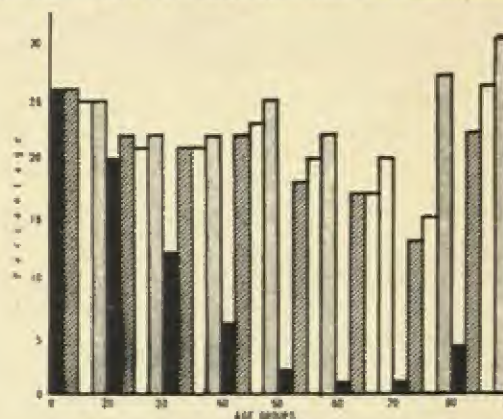


FIG. 6. INCIDENCE OF LEFT-HANDED ACTIVITIES  
Writing: black. Brushing teeth: hatched. Throwing: white.  
Carrying: stippled. After Noordhof, 1953

hereditary and apparently ignored the questions of environment, mimicry and compulsion to use the right hand.

There is no definite evidence that handedness is hereditary and Bethe (1925) doubts that right-handedness is a primary trait, considering rather that it is acquired through exogenous influences.

Turning from handedness to cerebral asymmetry, the left cerebral hemisphere tends to be longer than the right (Connolly, 1950). Boyd (1861) found that the left cerebral hemisphere usually weighed more than the right. However, Orton (1925) claimed that there was no significant or constant difference in the weight or structure of the two cerebral hemispheres. He reported that the weight difference was rarely more than between 20 and 30 grams, and that in many right-handed subjects the right cerebral hemisphere weighed more than the left.

The separate weights of the cerebral hemispheres were recorded in 50 autopsies which did not show obvious cerebral disease. The brains were examined in the fresh state, the brain stem being removed by cutting through the cerebral peduncles as close to the undersurface of the cerebral hemispheres as possible. After careful separation



of the frontal and occipital poles, the cerebrum was bisected in the midline. No major constant difference was found in the weights of the two hemispheres. There was an average difference in weight of 5 grams in favour of the right hemisphere, which was probably due to errors in the method of cutting. Similar results have been reported by Quain (1893).

If there is no significant difference in weight between the cerebral hemispheres, cerebral asymmetry is merely due to the altered shape of two equal masses.

### Conclusion

Until the exogenous factors involved in the production of preferred laterality and handedness are better understood, it is impossible to determine the true incidence of right- and left-sided preference.

Although there is a functional asymmetry of the brain, in that the main speech centres tend to be situated in the left cerebral hemisphere, it is extremely doubtful whether there is any significant difference in the mass of the cerebral hemispheres.

The conclusion must, therefore, be reached that cranial and cerebral asymmetry are not associated with handedness

and that many of the cases of asymmetry are determined by the development of the venous sinuses at the torcular.

### Acknowledgments

I am indebted to Professor D. M. Pryce for his advice; to Mr. G. Noordhof of the British Broadcasting Corporation for allowing me to use the results of his enquiries; to Dr. C. Banks of the Department of Child Psychology, University College, for much assistance and helpful criticism; and to the Photographic Department of St. Mary's Hospital for technical assistance.

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## OBITUARY

### Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, S. J.: 1881-1955

**78** The sudden death in New York on Easter Sunday of Father Teilhard de Chardin has deprived the scientific world of a very distinguished geologist and palaeontologist, and has brought a deep sense of bereavement to his friends, and to the many people in various walks in life who have been influenced by his ideas. In him, the scientist was doubled by a Christian thinker of great originality and vision—two sides of his character which were facets of a singularly well knit and integrated spirit, whose philosophy of the Universe developed continuously right up to the time of his death.

Pierre Teilhard de Chardin was born in 1881, of an old family of the Auvergne, that tough mountain province from which came also Marcellin Boule, one of his masters in palaeontology. He entered the Society of Jesus as a novice at the age of 18, and in spite of certain difficulties with his superiors he remained a loyal, if not always a wholly docile son of the Order throughout his life. His taste for science developed early, partly under the influence of his father, who was a keen naturalist, and although from the first his predominant interest was in geology and palaeontology, as a young master in the Jesuit College in Cairo, from 1906 to 1908, he studied and taught physics, 'du moins mal que j'ai pu,' as he himself said. During the years at the Jesuit house in Hastings which followed his return from Egypt, he came to know Smith Woodward and Charles Dawson. The interest in early man which was fostered by this association may perhaps be put down to the credit side of the unhappy 'Operation Piltdown,' of which he was one of the victims. The First World War, in which he served with great gallantry, interrupted his scientific career, but on demobilization he started research work in Boule's laboratory at the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris, and lectured in geology at the Institut Catholique. In 1923 began his long association with China, to which he was sent on an official mission by Boule, for the special purpose of seeking remains of early man. With Father Licent he carried out an exploration of the Ordos Desert which resulted in the discovery of a number of palaeolithic sites, the first

to be identified in this region. During the next 16 years he continued to work in China as adviser to the National Geological Survey, taking an active part, first with Davidson Black and afterwards with Weidenreich, in the discovery and study of Peking Man and his geological background. At the same time, he ranged further afield, as a member of the Roy Chapman Andrews Central Asia Expedition and of the Citroen Trans-Asiatic Expedition, and in collaboration with H. de Terra in the surveys which resulted in the discovery of palaeolithic cultures *in situ* in the Indus Basin and in the terraces of the Irrawaddy respectively. Through these experiences he became an undisputed authority on the quaternary geology and palaeontology of South-East Asia. The outbreak of the Second World War found him in Peking, where he remained, cut off from Europe, until 1945. A short period in Paris was followed by his transference to the U.S.A., an absence grievous to his countless friends in the Old World, but scientifically fruitful through his attachment as Research Associate to the Wenner-Gren Foundation, and the voyages to South Africa which resulted from it. In spite of a grave cardiac illness in 1947, he led an active life until the end, and died quite suddenly at the house of friends with whom he was spending the afternoon of Easter Day.

Father Teilhard was a Member of the Académie des Sciences, a Director of Research of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, an Honorary Member of the New York Academy of Sciences and an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute (since 1937), but his earliest distinctions were won in another field—the Médaille Militaire and Legion of Honour, awarded for gallantry in action in the First World War.

It is not easy to convey the deep impression which Pierre Teilhard made on those who came into contact with him; the tall, distinguished figure—'cette silhouette de colonel anglais,' as one of his friends said the other day—and the keenly intelligent face with vivid eyes lit by an inner flame of enthusiasm will not soon be forgotten by those who had the privilege of knowing him.

D. A. E. GARROD



# ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

## PROCEEDINGS

**The Movement of Castes.** By David Pocock, *Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oxford. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 28 April, 1955*

79

The following is an account of the movement of one caste from low to higher status. Secondly it emphasizes the importance of secular ideals of prestige in addition to the more commonly recognized Brahmanic ideals of prestige which demand the rejection of widow-remarriage and meat-eating and which insist upon more scrupulous observance of caste purity and endogamy, early marriage, etc. Finally some attempt is made to reconcile the fact of movement with the Hindu theory that the caste hierarchy is fixed, and that movement does not take place.

If the traditional fourfold division of Hindu society into *varna* is taken as providing the theory of contemporary society, we can speak of a Brahmanic model in terms of which non-Brahman castes gauge their status, so that a hierarchy of purity emerges with Brahmans at the top and Untouchables at the bottom. But local Brahman castes vary in the model of behaviour which they offer. Therefore we have to speak of local hierarchies of purity which are frequently very different in their standards. Thus if the local Brahmans are meat-eaters, vegetarianism is not likely to be a mark of high status in that local society.

Just as the Kshatriya or King stands with the Brahman as superior to the Vaishya and Sudra *varna*, so we may also speak of a Kingly model in Hindu society which is complementary to, though dependent in certain respects upon, the Brahmanic. At any given time or place the Kingly model is represented by the dominant political power in any area, and is mediated by the local dominant non-Brahman caste or castes of that area. Thus in secular matters the Moguls and the British at various times have provided a standard by which secular prestige is gauged.

However, in the caste hierarchy a caste does not so much imitate the models directly, as that version of them provided by the caste next above it in that hierarchy.

In the light of these general observations I examine the Patidar caste of Gujarat in North-West India. Gujarat is part of a larger area called Greater Gujarat, which comprises Kathiawar and Cutch. The whole area has centuries-long trade connexions with the Persian Gulf and the coast of East Africa.

The Patidar caste is an inland caste, and is traditionally an agricultural one. In the earliest accounts of Gujarat trade we have no mention of them, and hear only of the Brahmans and Banias as the wealthy trading castes of the area. The first mention of them occurs in the census reports of the last century, where they are described as Kanbis, which is a general term for cultivator or peasant. Although at that time they claimed a warrior origin for themselves, they were described as Sudras by other and higher castes. A few Kanbi families had the title of *patidar*, which refers to a particular form of land tax instituted by the Mogul government. The way in which certain Kanbi families received the title of *patidar* towards the end of the seventeenth century is described in a Gujarati publication *Patidarona Udharak—Vir Vasandas* (The Saviour of the Patidars—the Hero Vasandas). At the time with which the story deals, the tax on the Kanbis was farmed out to the Nagar Brahmans. Vasandas, having performed some service for the Mogul viceroy, received the liberty of his people and the right to pay their tax direct to the government in the future.

This first step on the way up occurred at the end of a period of peace and prosperity in Gujarat. Aurangzeb died in 1707, and

shortly before that time the Marathas invaded Gujarat. By the middle of the eighteenth century Mogul power had considerably declined and the Maratha princes were already fighting amongst themselves. The turmoil of the country combined with the silting-up of the port of Cambay led to a decline in trade, and weakened the position of the Bania trading castes.

The British took power in Gujarat at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is obvious that for them the Kanbi was a favoured caste. Contemporary accounts compare them favourably with the warring and vagabond Rajput and Koli castes and describe them as 'the best farmers in the district, sober, quiet, industrious and—except on such occasions as marriage—thrifty.' Schemes of land-drainage and improved agriculture benefited the Kanbi, and under the British and the singularly enlightened rule of the Gaikwar of Baroda they became extremely wealthy.

The one major misfortune of the last 150 years turned ultimately to their advantage, and that was the period of famine and plague from 1899 to 1902 which drove many Kanbi to seek their living in East Africa, where they turned to trade and became prosperous.

In 1931 the Kanbi formally insisted on changing the name of the caste to Patidar. This was not a sudden change, but merely the recognition of a process. The title *patidar* had become hereditary and prestigious. It no longer referred to a particular form of taxation but was assumed by all members of the caste.

Today the Patidar rank equally with the Bania caste under the Brahmans in terms of caste purity. A few Banias still insist that they cannot take food from Patidars, but in the main the two castes may, when the occasion arises, interchange food. But the Patidar caste is large and there is a wide economic range within it. At the lowest economic levels of the caste are to be found small villages where Patidar who have arrogated to themselves the prestige and status of the richer caste fellows are still in the process of justifying their claims. In the lowest Patidar villages behaviour may be observed which was common to the whole caste a hundred years ago, while in the intermediate villages it has only recently been repudiated. Thus widow-remarriage may be found at the lowest levels; there is evidence of it in the last generation at the intermediate level, while at the highest level it has been repudiated long since. But at whatever level one enquires, all Patidar deny that widow-remarriage is practised or has ever been practised.

The fact that the Patidar became capable of rapidly changing their status under British rule has affected the importance which they attach to Brahmanic features. Western standards conflict with Brahmanic standards at several points such as widow-remarriage, divorce, early marriage. Thus the fact that the Patidar do not wear the 'sacred thread,' the formal mark of the twice-born, in no way embarrasses them. They are able to appeal to the secular standards of modernity.

I believe it is possible to argue from the evidence that we have on the Patidar that they are not unique in their history of movement. I compare them with another caste from a different part of Gujarat, the Bhattia of Cutch, whom I have observed only in East Africa. The Bhattia are an endogamous sub-caste of a much larger caste. In East Africa they are described by other Hindus as 'very orthodox' people while at other times, at moments of irritation, they are said to be fishermen. They themselves claim to be descended from the Rajput tribe Bhatti, which in turn claims descent from the Lord Krishna.



The evidence that we have of their former status is as follows. First they admit caste relationship with the Bhattia of Sind, but will have nothing to do with them because they say that they are meat-eaters. While they admit the relationship, they do not find this accusation of meat-eating incompatible with their own claim that they have never eaten meat themselves. Secondly, some of their leading families claim that the houses of their ancestors are still standing in the fish market of the town in Cutch from which they originate. They admit that their ancestors dealt in fish, but account for this by saying that those families had temporarily fallen on evil days. A rise in status is never admitted but simply considered as a return to a former status. Thirdly, we have the evidence of Sir Richard Burton (*Zanzibar—City, Island and Coast*, London, 1872), who records that the Bhattia in Zanzibar early in the last century killed cows and sold their hides. Shortly before Burton's visit they paid a fine for this sin and gave up the practice. This might appear to be a falling-off followed by a repentance, an amend and a reform. But it may also be seen as the formal purchase of status. The admission that it was for them a sin to traffic in hides was at the same time an admission of their higher status.

Examination of Bhattia customs today shows them to be highly Brahmanized. But details relating to caste purity and general purity and impurity observances are elicited with the greatest difficulty, since they are no longer proud of these Brahmanic features. From the highly Westernized point of view of East African society, the Patidar tend to criticize the Bhattia who, by Brahmanic standards, are their superiors. We might say that the Kingly model is dominant in East Africa, but there is no resolu-

tion of the conflict in a new hierarchy. The Kingly model is not sufficient of itself to determine superior status, and the lack in East Africa of a local, strong, Brahman model common to all castes prevents any final assumption of superiority by one party or the other.

A disturbing feature of the caste hierarchy in any one area is, to the outsider, the fixity of the status of the Brahmans and the Untouchables when they are considered as local castes (not, that is, simply as the poles of the system). From the argument advanced in this paper I think that we can effect a reconciliation by examining what emerge as two theories which the people themselves present. One theory is dominant or explicit, while the other is implicit and underlies the other.

We have seen that while non-Brahman castes rise in status, no caste will ever admit having done so. The theory demands that things have always been as they are now and is the dominant theory. But there is another theory which recognizes the mutability of things, and is expressed in conversation, proverbs and legends. So we hear it said that a particular Brahman caste was once Kshatrya or even lower. Similarly it will be said that the Untouchables of this or that village were once Kshatryas who were punished by God for some act of cowardice. Such statements will be believed at the time they are made, but do not impair the existential status, high or low, of the Brahmans or Untouchables under discussion. It is simply that the experience of mutability is extended to embrace the whole system as it is locally represented while, on another level, the fixity of the system is extended to the particular position of any one local caste at any one time.

## SHORTER NOTES

**80** *'Witchcraft Beyond Reasonable Doubt.'* By Professor I. Schapera. Summary of the Annual In Thurn Memorial Lecture delivered before the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society, Edinburgh, 25 March, 1955

Among the Tswana of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, cases of sorcery (*holoi*) have habitually been tried in the chiefs' courts (even though this has been technically illegal since 1927); and when Government legislation in 1934 made the keeping of written records obligatory for such courts, sorcery trials were often also among those recorded. An analysis of the records for seven tribes, mostly covering the period 1938-1940, showed that altogether there had been some 110 cases in which persons were accused of sorcery. In about 40 per cent. of the cases the verdict was 'not guilty.'

The judgments show that chiefs have usually been much more cautious than their people about the kinds of evidence on which they will convict; and in several instances the accused, when found not guilty, has been awarded damages for the 'spoiling of his name.' Accusations based solely on the findings of diviners are never upheld. Judges have sometimes also minimized allegations that the accused had, for example, concealed 'doctored' substances in the prospective victim's home, sprinkled 'doctored' blood in his compound, treated dust taken from his footprint, etc.; such techniques, they emphasize, are nonsense ('fairy tales') and cannot really produce harmful effects. They themselves attach major importance to evidence about the use or possession of 'medicines,' since the administration of poison in food or beer (termed *go jesa*, 'to cause to eat') is a recognized and by far the most commonly feared method of bewitching. Professional magicians present at the trial are usually asked to identify any 'medicines' found with the accused, and if they say that the 'medicines' are poisonous he will be convicted. The court is also influenced by evidence that he has uttered threats against the victim, even if he has not yet resorted to acquiring medicines.

The sentence passed upon a convicted sorcerer varies. If the victim is already dead, and there is no direct evidence of poisoning that could be submitted to the Government authorities, his relatives may be authorized to employ vengeance magic by 'doctoring' his grave so that the sorcerer will die; few chiefs believe in the efficacy of this technique, but they maintain that it serves the useful purpose of providing emotional satisfaction for the relatives. If the victim is still alive, the accused may be fined or thrashed and ordered to 'undo' him, i.e. to see that he recovers or suffers no further harm. But the most common punishment is to remove the sorcerer from his home; since he and his victim are usually closely related and living together, it is held that the best way of dealing with him is to send him where he can no longer be a menace. This shows, incidentally, that the Tswana do not seriously believe that people can bewitch others from a distance.

**Stone and Clay Missiles in Buganda.** By E. C. Laming, Mubende, Uganda. With three text figures

**81** Various suggestions have been made as to the many uses that stone balls, whether naturally shaped or prepared by human action, have been put to since the earliest times.<sup>1</sup> Although the use of naturally rounded stones as missiles thrown by hand seems obvious, it may be of interest to record two examples of the use of such stones for that purpose during the proto-historic period, in what is now Buganda Province, Uganda Protectorate.

In 1952 and 1953, during investigations in Mubende District at the ancient earthworks of Munsa,<sup>2</sup> I found numerous stone balls embedded in the topsoil close to an inner line of trenches. Other such stones have been found in the neighbourhood at Kasaka Hill, Bukumi, five miles distant from Munsa. All the above stones are of granite.

Later, in 1953 and subsequently in 1955, during the exploration



of some rock shelters known as Butozo II, approximately 2½ miles south of the Munsa earthworks, I have come across numerous balls of amphibolite of varying sizes. The majority of these lay near the low opening of one of the shelters. Their serried position suggested that they might have been originally placed there in order to fulfil some definite purpose. The fact that such rounded stones usually occurred in numbers at some occupation site suited to defence seemed worthy of attention (fig. 1).

Enquiries amongst local inhabitants (of Nyoro stock) revealed that the use of stones of the type found was unknown today.



FIG. 1. STONE BALLS OF GRANITE AND AMPHIBOLITE

Photograph: C. P. S. Allen

They were not identified as grindstones. A few elders, however, between 65 to 70 years of age, did eventually recall the use of stones as missiles being spoken of by their grandfathers.

Until late in the last century inter-tribal and internecine fighting was rife in this area, a rocky belt some 30 miles wide by 50 miles long. Owing to the undulating rocky, but in parts fertile, ground, natural hide-outs alone are plentiful. It is not improbable that persons on the defensive in an area such as this would arm themselves with any shapes of stones suitable for throwing if danger threatened from man or beast. Careful search amidst the rocky areas and in river beds could result in numbers of missiles being amassed. Such stones, light enough to be thrown over a distance yet heavy enough to wound, would be valuable weapons for deflecting any marauder.

My aged informants, later warming to their subject, added that they had always understood that minor chiefs and heads of families had kept stocks of suitable stones for defensive purposes. These would be collected by the men and stacked at some recognized mustering point. The most prized stones would be those as near round as possible. It is even related that it had been the custom for part of a bride's dowry to be paid by collecting and stacking naturally rounded stones at the family rallying point. When the occasion arose, stones would be carried and used before spears were needed. Some informants considered that this use of stones had died out with the introduction of firearms into the country by the Arabs.

There is no mention of such stone balls being utilized for other purposes than throwing. Nor was their use as clubheads, as amongst certain tribes of Kenya, mentioned by any informant.

The second example comes from some 50 miles south of the above-mentioned area. There, it is related by the Bajulunga (of Hima-Nyoro stock) that their ancestors, who fought mainly with the bow and arrow, also used stones. Not only did they use naturally rounded stones, but balls of specially prepared clay as well. All missiles were carried in a hide bag which was slung

round the neck, hanging below the chest. They were thrown in defence after arrows had been expended.

It was the task of the local Bairu men, the accepted serfs of the Bahima and such mixed peoples as the Bajulunga, to collect suitable stones for their chiefs. It was when stocks were low, and the area in question is indeed far less rocky than that further north, that recourse had been taken to the making of artificial missiles.

Only marksmen would be allowed to use the valuable ammunition. The stone or ball would be thrown with a spin from the thumb, the index and third fingers (fig. 2). It was normal



FIG. 2. CLAY BALL OR TOP IN THROWING POSITION

Photograph: E. C. Lanning



FIG. 3. CLAY BALLS AND TOPS

Photograph: C. P. S. Allen

practice for young men to acquire accuracy by regularly throwing the missiles at targets such as a tree or a piece of hide, 200 feet away or more.

It is said that the practice was already dying out at the beginning of the century, though it still survives here and there as an evening's sport in marksmanship.

The artificial missiles are also known to Baganda who have dwelt in that area since 1898. In their making, red mud is shaped into balls or into the shape of a large top. This latter shape makes better throwing. The moist clay is rolled in fine dust and then placed close to an open fire for hardening. The finished articles,



weighing from 8 to 14 ounces, are strong and solid, not breaking easily (fig. 3). Known as *nkulungo* ('round,' in Luganda), these home-made balls are still made by some people who use them for scaring game from their kraals or cultivation. The name *nkulungo* is also given to the modern pastime already mentioned.

#### Note

<sup>1</sup> S. Lagercrantz, 'Contribution to the Ethnography of Africa,' *Studia Ethnog. Upsaliensia*, 1950, pp. 163-5, Stone Balls; F. E. Zeuner, 'Loess Balls from the Lower Mousterian of Achenheim (Alsace),' *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LXXXIII, Part 1 (1953), pp. 69 f.  
<sup>2</sup> E. C. Lanning, 'The Munsa Earthworks,' *Uganda J.*, 1955, pp. 177-182.

### The Fountain of the Sun: A Tale Related by Herodotus, Pliny and the Modern Teda. By Dr. Andreas Kronenberg, Vienna

**82** My guide Dungus Sayid-Mi, the Chef-Goumier of Bardai, told me the following story during my sojourn in Tibesti (Sahara) in 1954: 'West of the Teda live people who do not know fire. They are called *jezei-uni-da*, sun-fire-people [*jezei*=sun, *uni*=fire, *da*=people, i.e. "people who use the sun as fire"]. They live around a big *guelta* (the Arab term for a waterhole) into which the sun descends every night. Then the water gets hot and they can cook their food. Thus they only eat once a day.' A month later I checked this story in Zouar. On being asked whether there lived any people ignorant of fire, my very reliable informant, Soloi Galma-Mi from the Kussoda clan, told me exactly the same tale.

The following account is taken from Herodotus:

'... the Ammonians ... have a temple derived from that of the Theban Zeus. ... The Ammonians have another spring beside that which rises from the salt. The water of this spring is lukewarm at early dawn; at the time when the market fills it is much cooler; by noon it has grown quite cold; at this time, therefore, they water their gardens. As the afternoon advances the coldness goes off, till, about sunset, the water is once more lukewarm; still the heat increases, and at midnight it boils furiously. After this time it again begins to cool, and grows less and less hot till morning comes. This spring is called "the Fountain of the Sun."'

Pliny the Elder writes: 'The Cyrenian or Pentapolitan district is famous for the Oracle of Hammon ... the Fountain of the Sun ...'; and further, 'The pool of Zeus Hammon is cold during the day and warm during the night. In the land of the Troglodytes is the so-called "Fountain of the Sun" that is sweet and at its coldest at noon; soon afterwards it becomes gradually warmer and is hot and bitter at midnight.' 'From ... the Phazanian ... a mountain called by our people the "black one" extends far from east to west ... beyond it are the desert and the Garamanian town of Thelga, and then Debris with its fountain filled by boiling water from midday till midnight and by cold water from midnight till midday, and the famous town of Garama, capital of the Garamantes.'

It is obvious that Herodotus, Pliny and the modern Teda all refer to the same legend. Neither Herodotus nor Pliny says why the fountain is called the 'Fountain of the Sun,' nor do they explain the changes of temperature of its water. The Teda story provides the clue. It is the sun which descends into the fountain and thereby heats the water at night.

Amon Re, near whose oracle in the oasis of Siwah the 'Fountain of the Sun' was placed by Herodotus and Pliny, was of course the Egyptian sun god. However, we may ask whether sun worship was not more or less general in the Sahara and adjoining regions in pre-Islamic times. In this context I may quote Barth, who says: '... the term *fete*, which in several dialects of the

Kotoko language means "sun" and "god," is undoubtedly identical with the term *podu* in Bagrimma—although the latter is now only used for "fire," Mohammedan influence having destroyed the original relation between "fire," "sun" and "God" in the Bagrimma language and new terms having been substituted for the two latter notions, while the Kanuri term *kau*, meaning "sun," still shows some affinity with *kanu*, "fire."'

It is significant that Pliny mentions the 'Fountain of the Sun' at the Ammonion, saying of a fountain far to the west, probably in western Fezzan, that its water boils from noon to midnight and is cool from midnight to noon (obviously a somewhat garbled version of the original story) and describes another 'Fountain of the Sun' in the land of the Troglodytes, i.e. the cave-dwellers of the central parts of the Sahara. From this we may infer that the legend of the fountain into which the sun descends was not restricted to the oasis of Siwah, but must have been widespread in the Libyan area. It is certainly of some interest that this legend, which was current at least as early as the fifth century B.C., survives even today among the Teda.

#### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Herodotus, IV, 181 (ed. G. Rawlinson, London, 1859).
- <sup>2</sup> *Naturalis Historia*, V, 5 (ed. D. Detlefsen, Berlin, 1866): Cyrenaica, eadem Pentapolitana regio, illustratur Hammonis oraculo ... fonte Solis.
- <sup>3</sup> Troglodytes or cave-dwellers were the inhabitants of the central parts of the Sahara. Cave-dwellers are still living in Tibesti.
- <sup>4</sup> Pliny, II, 102 (105): Jovis Hammonis stagnum interdiu frigidum noctibus fervet. In Troglodytis fons Solis appellatur dulcis et circa meridiem maxime frigidus. Mox paulatim tepescens et noctis media fervore et amartudine infestatur.
- <sup>5</sup> Presumably the Djebel es-soda, 'black mountains,' of today.
- <sup>6</sup> Pliny, V, 5: Supra ... gentem Phazaniorum ... mons longo spatio in occasum ab ortu tendit Ater nostris dictu ... ultra eum deserta, mox Thelgae oppidum Garamantum, itemque Debris adfuso fonte a medio die ad mediam noctem aquis ferventibus totidemque horis ad medium diem rigentibus, clarissimaque Garama caput Garamantum.
- <sup>7</sup> Heinrich Barth, *Sammlung und Bearbeitung central-africanischer Vocabularen*, 1862-1866, p. xxv.

### XXXII International Congress of Americanists, Copenhagen, August, 1956

**83** The XXXII International Congress of Americanists will be held in Copenhagen, Denmark, 8-14 August, 1956, under the presidency of Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, head curator of the National Museum at Copenhagen.

The activities of the Congress will be grouped under the following sections: American Indian ethnology, and archaeology; Eskimo ethnology, and archaeology; linguistics; physical anthropology; exploration and colonization; folklore. In addition, the following subjects are suggested for discussion at the meetings: culture change among the Eskimo; stratification in Eskimo culture; trans-Pacific culture connexions; evaluation of glottochronology in American languages; dating methods in American prehistory; problems of race formation in the Americas.

Application should be made to XXXII International Congress of Americanists, c/o Dr. Jens Yde, Secretary-General, National Museum, Ethnographical Department, Copenhagen K., Denmark, for Circular No 1, in order to apply for further particulars or to enlist as members of the Congress.

### Horniman Museum Lectures

**84** The following are among the free illustrated lectures of anthropological interest to be delivered at the Horniman Museum, London, S.E.23, at 3.30 p.m. on Saturday afternoons during the autumn and winter, 1955-56: 26 November,



Sir Clarrmont Skrine on 'Persia'; 3 December, E. M. Mendelson on 'The Maya Highlanders of Guatemala'; 10 December, W. F. Grimes, C.B.E., on 'The Science of Archaeology'; 7 January, Dr. L. Picken on 'Turkish Instrumental Folk Music'; 14 January,

C. Cleghorn on 'Colourful India'; 21 January, R. J. Gibbings on 'Tonga to Tahiti, or an Artist in the South Seas'; 28 January, E. H. Pinto on 'Wooden Bygones'; 25 February, Dr. Marian W. Smith on 'The Swaixwe.'

## REVIEWS

### GENERAL

**An Introduction to Anthropology.** By Ralph L. Beals and Harry Hoijer, with Virginia More Roediger. New York (Mac-Millan), 1953. Pp. xxi, 658. Price \$6

85

This work, which includes an elegant set of line drawings by Dr. Roediger, is presented as an elementary textbook for first- and second-year university students who are beginning work in anthropology. The authors' concept of anthropology is doctrine about the human body and about human culture, an art or science or social study, including the study of ancient types of mankind with some notes on prehistoric culture. The text contains somewhat more palaeo-anthropology than it does cultural and industrial pre-history, although there is some cultural prehistory also, some notes on genetics and a preponderant section about culture (pp. 204-644) treated topically, and sometimes by defined date, but more often without date and with a free use of the present tense for descriptive purposes in a non-historical treatment of the topic. Culture is described as an abstraction from behaviour and behaviour is described as environmentally influenced, not known to be genetically inherited in the same manner as physical traits, although physical type may set limits to behaviour. Relations with psychology, also studying behaviour and sociology, also studying social affairs, but generally more urban ones, are described as relatively undeveloped in the past. The central theme which underlies all anthropological research is said to be the search for a set of principles which governs man's physical and cultural development.

In the general account of evolution the Australopithecinae (pp. 46-9), noticed to have pebble tools found in association with their skeletal remains (p. 135), are classed as members of the Simiidae (in some other texts termed Pongidae—the great ape family). The consensus of opinion since the publication of the work in review is that these interesting small-brained early Pleistocene beings are more accurately classed as members of the human family. Pittedown man (pp. 137 f.) has since this publication become known as a forgery fit to class as such with Professor Bertram's forged account of Roman Britain in his spurious work *Richard of Cirencester*. In the account of culture (pp. 204-64) the shell money of the Massim kula trade ring is termed 'ritual objects' (p. 370), although the Dobuans used it in former times to buy joints of human flesh in the protein market and there was no particular ritual about trade apart from the Massim tendency to recite magic very commonly. Ruth Benedict's theory of integration of cultures by postulated characteristic ends or purposes or dominant drives is discussed (pp. 215 f.), and in view of the multiplicity of ends characterization of cultures by 'themes,' not necessarily all-pervasive, following an account of this by M. Opler, is said to be preferable. The text includes a chapter on language and a chapter on general concepts such as functionalism, culture areas, culture evolution, etc., and is handsomely produced.

R. F. FORTUNE

**The Tale of Cupid and Psyche.** By Jan-Oejvind Swahn. Lund (CWK Gleerup), 1955. Pp. 493, 1 text fig., 7 distribution maps

86

This monographic account of folktales with the main motif 'The Search for the Lost Husband' and some related tales shows the enormous increase since the nineteenth century in continental and non-European sources. The material, which goes back at least 1700 years and corresponds 'in detail with present-day tradition' has been traced in well over 1000 folktales and literary variants of different peoples and languages. The comparison between Apuleius's 'Cupid and Psyche,' heading the older literary variants, with modern folk traditions, the religion of classical antiquity, mediæval chivalrous romances, Saxo Grammaticus, as

well as Indian, Kalmuck and Tibetan texts, deserves serious attention. So does the critical analysis of the relevant folktale research, from Andrew Lang's introduction (1887) to the very present. Rather superficial are the one and a half pages on 'the occurrence of "survivals" in the folktales.' We should await a scientific explanation of the time lag, so different in many countries, before expressing such general views. Noteworthy is the statement that the motifs are 'distorted when transgressing the bounds of the area' where the beliefs are traditional.

The author does not commit himself on the 'tradition wandering' from the Celts to the Scandinavians, but points out that 'the solution of the problem may lie in the Scandinavian expansion towards the British Isles during the Viking period. Celtic prisoners of war as bearers of tradition (according to Liljeblad) . . . is one possibility. . . . The Scandinavian colonies in Celtic areas, just as, e.g., the marked Celtic element in Iceland, may have played an important, mediating role.'

This synthesis of literary research and up-to-date folktale classification could never have been achieved without long and intense academic studies and without the inspiration of the two outstanding folklorists of Lund University, the late Professor C. W. von Sydow and Professor S. Svensson. We hope that University College, London, will fulfil the promise given at last year's inaugural folklore lecture, and provide the necessary training for English scholars, who so far have remained almost as aloof as 'Albanians, Bulgarians and Little Russians' in this controversial but important field of work.

E. ETLINGER

**An Essay on Racial Tension.** By Philip Mason. London (R. Inst. Internat. Affairs), 1954. Pp. ix, 149. Price 8s. 6d.

87

In this well written essay the author points out that the term 'racial' can properly be applied to tension only when members of one group are clearly distinguishable physically from members of another. The problem of the Jews is not genuinely racial because 'once they themselves forget that they were Jews, the fact can easily be forgotten by others' (p. 28).

Children seem to feel no aversion for people of another colour until it is taught them, so the fact that Afrikaners vote for complete *apartheid* though their houses are full of Bantu servants is due to historical causes (Ch. xiv).

The author seeks to explain by malnutrition and disease the fact that Africa south of the Sahara has produced no civilization but there is no evidence that these are rarer there than in India, and he, like many others, fails to realize that stagnation is the normal condition of mankind and that it is progress which has to be explained.

RAGLAN

**Witchcraft Today.** By Gerald B. Gardner. London (Rider), 1954. Pp. 163. Price 12s. 6d.

88

This work attempts to publicize and to justify the activities of a small cult, of which the author is a member. The faith requires that the precise details of its beliefs should be kept secret, but it was possible for some of the assumptions underlying the main articles to be disclosed. Amongst these is the idea of an area of force, similar to an electro-magnetic field, surrounding the human body, and we are told that the ritual of the cult controls and directs this force. The concept of regeneration is another important dogma.

Discussion of these ideas occupies a less important place in the whole work than the unfolding of the past of the cult. The author is convinced that the cult has prehistoric origins, and that a part of its later development can be traced in the history of the opposition of



the Christian church to its practices. For the historical period some of the existing published material on witchcraft is examined for similarities between the witches' rite and those practised by the author. Some of the principal accusations made against witches in the past are rejected on the ground that they are incompatible with the ritual known to the author. The same criterion is used to retain certain parts of the confessions made by witches whilst the remainder is treated as being unreliable, owing to torture. The picture of the unrecorded phases of the development of the modern cult is supplied from the author's imagination, which is stimulated by a slight knowledge of history. The work adds nothing to our knowledge of witchcraft, and makes no useful contribution to the task of discovering the nature of pre-Christian religions in Europe and the possible extent of their survival.

J. S. BOSTON

# Gebräuche des Ehemannes bei Schwangerschaft und Geburt, mit Richtigstellung des Begriffes der Couvade. By

89 Wilhelm Schmidt. *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, Vol. X. Vienna and Munich (Herold), 1955. Pp. xxi, 337

This posthumous work by a great ethnologist is quite representative of its author. It evinces his power of mastering a large subject, of arranging a vast multitude of details in a clear system, of tracing principal lines in a bewildering mass of matter. His clarity depended upon a resourceful intellect, but also upon a strong will. All his many works are parts of one building.

The couvade problem must have irritated him, because couvade refused to go harmoniously into his culture-historical system. It seemed natural to regard couvade as a phase of the struggle between mother right and father right. However, certain phenomena which were generally regarded as belonging to the couvade complex appeared in the culture of primordial peoples. Now, the idea of a masculine childbed is so absurd, irrational, and ridiculous that it does not fit in very well in Wilhelm Schmidt's view of primitive humanity. Therefore, he had to subject the whole couvade complex to a thorough analysis.

The main result of this analysis is that only a very few reported cases are real couvade—about 14 cases for the whole world. In many cases, the European observers have misunderstood what they saw. Real couvade is a very rare phenomenon, and its occurrences

are so widely scattered that there is no reason to suspect any historical connexion between them—except perhaps in South America, where Schmidt finds it possible that certain Tupi tribes may have borrowed this trait from certain Caribs. Real couvade is a curiosity, a sort of rarely occurring human aberration. The great majority of cases, generally regarded as belonging to the couvade complex, have—in Schmidt's opinion—nothing to do with real couvade. They are customs of fathers during the pregnancy of mothers and after the birth of children. Schmidt divides these customs into three groups: prenatal, postnatal, and both prenatal and postnatal. He points out that these marital customs are generally very sensible and humane and meant to benefit mothers and children.

It is not always easy to see how Schmidt distinguishes between couvade and simple marital birth customs. As an example may be mentioned the Ainu. Batchelor says that when the Ainu child was born, the father had to regard himself as very sick and therefore remain home at the fireplace, while the mother, poor creature, had to go to work as quickly as possible. True enough, Batchelor gives a reason for this custom; the Ainu child's body is believed to come from the mother, but the soul from the father during the first six days after birth, therefore the father must keep very quiet during this first critical period of the child's life. Schmidt regards this explanation as 'eine würdige, gut in den Tatsachen und ihrer Geschlossenheit beruhende Theorie.' However, why is this not 'real couvade'? One gets the impression that Schmidt would like to restrict this designation to the extreme cases where the father makes believe that he is suffering the agonies of childbirth.

GUDMUND HATT

# Die Kulturen der Aussereuropäischen Erdteile in Übersicht.

90 Edited by Hans Plischke. *Guide to the Exhibited Collections of the Institut für Völkerkunde, University of Göttingen*. Göttingen, 1954. Pp. 101, 10 plates

This useful little handbook—a general survey of extra-European anthropology, including physical anthropology and linguistics—is prepared for the use of visitors to the exhibition galleries of the Institut für Völkerkunde of Göttingen University. Within a necessarily small space it covers the ground admirably. The illustrations include Polynesian pieces from the Cook collection, for which Göttingen is famous.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

## AFRICA

The Arab City of Gedi: The Great Mosque. By J. S. Kirkman. O.U.P., 1954. Pp. 197, 5 plates, 39 text figs., biblio. Price £1 10s.

91 This is a report on the excavations carried out by the Trustees of the Royal National Parks of Kenya from 1948 to 1950 on the Great Mosque at Gedi, a mediaeval Arab city on the east coast of Kenya. In the report, the mosque is provisionally dated to c. A.D. 1450, with three periods, ending c. 1575. Occupation of the site is thought to have lasted from c. 1100–c. 1650. This report therefore covers an important and little-known part of the history of the Arabs in East Africa. The literary sources are few; the relevant ones, reviewed in the Introduction, emphasize the need for an archaeological chronology.

The first part of the report, describing the site, is concise and well planned, except perhaps that the section on the subsoil might be more logically placed between the 'Dating' and 'Strata' sections.

The best part of the report is under the headings of 'Strata and Levels,' and 'Finds.' A cross-reference system enables one to see what came from each site and level, or where all objects of a certain class came from. Once mastered, the system is easy to use, and is the more commendable as this is a too frequently neglected part of excavation reports. The extremely large number and variety of finds, especially of the as yet little-known local pottery, makes this finds index the more valuable.

Unfortunately, the illustrations do not come up to the same high level. I hope that the author will forgive my setting out their defects in detail, in a spirit of constructive criticism. The special reports of excavations sponsored by the Society of Antiquaries of

London are a good standard to measure up against. Some of the half-tone plate figures lacked a scale, and were too small to show their subject clearly (e.g. Plate II c.). The plans in figs. 1, 2 and 7a were adequate, but small, and captions for the different rooms would help those unfamiliar with Islamic architecture. The drawings of sections might have been clarified by a slightly increased vertical scale, and spacing of the section drawings in fig. 4 would have improved their clarity and the appearance of the page. The scale indications employed, especially in the figures of finds, are somewhat clumsy and confusing; to print 'Scale:  $\frac{1}{2}$  (or  $\frac{1}{4}$ )' in the caption would have been adequate. Two or more scales of reduction and two to three different sets of letters in the same figure are confusing, and might have been partly avoided by making the line block and its caption use the whole of the page instead of only a part. This might also have made it possible to group the drawings within the figure slightly better. The appearance of the blocks would have been improved by neater letters put closer to the drawings they refer to. It would have been helpful to amplify the captions to the extent of naming the classes as well as the type of pottery illustrated. The pottery rim sections should have had a short horizontal line added to prevent confusion as to the direction of the rim, the more so as the pots seem all to be drawn with the section on the right-hand side, contrary to British archaeological practice.

I hope that the author will excuse this string of criticisms. The quality of illustrations can make all the difference between a competent and a really good report, and they are accordingly worth some trouble. The textual part of this report is good enough for that extra trouble to be taken with the forthcoming reports on Gedi.

M. A. BENNET-CLARK



**History and Antiquities of Darfur.** By H. G. Balfour-Paul. *Sudan Antiquities Service, Museum Pamphlet No. 3. Khartoum, 1955. Pp. 28, plates, maps. Price 1s.*

**92** Darfur formed part of the Sudan from 1875 to 1883 and was reoccupied in 1916, but is still little known. The population appears to be mostly of mixed Hamitic and Negro stock, though many Arabs have infiltrated. All are nominally Muslim, though there are many pre-Islamic beliefs and practices. The country is divided into a number of small sultanates, which preserve clear traces of divine kingship. History is legendary before the eighteenth century, when the Sultans of Darfur extended their sway over Wadai and Kordofan.

The chief archaeological remains are a number of remarkable hill-top 'palaces' of dry stone. There are also many rough stone barrows, some rock paintings and a remarkable type of necked stone axe. These are illustrated by figures in the text.

RAGLAN

**Ethnographic Survey of Africa: East Central Africa, Part VIII, The Southern Nilo-Hamites.** By G. W. B. Huntingford. **93** **East Central Africa, Part IX, The Azande and Related Peoples of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Belgian Congo.** By P. T. W. Baxter and Audrey Butt. *London (Internat. Afr. Inst.), 1953. Pp. 152 each. Price 15s. each.*

The material in these two useful volumes is presented on the now familiar scheme, but as inevitably the sources used are by no means systematic there are interesting differences of emphasis.

The Azande dominate their neighbours politically and culturally, and the authors of this section of the *Survey* naturally base their book on the Azande, regretfully noting the paucity of material on the related, subject and neighbouring peoples. For the Azande they draw mainly on the works of Bishop Lagae and of Professor Evans-Pritchard. They, as well as the subsidiary sources used, provide the richest material on history, ritual and belief, so that these aspects are more fully covered than is usual in this series. Other aspects, particularly ecology and material culture, are scantily treated. Although the natural environment of the Azande changes from savannah in the north to tropical rain forest, we are told that

**Takashima: A Japanese Fishing Community.** By Edward Norbeck. *Salt Lake City (U. of Utah P.), 1954. Pp. xii. 232, tables, maps, figs., photographs. Price \$3.*

**95** This useful but modest study is one of a series made under the auspices of the Centre for Japanese Studies of the University of Michigan. The author (who spoke Japanese) and his wife spent from August, 1950, to April, 1951, in field work in this rural community on a small island in the Inland Sea. For part of the time they worked from Okayama City, about 20 miles away, but later took up part-time residence in the community itself.

Takashima comprises only about 30 acres, and of this only half is cultivated, as unirrigated farm land. The population at the time of study was 188 persons, in 33 households. Most of the adult males engage in fishing for a livelihood, but their farm plots supply household produce and give a small cash income, to the extent of about 10 per cent. of the annual receipts of the average fishing household. Takashima is known as a *buraku*, a term of which the meaning is explained as 'the small face-to-face living community, a sub-division of a village,' and which might be translated as 'hamlet,' in its combination of social and geographical usage. A careful analysis is given of the position of the *buraku* in Japanese rural structure, and of the principles of *buraku* organization for communal work and public affairs in Takashima. Most of the members of the community belong to one or other of three patrilineal 'lines,' sprung from the three original households which are held to have settled the island in the seventeenth century. All of these people bear a single surname. In the absence of genealogies and the results of a sociological census, however, the analysis of the descent structure and consequent inter-relationships is somewhat thin. Interesting material is given on the life cycle, especially on marriage arrangements, though here, too, precise figures of unions with people from inside and outside the community would have been welcome.

the inhabitants are able to follow a similar way of life throughout the area, but there is no means of telling whether the apparent lack of variation in economy and material culture is the result of political and cultural uniformity, or simply of a fortuitous lack of detailed information in the available sources, or even perhaps to lack of interest on the part of the compilers.

The opposite bias appears in the volume on the Nilo-Hamites, for which the works of nineteenth-century missionaries and travellers, as well as the famous early monographs of Hollis and Merker and the modern works of Peristiany and of Huntingford, have been used. Ecology and material culture are given detailed attention, whereas religion is very summarily treated. These remarks are not intended as a criticism of either volume, for it is partly to show up just such gaps and unevenness in our knowledge of African peoples that the *Survey* is undertaken.

The volume on the Southern Nilo-Hamites benefits from the zest and thoroughness of an author who knows the area at first hand. In two sections of the book hitherto unpublished material is presented, based on work by Huntingford himself on the Dorobo, and by G. M. Wilson on the Barabaig.

M. DOUGLAS

**The Sacred Forest.** By P. D. Gaisseau, translated by Alan Ross. *London (Weidenfeld & Nicholson), 1954. Pp. 199. Price 18s.*

**94** This book is an account of some aspects of the ritual life of the Torma of French Guinea. M. Gaisseau, in his Conclusion, says that he sought to 'label and classify scientifically, to attempt an analysis of the myths and taboos of a unique society' (p. 186). The work is, unfortunately, not to be judged by scientific standards. There is little, if anything, here for the anthropologist. No one is interested in the difficulties which one first encounters on arrival among a strange people.

By what standards should the book be assessed? It is certainly not to be compared with the travel accounts of Mungo Park or Binger. At p. 59 we are told that the author gave a written promise that he and his companions would reveal nothing 'to women, strangers or to the *bilakoro*' despite the fact that they were taking ciné films. As far as this book is concerned, however, he has kept his promise.

DAVID TAIT

## ASIA

An interesting account is given of fishing and associated techniques, and of the organization needed to handle boats and gear. There is some discussion of costs, incomes and household budgets, but on a basis of opinions collected rather than of any systematic observation. Chapters on household and household life, and on religion tell a great deal to the reader who does not know Japan; even to one who does, the local variation of usage will give a useful record. The chapter on the impact of Westernization is wider than its title, and sums up neatly the major changes that have occurred in the *buraku* since Meiji times: a money economy; more individualism and less communal activity; social status based upon wealth; a tendency to a larger community structure; the adoption of many foreign inventions—including Western clothes for everyday wear—and a decline in religious faith.

The book as a whole is especially valuable to an anthropologist by the contrast of Takashima with the more isolated and backward Suyu Mura described by John Embree. It may be mentioned that it has been set up in Baskerville type on the Intertype Fotosetter, and is a very pleasant product.

RAYMOND FIRTH

**Indian Village.** By S. C. Dube. *London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1955. Pp. xiv, 248. Price £1 5s.*

**96** This is an account of Shamirpet, a village some 25 miles from the city of Hyderabad. Apart from local differences it is, all in all, the most interesting and detailed account of Indian village life which we have yet had. Dr. Dube combines a lively interest in village life and a respect for it with the trained detachment of an anthropologist. As might be expected of an Indian scholar, he is able to penetrate far more deeply into the local life than a Western observer, to exploit his insights more effectively and to effect connexions of facts which strike the Western mind as novel. If grounds may be found for criticism of the categories which he



employs, it is nevertheless valuable and stimulating to find various social phenomena normally associated with the discussion of caste related to the more general religious ideas of the people. But still we regret that he has not, as it were, cross-referenced his facts so that we could see the position of, say, ritual purity not merely in one particular context but wherever it occurs. Generally, we can say that where the author is least concerned to be analytic and presents his observations freshly and connected as he saw them, we are able to make his experience our own and to apprehend the reality with him. Elsewhere his analytic selection of facts is disappointing for those who do not share his criteria of relevance.

Despite its central importance we have perhaps more literature and less agreement on caste than we have on any one other institution in the world, and to the extent that Dr. Dube does not really tackle the problem, he adds to the confusion. But this criticism is perhaps a reflection on the general condition of Indian studies today as compared with African studies. There does not seem to be that broad base of common assumption among Indianists as to presentation and interests which Africanists enjoy. Each author feels it necessary to begin at the beginning and to elaborate his own description and theory of caste, and he seldom agrees or explicitly disagrees with any other as to the facts which are germane to that description. Dr. Dube, for instance, describes the castes in Shamirpet under the heading of 'Social Structure,' which also subsumes an account of Government authority in the village. He relegates the system of reciprocal services between castes, which Wiser has made known as the *fajmami* system, to a chapter called 'Economic Structure,' where it is associated with a straightforward account of more general economic activities, agricultural and pastoral methods, etc. If, on the other hand, we could first of all have had an account of the major features of the caste system as a whole, of the interconnexions of its hierarchy of purity with its differentiation of labour in Shamirpet, then these other secondary associations would find their place. But we owe it to Dr. Dube that his success in description does enable us to remedy, to a certain extent, this defect.

While the presentation separates, for instance, what are called 'levels of living' from standards of ritual purity, it is clear that in

Shamirpet, as elsewhere in India, wealth is invested and status registered in terms of Brahmanic purity. So we learn (p. 114) that the Barber and Washerman castes provide the priests for the blood sacrifice from which Brahmans and Komtis (traders) 'being vegetarians and averse to animal sacrifice . . . keep away.' Later (p. 116) we are told that several ceremonies are limited to the 'twice-born' Brahman and Komti castes, though some of them are observed 'by a few other higher castes, or often only by a few "respectable" families in these castes.' Finally (p. 121) Dube reports that for performing marriages 'the barber and washerman invite the Brahman if they can afford it, otherwise they manage with their own caste priest.' Either vegetarian Brahmans in Shamirpet officiate for non-vegetarian castes, or else wealthy members of those castes turn vegetarian and register their rise in status by a Brahman marriage. Unfortunately, the relation between these three separate statements is not made, and we are unable to understand further.

Dr. Dube promises us a further work and has reserved a part of his fieldwork material to that end. It is his belief that 'fruitful theoretical discussions must be based on research of a more extensive scale than that attempted in the fieldwork summarized in this book.' In fact, however, he is too modest. The material presented is susceptible of more analysis, much of which would be basic to further studies. What, for instance, could be a greater challenge than the group of five artisan castes in Shamirpet, the Panch Brahma, who cut across all the established orthodox ideas of a hierarchy of purity by denying the supremacy of the Brahman while at the same time they are regarded as untouchable by the Untouchables themselves? They receive only a passing reference of a purely descriptive nature, while it is in accounting for such apparent anomalies that a deeper understanding of caste lies.

However, one must not carp if Dr. Dube is not more ambitious. The fault lies in the general condition, and comprehensive accounts at the level of the village are all too few. Some authors are interested in relating local Hinduism to what is called all-India Hinduism. Works like this of Dr. Dube help us more profitably to understand the working out of general all-India ideas in particular, local, circumstances.

D. F. POCOCK

## EUROPE

**97 Monmouthshire Houses: A Study of Building Techniques and Smaller House-Plans in the Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries. Part III. Renaissance Houses, c. 1590-1714.** By Sir Cyril Fox and Lord Raglan. Cardiff (Nat. Mus. of Wales, Welsh Folk Mus.), 1954. Pp. 178, 3 maps, 31 plates, 72 text figs. Price £1 1s.

The National Museum of Wales, through its Welsh Folk Museum, is to be congratulated on sponsoring the publication of a survey of the smaller houses of rural Monmouthshire. The record has been written up in three parts of which the first, dealing with Mediaeval houses, and the second, dealing with Sub-Mediaeval houses, have already been published. The third and largest, which is now under review, covers the period of c. 1590-1714. We are told that 'the authors' aim has been to give to the farmhouses in this part of the country the same intensive and comparative study as has long been devoted to more elaborate buildings.'

The joint authors of the three parts, Sir Cyril Fox, a former Director of the National Museum of Wales, and our President, Lord Raglan, have obviously worked in complete harmony over the production of the results of their excellent research. The greater part of the drawings, plans and photographs are their own work. One would have liked to have seen just a few interiors taken by professional photographers. They have the advantages of costly and varied lenses as well as special lighting equipment.

If the authors, or any others, contemplate further survey work of this kind, cooperation with an archivist might lead to even more interesting results. Deeds proving titles to such houses could reveal historical details, but doubtless the owners, particularly those of farmhouses, might not always be anxious to allow them to be examined. They are touchy about mortgages and the like.

The present survey, the results of which are embodied in the volume, is based on a study made between 1941 and 1953. It involved the examination of 220 houses and 30 other buildings origi-

nating, added to, or rebuilt between c. 1590-1714. The possibilities of comparison with details of domestic architecture of other parts of the British Isles and the more intensive study of individual subjects loom up from almost every page of a book which naturally cannot cover every detail. Thus, whilst a sketch map shows the distribution of brick houses, the enquiring mind longs to know who made the bricks and where? And who were the smiths who fashioned the window casements and the glaziers who put in the leaded lights (often itinerant craftsmen) and the numerous other craftsmen whose skill went to the building of the houses? How was the water supply obtained and what were the methods of sanitation, both probably very primitive? The authors themselves suggest that the dairies need more detailed study. The Monmouthshire equivalent of the brew-house so common to the English farmhouses is a building designed for cider-making. Bread ovens and the washhouse are scarcely mentioned in the book but the plan of a house at Cwm-bwchel, Upper Cwmnyoy, seems to indicate something comparable with the English beehive-shaped oven which is usually situated on one side of the kitchen fireplace, matched by a drying cupboard on the other side.

The lay-out of the Monmouthshire farmyard must have been very simple. Little of interest seems to have come to light about the methods of accommodating the farm animals. There were barns but few granaries and only two dovecotes were traced. But the one from Hygga (illustrated in Plate XXVIII B) is a fine example.

Minor points of interest which arise from reading the book are that whilst late Victorian wallpaper is mentioned, nothing of earlier date is recorded, nor any traces of wall-painting. Rooms furnished with panelling or wainscoting were rare, and there seems an absence of pargeting.

In passing, it should be mentioned that the Welsh Folk Museum, not content with backing the publication of literature on the domestic architecture of Wales, is also re-erecting old Welsh buildings at St. Fagans.

THOMAS W. BAGSHAWE



## OCEANIA

**An Atoll Culture: Ethnography of Ifaluk in the Central Carolines.** By Edwin G. Burrows and Melford E. Spiro. *Behavior Science Monogr.*, New Haven (Human Relations Area Files), 1953. Pp. 355, illus. Price \$4

98

In this most interesting and excellent monograph on Ifaluk, an atoll in the eastern part of the Central Carolines with a population of about 250, the authors have not only been able to add considerably to our knowledge of the Caroline Islanders, but also to throw some light on the older culture of Micronesia and Polynesia. The people of Ifaluk have had relatively little contact in the past with Western civilization, and as a result have preserved much of their old culture: a situation unfortunately of some rarity in Micronesia. Specifically, the Ifaluk Islanders have retained much of their old social and religious life; they have not forgotten how to build their early sea-going sailing canoes, nor their navigational methods, which, in fact, are still followed in the area around Ifaluk. These unique circumstances provide us with an opportunity to penetrate, by inference, more deeply into the life of the Pacific Islanders before the European arrival.

Spiro and Burrows' joint ethnography is of the greatest value because all too little detailed fieldwork had been done in the Central Carolines up to the end of the Second World War. Only then was launched the C.I.M.A. project (Co-ordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology), which enabled a number of American anthropologists to undertake the long-awaited detailed investigations in these areas, formerly held by Japan. Spiro and Burrows' fieldwork on Ifaluk was part of that project.

Before the C.I.M.A. expeditions there had been little more than the report provided by the German Hamburg Expedition of 1908-1910. Spiro and Burrows have now shown that the Hamburg Expedition report on Ifaluk itself was inadequate in respect of religion, land tenure and social and political organization. Certain other sections of the Hamburg Expedition's work, those dealing with the eastern part of the Central Carolines, have, however, escaped the notice of the two authors. These are: A. Eilers, *West-Karolinen: Ergebnisse der Suedsee-Expedition 1908-1910* (E.S.E.), Vol. II, B, ii (1936); A. Kraemer and H. Damm, *Inseln um Truk*, (E.S.E.), Vol. II, B, 6, i and ii (1935); G. Thilenius, *Allgemeines*

(E.S.E.), Vol. I (1926). More attention might also have been paid to other available material dealing with the unique relationship between Yap and the islands to the east, including Ifaluk. Three important contributions in this connexion are: W. Lessa, 'Ulithi and the Outer Native World,' *Amer. Anthropol.*, Vol. LII (1950), pp. 27ff.; A. Senfft, 'Religioese Quarantaene auf den West-Karolinen,' *Globus*, Vol. LXXVII (1905); A. Tetens, 'Die Insel Yap nebst den Matelotas-, Mackenzie-, Fais- und Wolea-Inseln,' *J. des Museums Godeffroy*, Vol. I, Part 2 (1873).

A source of misunderstanding in this otherwise excellent and well documented monograph is to be found in its social terminology. Thus the use of the term 'clan' for the eight matrilineal, exogamous descent groups on Ifaluk seems to be unjustified. Members of the same line of descent form the same kind of groups on other atolls in the Central Carolines, so that the term 'sub-clan' would seem to be more appropriate for those exogamous groups on a single atoll. The term 'clan' is accurate only when applied to the entire group of sub-clans with common descent in the maternal line. These descent groups in the Central Carolines are not localized; according to G. P. Murdock's proposed terminology they would be called sibs instead of clans and sub-sibs instead of sub-clans.

As Ifaluk is one of the few places in the Pacific where parts of the old cultural background can be found, one would have liked to read more about certain aspects of this, especially about native religion and cosmogonic myths. Also, one would have liked more details of the ocean burials, e.g. the actual disposing of the body at sea. Do the islanders select a particular spot? Do the reasons for the burials given by the natives to the authors, viz., that otherwise a typhoon would destroy the island or alternatively that the buried corpse would cause the vegetation to die, in fact represent all the islanders' thoughts and beliefs in this matter? Why do the other neighbouring islanders not hold these beliefs or practice the custom? Perhaps a closer examination of the myths concerning life after death and the original homeland of their ancestors would help to solve these problems.

But these are only minor blemishes in a work of the greatest value and importance: a work of profound scholarship which should be read by every student of Pacific anthropology. B. R. STILLFRIED

## CORRESPONDENCE

**Webs of Fantasy.** Cf. MAN, 1953, 152, 229, 281, 304; 1954, 19, 74, 42, 98, 124; 1955, 59, 60

99

STR.—I must apologize to Lord Raglan for not realizing that from his pen the phrase 'A scientist is . . .' does not introduce a definition. I chose my own words with some care in order to indicate that social anthropologists do not 'ignore the past altogether,' but only that 'remoter past' to which Lord Raglan usually refers when criticizing us. I thought the type of analysis that we make was familiar even to the critics who think that we are wrong-headed: it is a close study of the norms of social behaviour, and the degree of conformity with those norms, with the forces operating for and against conformity, in the societies we study and in their various social groups and institutions. As numerous publications bear witness, we are greatly interested in changes in these institutions as far as we can trace them, and even are aware that some of their features are anachronisms.

Lord Raglan refers to the 'functional theory of origins.' Discussion of the 'functional theory' today might be classed among the anachronisms which he mentions, but it never was a theory of

origins.  
London

LUCY MAIR

100 STR.—I am sorry if, in my previous letter on this topic (1954, 98), I implied that Mr. Beattie's meaning in his first letter (1954, 42) was the exact opposite of what he intended to convey; but on re-reading this correspondence I cannot see where the misunderstanding arose. Perhaps I glossed over the distinction between being 'not really interested in reconstructing [my italics] the history, or the prehistory, of customs and beliefs . . .' and being not really interested in the material so obtained, though I quoted the former sentence in full. The distinction seems to me to have little validity in practice, since anyone interested in using such evidence should surely be interested in its establishment, even if it is not his primary concern. Mr. Beattie in the remainder of his letter seems to confirm that he will not use such material unless it is presented to him in predigested form.

The criteria which Mr. Beattie would apply to 'allegedly historical data'—'are the facts asserted verified or unverified, or perhaps unverifiable? and . . . are they relevant?'—seem to me unrealistic, however theoretically admirable. Among non-literate peoples such facts are seldom verified with complete certainty, except occasionally by archaeological means; but a high degree of probability can sometimes be demonstrated by the combined efforts of workers in such fields as folklore and tradition, material culture and physical



anthropology. What degree of certainty does Mr. Beattie demand before he will recognize the existence of such evidence? If it is unverified, social anthropologists can perhaps contribute to its evaluation and so make it available for their use all the sooner. They have opportunities for research, both in the field and in the study, which are largely denied to workers in other branches of cultural anthropology, and if they view their task as exclusively as Mr. Beattie proposes, both they and the ethnologists (a distinction which I think cannot really be regarded as a rigid one) will be deprived of much valuable material. How can a social anthropologist judge whether the history of the institutions which he studies is relevant if he has no idea what that history is? To say that social anthropologists disregard historical data unless they are relevant is surely to put the cart before the horse.

There is much in Mr. Beattie's letter with which I would agree; in particular I fully realize the inevitability and the value of specialization. But specialization need not imply aloofness. The difference between us, it seems, is one of emphasis. Mr. Beattie's closing sentence illustrates it: 'Failure to see that at the present time ethnologists are dealing with problems of one kind and social anthropologists with problems of another kind can lead only to confusion.' I would prefer to say that cultural anthropologists of all branches are dealing with different aspects of the same ultimate problem—the ways in which man has coped and now copes with his environment. Isolationism, I think, can lead only to sterility.

May I take this opportunity to point out that in my previous letter I spoke of the *context*, not of the *content*, of the coronation ceremony?

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

Department of Ethnography, British Museum, W.C.1

**Kinship Organization in India.** Cf. MAN, 1954, 248.

**IOI** SIR,—In my review of Mrs. Karvé's *Kinship Organization in India* I referred to what I described as 'Mrs. Karvé's calm acceptance' of the claim of the Indian state to impose on its subjects a uniform pattern of social structure in the interests of administrative needs. I learn from Mrs. Karvé that I have misunderstood her attitude, and that she is far from approving such a claim on the part of the state. I am sorry that I have misinterpreted her meaning and should be grateful if you would publish this disclaimer.

New Radnor

J. H. HUTTON

**Choosing Reviewers.** Cf. MAN, 1955, 25

**IO2** SIR,—Within the covers of MAN the term 'anthropologist' covers a diverse multitude of persons, and, in general, I respect your discrimination: you do not ask physical anthropologists to review the work of archaeologists or social anthropologists to review the work of prehistorians. It is on this account that I write to protest against Mr. Tom Harrison's composite review in MAN, 1955, 25.

Mass-Observer, Bird-Watcher, Journalist and Museum Curator, Mr. Harrison's competence extends to many fields, but social anthropology is a subject of which he proudly professes complete ignorance. Two of the three works reviewed by Mr. Harrison are by professional social anthropologists and happen to be the first two monographs to be published on the social anthropology of any of Borneo's indigenous peoples. Whatever may be the merits and limitations of these books they deserved to be criticized in MAN by someone who understands the academic discipline to which they form a significant contribution.

My complaint is not against Mr. Harrison, who here writes in his capacity as a recorder of quaint manners and customs, but against yourself for still failing to recognize that social anthropology is a professional academic discipline quite distinct from the antiquarian miscellany that is comprised in the category 'ethnography.' In a periodical such as MAN, which caters for several quite distinct groups of professional scientists, books should surely be reviewed by experts who have at least approximately the same professional competence as the authors who are their victims? E. R. LEACH  
Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge

Note

The Hon. Editor is always happy to receive advice and expressions of opinion on editorial policy or practice. Indeed, he very often

seeks, and often receives, advice from social anthropologists on the reviewing of books in this field, although it would doubtless be improper as well as impracticable for him to make an invariable practice of this. It is worth noting here, too, that while the Hon. Editor is responsible for the choice of reviewers, he has no control, or rather cannot properly exercise control, over the substance of reviews, unless they be either too long to print or likely to lead to legal action. Correspondence arising from reviews is welcomed, especially from persons other than aggrieved authors; if a book has been too highly praised or too severely damned, it is the duty of others to redress the balance.

The Hon. Editor is in a little difficulty in the present case, for one of the things about which he must try to remain impartial is precisely this question of whether social anthropology and ethnography are in fact 'quite distinct' disciplines; neither ethnographers nor social anthropologists seem agreed upon this matter, to judge from current terminologies. It is not the duty of MAN to make their minds up for them, although the more distinct the disciplines are, the more important is it for MAN and the Royal Anthropological Institute to fulfil their proper function of providing a medium of contact between them. Moreover, in science, if not in marriage, it takes two parties to make a separation; and many ethnographers continue to recognize a large measure of family relationship with many social anthropologists at home and abroad, and make use not only of their results but on occasion of their methods. Indeed, many trained social anthropologists nowadays seek careers as ethnographers; and our correspondent has himself made valuable and interesting contributions to ethnography from his position as a social anthropologist. (Social anthropologists have from time to time also accepted without demur invitations from the Hon. Editor to review books on subjects, such as tribal art, which are not strictly within their specialism.)

A socio-anthropological monograph is almost necessarily a compound of ethnographical or descriptive fact and socio-anthropological theory, and may legitimately be reviewed from either or both of these points of view. In some ways the former may be thought to have the stronger claim upon the reviewer's attention, for in science, as in journalism, opinion is free but facts are sacred. It is no doubt for this reason that, in MAN as in other anthropological periodicals, social anthropologists have had occasionally to submit to the scrutiny of others—administrators, missionaries, government ethnologists, on occasion even physical anthropologists—who know the peoples concerned. Mr. Harrison, whatever his views on socio-anthropological theory may be, has certainly evinced interest in the facts which are studied by social anthropologists in Borneo. The fact that the two monographs concerned were the first of their kind in the Borneo field would seem to make more rather than less excusable the choice of a reviewer who does not profess orthodox social anthropology; no available reviewer complying with our correspondent's qualifications would, probably, have been in a position to evaluate them on the factual plane, the importance of which is surely enhanced in a new field.

Where, in any case, could a firm line be drawn? If the somewhat dubious premise which has been suggested were adopted, might it not later be urged that, say, American and British—or even Oxford and Cambridge—social anthropology were quite distinct specialisms? Or again, is one who holds that there are no laws in social anthropology competent to review the work of one who purports to find them? But in truth the duty of a learned periodical in which books are reviewed is not so much to their authors as to its readers, and to the whole field of learning whose advancement it serves.

The Hon. Editor hopes that the day is long distant when authors will know in advance what kind of reviews their books will receive in MAN.—ED.

\*Die Anfänge des Eigentums . . . : A Correction. Cf. MAN, 1954, 187

**IO3** It is much regretted that at the head of Dr. Einzig's review of Dr. Nippold's book *Die Anfänge des Eigentums bei den Naturvölkern und die Entstehung des Privateigentums* its price was given as 22 florins instead of 12 florins, which is the correct figure.









(a) VILLA AT CETINJE, MONTENEGRO



(b) PEASANT HOUSE, BELVIDERE HILLS, MONTENEGRO

PEASANT HOUSES OF MONTENEGRO

*Photographs: I. R. Whitaker, 1953*



# SOME NOTES ON THE PEASANT HOUSES OF MONTENEGRO\*

by

IAN WHITAKER

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**IO4** The<sup>1</sup> cultural differentiation of the Balkans is an ethnographical truism, and this diversity, together with accompanying linguistic difficulties, seems to have discouraged intensive anthropological fieldwork by English-writing students trained in the functionalist traditions of Malinowski, although the region has been the subject of many wide-sweeping generalizations by followers of other 'schools.' Thus we lack almost entirely any functional study of the peasant houses of any particular region within the present-day frontiers of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia<sup>2</sup> comparable with the detailed work that has been carried out in the neighbouring countries of Greece<sup>3</sup> and Bulgaria.<sup>4</sup> This lack of detailed information has not prevented at least two writers from drawing up typological classifications of the peasant houses of all Yugoslavia,<sup>5</sup> but I feel that such attempts, since they lack a foundation of *ad hoc* fieldwork, are unrealistic and often inaccurate in details. I shall here consider some of the basic types of peasant house in the Yugoslav constituent republic of Montenegro, and whilst I shall attempt to relate them to these overall schemes of classification, I do not wish to suggest that I accept these in their entirety; in particular I find it impossible to draw any conclusions about the evolution of the peasant houses of this area, on account of the very scanty material yet available.<sup>6</sup>

Montenegro retained its virtual independence throughout the Ottoman occupation of the Balkan peninsula, and therefore Turkish traits are scarcely to be found in the present-day life of the people. Throughout this period the country was a Christian principality—the majority of the inhabitants are Orthodox—and it remained independent until 1918, when it was incorporated into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Most of the country is barren cretaceous limestone mountain (the 'Karst'), and the population can only engage in very limited agriculture, as well as a certain amount of shepherding. Settlement is therefore very sparse, and this in turn affects the pattern of villages.

We can divide Montenegrin houses into two main categories: urban and rural. Urban houses are only to be found in settlements on main highways negotiable by motor traffic. In style they are closely connected with the building tradition of Central Europe (especially that of Austria-Hungary): they are often of two storeys, and attached on two sides to other buildings of the same style. In this way a street of houses of similar type develops. Tile roofing is the rule, and the rooms are lit with glazed windows. These houses are in the main not occupied by peasants, and there are no outhouses to accommodate the livestock or tools associated with peasant life. Occasionally, however, one comes across a bourgeois villa that has been taken over by

peasants; these are generally detached, and outhouses may be added (see Plate Fa).

The true rural house is to be found in settlements away from the road system, approached only by a winding mule track. It may be of one or two storeys, in the poorer areas the former being the rule. In the case of two-storey buildings, the lower floor may be partly excavated from the surrounding hillside, and it is generally used as a byre, whilst the family live on the upper floor. There are usually separate entrances for the two floors, the upper storey being approached by an outside staircase (see figs. 1 and 2).



FIG. 1. RUINED PEASANT HOUSE, DOBERKOSILO, MONTENEGRO

*Note staircase to left. Photographs: I. R. Whitaker, 1953*

The single-storey dwelling house may be divided between people and animals, one half serving as a byre demarcated by a small wooden partition<sup>7</sup>; with the development of health legislation the shared building is, however, disappearing very rapidly. In cases where the byre is a separate building it is not uncommon to find that it formerly served as a dwelling house.

Both house and byre are frequently built of drystone, although in roadside settlements (as in the towns) buildings may be covered by rough mud plaster concealing a drystone basis. Limestone is not an efficient material for drystone walling, however, and the use of a rough mortar seems to have become more common during recent times. The walls are sometimes built in three layers, two of stone with

\* With Plate F and five text figures



a central earthen section, but this again seems to be disappearing with the use of the coarse mortar.<sup>8</sup> In two-storied buildings some mortar is essential. The buildings are still very frequently thatched—the sculp technique is employed<sup>9</sup>—although in some of the more accessible districts pantiles are becoming common. Cvijić says they were introduced only in the nineteenth century to many of the more isolated regions of the country,<sup>10</sup> and tile roofs are still very largely confined to settlements in the neighbourhood of the former capital, Cetinje.<sup>11</sup> In the past the use of wooden shingles for roofing was noted by several travellers,<sup>12</sup> but this seems to be disappearing very rapidly.

The traditional peasant house used to have a central open fireplace, with no sort of chimney, and this gave the interior a characteristic 'black' appearance through the



FIG. 2. KARSTO-MEDITERRANEAN HOUSE,  
DROBNJACI, MONTENEGRO  
After Cvijić

accumulation of black carbonic matter.<sup>13</sup> In recent times a gable-end chimney has evolved, and although there is often a large open fireplace, smoke is drawn away by a proper flue. The chimney is a recent feature, however, and was, I think, preceded by an open gable-end fireplace without chimney, the smoke following up the wall<sup>14</sup>; thus in 1848 Sir Gardner Wilkinson wrote that 'chimneys are an unknown luxury.'<sup>15</sup> Nowadays there is generally an iron stove as well as a large fireplace of cobwork.

Cvijić describes and illustrates a complex consisting of several buildings, joined together by common longitudinal walls, but having separate roofs. This type of house is superficially similar to constructions from the Outer Hebrides, but I regret that I have not myself seen any in Montenegro.<sup>16</sup>

It is very difficult to generalize about the ground plan of the peasant house of this region. The most usual form appears to be rectangular with a door in the middle of one of the longer sides, and two rooms leading off from a central hallway (see fig. 3). One of these rooms serves as a living room, whilst the other is used as a storeroom, and occasionally as an additional bedroom. The number of windows is very strictly limited, and they seldom open.

The roof is generally supported by a ridgepole resting on the gables: a hipped roof is very uncommon. (It should be noted that Cvijić illustrates a house—called by him *kula*—from Polimlje which is quite different from those that I have described, having two storeys and a hipped roof.<sup>17</sup> I

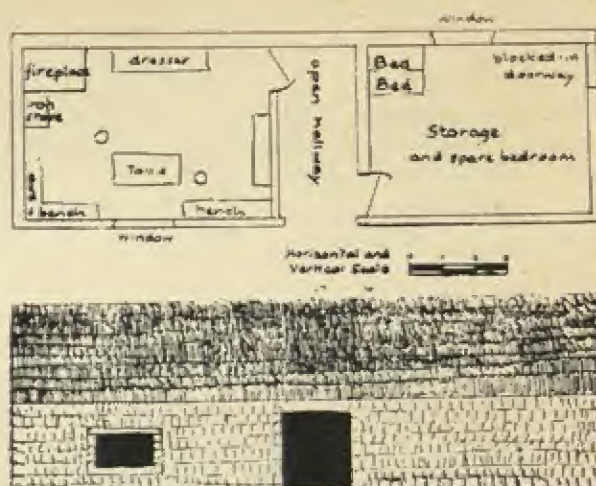


FIG. 3. KARST HOUSE NEAR CETINJE, MONTENEGRO

think, however, that this style—fig. 4—represents a very individualistic variation that has not been repeated over any wide area of Montenegro.)

An important question, which it is not easy to answer, is: What was the traditional form of a Montenegrin settlement? It is interesting that in the national epic poem *Gorski Vijenac* (The Mountain Wreath), written in 1847 by the



FIG. 4. TWO-STORIED HOUSE, POLIMLJE,  
MONTENEGRO  
After Cvijić

Prince-Bishop Peter II Petrović Njegoš, a returning chief-tain, on being asked what the houses in Venice were like, replied (lines 1424–8):

No finer houses in the world!  
But with it all is pain and need;  
All closely pack'd are they together,  
'Mid odours bad and noisome air;  
Pale and bloodless, too, their faces.<sup>18</sup>

The Montenegrins were clearly unaccustomed to houses close together. In many places just a single house with a few small outhouses and a courtyard, all surrounded by a wall,<sup>19</sup> dots the landscape. Nevertheless larger settlements occur, particularly where there is a larger tract of fertile land, such as a dried-up lake bed (*polje*). The influence of social



organization on the shape and size of the housing complex is less marked in Montenegro than in other parts of Yugoslavia where the *zadruga*, the South Slav collective family, was preserved until recent times. In such places the different elementary families forming the *zadruga* each had their own room, and not infrequently their own small house, so that the total size of the *zadruga* complex might be quite large.<sup>20</sup> In Montenegro the *zadruga*, whilst not entirely absent, is



FIG. 5. PEASANT HOUSE OF DRESSED STONE, CETINJE, MONTENEGRO

of less importance, the tribe (*pleme*) being the more important unit of social organization. Most of the members of a village would belong to the same *pleme*.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless members of the same sibling group seem to have lived near one another. Towards the centre of the settlement a slightly larger house would mark the home of the *knež*, head of a group of classificatory siblings and usually of the village. In the *knež*'s complex there would be a communal threshing place, where corn was threshed by horses or mules.

Quite apart from the drystone thatched peasant cottage (the Karsto-Mediterranean house of Cvijić (Plate Fb)) another type of house can be distinguished in Montenegro: the *savardak*, or shepherd's hut. This is a temporary bothy, formed of turf divots covering a framework of wooden poles assembled round three forked poles erected like a tripod.<sup>22</sup> The *savardak* is usually circular in ground plan, with a diameter of 15–20 feet, and conical in elevation (with a height of 10–12 feet).<sup>23</sup> This type of dwelling is to be found in Montenegro, Old Serbia (*Stara Srbija*), as well as in the north of Macedonia, and the Sandjak of Novi Pazar.

Within the present boundaries of the Republic of Montenegro is a stretch of land which did not belong to the historical principality of Montenegro: this is the coastal region from Hercegnovi (Castelnuovo) to the fjord of Kotor (Cattaro) and the littoral thence to Ulcinj (Dulcigno). The settlements of the coast are composed of sea fishers, and cultivation of the nearby hills is limited. Only in the hinterland are hill villages of true Montenegrin shepherds to be found. These settlements are of two types: those of the Boka Kotorska, the fjord of Kotor, which are similar to the other towns of the Dalmatian coast with

which they were politically united until 1918, and those of the open Adriatic coast, which are Muslim and Albanian. Kotor in mediæval times lay on the caravan route from Dubrovnik (Ragusa) to Constantinople, and was under the influence of Venice.<sup>24</sup> The population of the fjord has always been oriented towards the sea—the guild of sailors of the Boka (Bokeljska Mornarica) is probably the oldest trade guild still in existence with records dating from 809—whereas the Montenegrins have always been tied to the land. Luković has tried to prove that the two groups are identical, but although they may be so from the point of view of the physical anthropologist and the linguist, there is nevertheless a marked ethnic diversity, and this is apparent in their buildings.<sup>25</sup> In the fjord district the buildings are of the Venetian *casa* style, although often divided off into many dwelling houses, often not larger than one or two rooms.

The settlements on the open coast came under Montenegrin jurisdiction somewhat earlier: Bar (Antivari) was ceded at the Congress of Berlin (1878), having been under Turkish rule from 1479, whilst Ulcinj became Montenegrin in 1880 after 309 years of Turkish rule.<sup>26</sup> Both are typical Turkish ports, with houses of the same style as those of other urban centres occupied by the Turks.<sup>27</sup> Instead of the Venetian *casa*, with its large windows, its balustrading and balconies, these ports are filled with narrow streets, and houses with overhanging upper storeys, with few or no windows on the ground floor. These houses, described as Turco-Byzantine by Cvijić,<sup>28</sup> and certainly cognate with the Byzantine house,<sup>29</sup> are not properly speaking peasant houses, and therefore fall outside the scope of this study.

A final group of houses forming a distinct category are the dwellings of the plain between the Karst and the Albanian frontier, especially those about the north shore of Lake Skadar (Scutari). The town of Titograd (the former Podgorica)<sup>30</sup> was formally ceded to Montenegro in 1878, whilst the surrounding fertile plain did not come under the rule of the principality until after the first Balkan War in 1913. The population is mainly Albanian, with a strong Muslim element. The houses are similar to the more permanent ones of northern Albania<sup>31</sup>—fortified on account of the turbulent history of the region, with no windows in the lower storey, and only small ones in the upper one. The doors are narrow, with a stone screen on the inside, whilst the roofs are usually tiled, with a very low angle of pitch, preventing firing by attackers. The houses are large, housing the whole sibling group with its dependents, and the buildings are surrounded by a high stone wall.

Thus we see that there are six main types of house in present-day Montenegro: the urban house, generally of two storeys, the *casa* of the Boka Kotorska, and the Turkish house of the Adriatic coastal towns, all being ethnically alien to the Montenegrin peasant; and the rural cottage, usually thatched and of one or two storeys, the fortress house of the Albanians of the Plain of Podgorica and the conical bothy of the hill shepherds, which one may identify as the three basic types of traditional Montenegrin peasant house.<sup>32</sup>



## Notes

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Mr. Frank Spedding, B.Mus., A.R.C.M., for his assistance during fieldwork in Montenegro in August, 1953.

In this paper the Serbo-Croat forms for place names have been adopted, whilst the often better-known Italian forms for settlements on the coast are appended in brackets. I have preferred to use the English form for Montenegro (SC. Crna Gora).

<sup>2</sup> One must except the studies of the Bosnian house by R. Meringer: 'Das volksthümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina' in *Wissenschaftl. Mitth. aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, Vol. VII, pp. 247-90, Vienna, 1900; and *Die Stellung des bosnischen Hauses und Etymologien zum Hausrauth*, VI Abhandlung, Sitzungsber. d. phil.-hist. classe d. kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss. (Vol. CXLIV), Vienna, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> See the bibliography and excellent summary in George A. Megas, *The Greek House: Its Evolution and its Relation to the Houses of the Other Balkan Peoples* (Publications of the Ministry of Reconstruction No. 37), Athens, 1951.

<sup>4</sup> See Th. Zlatev, *Balgarskata kăsta*: I. Selska Kăsta, Sofia, 1930.

<sup>5</sup> See Jovan Cvijić, *La péninsule balkanique*, pp. 198-242, Paris, 1918 (cited as Cvijić, 1918); *Balkansko poluostrvo i Jugoslovenske zemlje*, pp. 348-74, Belgrade, 1922 (cited as Cvijić, 1922); Olive Lodge, *Peasant Life in Yugoslavia*, pp. 58-81, London, n.d. [1942]. The two accounts of Cvijić are not identical, whilst the classification of Miss Lodge was drawn up independently of both of them (Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 51 note). Professor Megas in his study of the Greek house summarizes previous work in Yugoslavia, but he does not present any scheme of classification (*op. cit.*, pp. 83-96).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. L. Niederle, *Manuel de l'antiquité slave* (Coll. de manuels publiés par l'Inst. d' Études Slaves, I), Vol. II, pp. 102-4, Paris, 1926; Megas, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 94-6; S. A. Tokarev, 'Etnografičeskie nabljudenija v balkanskikh stranakh' in *Sovetskaja Etnografija*, 1946, No. 2, pp. 200-211, Moscow, 1946.

<sup>7</sup> The sharing of the house between humans and animals is common to other parts of Europe, particularly the lands of the Gaidacht: see Werner Kissling, 'The Character and Purpose of the Hebridean Black House,' in *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LXXV (1945), p. 83; the list of similarities between the houses of Montenegro and those of the Hebrides also includes the former use of the open fireplace, and the sharing of the longitudinal wall between buildings which are independently roofed. Yet although the similarity has been frequently commented upon by travellers and others (e.g. Rev. W. Denton, *Montenegro: Its People and their History*, London, 1877, p. 112), I do not think that any genetic connexion can be postulated. But this example of cultural convergence requires further study.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson, writing in 1848, said there were few two-storied houses outside the towns (*Dalmatia and Montenegro*, London, 1848, Vol. I, p. 419).

<sup>8</sup> The same technique is in use in the Outer Hebrides and the Faeroes: cf. Colin Sinclair, *The Thatched Houses of the Old Highlands*, Edinburgh, 1953, p. 22; Holger Rasmussen, *Færøske kulturbilleder omkring Aarhundredskiftet*, Copenhagen, 1950, p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> For a description of this technique (from Wales) see Iorwerth C. Peate, *The Welsh House*, Liverpool, 1946, pp. 178f.; see also Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>10</sup> Cvijić, 1918, p. 231.

<sup>11</sup> As well as other urban centres.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. Denton, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

<sup>13</sup> C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben* (Gesch. der Europäischen Staaten, Part XXXVIII), Vol. II, Gotha, 1918, pp. 74f. In earlier times this type of house was to be seen on the Dalmatian coast (Abbé Alberto Fortis, *Travels in Dalmatia*, London, 1778, p. 80), and is still common in the more remote parts of the Hercegovina.

<sup>14</sup> Wilkinson said the fireplace may be in the corner (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 417). The same general evolutionary sequence has been postulated for the black and white houses of the Hebrides (Ake

Campbell, 'Keltisk och nordisk kultur i möte på Hebriderna,' *Folk-Liv*, Vol. VII-VIII (Stockholm, 1944), p. 236).

<sup>15</sup> Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 418.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Cvijić, 1918, p. 239; 1922, p. 365. Sinclair, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>17</sup> Cvijić, 1922, plate facing p. 388.

<sup>18</sup> In the translation by James W. Wiles, *The Mountain Wreath of P. P. Nyegosh Prince-Bishop of Montenegro 1839-1851*, London, 1930, p. 146. The folk poetry and folklore of the Balkans are very rich in descriptions of the material culture of the region, and although there are dating difficulties, they are worth close study by anthropologists. There are also many interesting allusions to such institutions as blood-brotherhood.

<sup>19</sup> Lodge, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70; Cvijić, 1918, p. 233. I hope to be able shortly to publish the results of my study of the *zadruga*; but see also Vera Ehrlich-Stein, 'The Southern Slav Patriarchal Family' in *Sociol. Rev.*, Vol. XXXII (Malvern, 1940, pp. 224-41) and 'Phases in the Evolution of Family Life in Yugoslavia,' *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII (Ledbury, 1945), pp. 50-64; Lodge, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-111; Artur Mayer, *Die bauerliche Hauskommunion (zadruga) in den Königreichen Kroatien und Slavonien*, Heidelberg, 1910; and Dinko Tomasic, *Personality and Culture in Eastern European Politics*, New York, 1948.

<sup>21</sup> See M. E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, London, 1928, especially pp. 34-52, 76-87.

<sup>22</sup> Cvijić, 1918, pp. 226f.; Lodge, *op. cit.*, pp. 80f.

<sup>23</sup> In construction these are similar to the *lavvo* of the Lapps; see Ernst Manker, *Lapsk kultur vid Stora Lule älvs källsjöar* (Acta Lapponica IV), Stockholm, 1944, pp. 105-19. For an illustration of a conical shelter used by soldiers guarding the Yugoslav-Albanian frontier road to Peć, see Lena A. Yovitchitch, *Pages from Here and There in Serbia*, Belgrade, 1926, plate opposite p. 142.

<sup>24</sup> Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, London, 1944, Vol. II, p. 267; Harold W. V. Temperley, *History of Serbia*, London, 1917, p. 135.

<sup>25</sup> Niko Luković, *Boka Kotorska*, Cetinje, 1951, pp. 11-15. T. G. Jackson, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria*, Oxford, 1887, Vol. II, p. 37.

Wilkinson estimated in 1848 that the proportion of Roman Catholics to Orthodox in Kotor was 2 : 1 (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 389).

<sup>26</sup> B. H. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans, 1870-1880*, Oxford, 1937, pp. 412, 533 and 569; M. E. Durham, *Through the Land of the Serb*, London, 1904, pp. 67, 135.

<sup>27</sup> Reginald Wyon and Gerald Prance, *The Land of the Black Mountain*, London, 1903, pp. 113, 117; Lovett Fielding Edwards, *A Wayfarer in Yugoslavia*, London, 1939, pp. 133-9.

<sup>28</sup> Cvijić, 1918, pp. 313-15; 1922, pp. 201-3.

<sup>29</sup> Megas, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

<sup>30</sup> Now capital of the republic, and the centre of large-scale building. The new town is, however, separate from and on the opposite side of the Ribnica river to the old Turkish-style town, which was much damaged in the war.

<sup>31</sup> Cvijić, 1918, p. 199; 1922, pp. 311-12; Lodge, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-80. For a description of the related houses of the north of Albania see Franz, Baron Nopsca, *Haus und Hausrauth im katholischen Nordalbanien* (Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel 16), Sarajevo, 1912, and Albanien: *Bauten, Trachten und Geräte Nordalbanien*, Berlin, 1925; Herbert Louis, *Albanien* (Geog. Abh., Ser. 2, Vol. III), Stuttgart, 1927, pp. 53-9; the late Margaret Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, Cambridge, 1954, pp. 16-20; and the excellent summary by Megas, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-118.

<sup>32</sup> A significant feature emerging from this study is the complete absence of wooden dwellings, a result of an environment where large trees are but seldom found. Such an absence leads one to question the hypothesis of Niederle (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 119) that the original medium of the Slav house-builders was wood, unless one postulates also a very different geographical environment.



## NETTING KNOTS AND NEEDLES\*

by

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**105** It has become apparent in the course of a general investigation of the literature of ancient fishing methods that little attention has been paid to the actual knots used in making nets. Wissler<sup>1</sup> particularly remarks on this lack of information. The publications of travellers and ethnologists contain numerous references to knots 'as used at home' or 'as universally tied,' but with few exceptions the descriptions or illustrations are not clear enough for the precise method of knotting to be determined. A study of the specimens in the museums of Oxford and Cambridge<sup>2</sup> has, however, shown that there are basic differences between the knots most widespread throughout the world, and those commonly used in present-day Europe.

In order to facilitate an examination of further material the knots are figured and described, and their occurrence, as far as it is known to me, is detailed. It is hoped that attention will be drawn to the subject, and a more complete study made by those better qualified to undertake the work.

Knotless netting, which is more allied to crocheting, is not suitable for fishing purposes, and is not discussed. A half-way stage, however, between this and the true netting knots is found in the overhand knot (fig. 1*a*), which Clark<sup>3</sup>

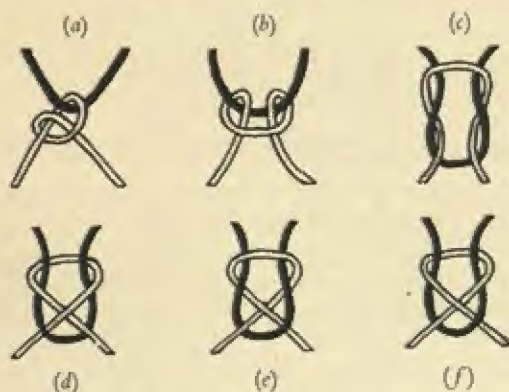


FIG. 1. NETTING KNOTS

(*a*) Overhand knot; (*b*) cow hitch; (*c*) reef knot; (*d*) mesh knot from under; (*e*) mesh knot from over; (*f*) little-finger mesh knot. In each knot the twine is led through the upper loop from the lower left corner to the lower right corner.

describes as typical of the numerous scraps of netting from neolithic deposits in the Alpine area, and which Granlund<sup>4</sup> records in Stone Age Denmark. It is an insecure knot even in small-mesh nets made with coarse twine, and does not seem to have survived except in nineteenth-century Lapland.<sup>5</sup>

The mesh knots and the reef, tied in a variety of different ways, provide the main netting knots. The three versions of the former are alike in that the twine is passed only once through the loop on to which the knot is being made,

whereas in the reef and the related cow hitch the twine is passed through the loop twice. The mesh knot (fig. 1*d*) is stated in the leading American and English publications<sup>6, 7</sup> to be the ordinary way of netting with a needle, and is best referred to as the mesh knot from under on account of the way in which the loop being taken up is threaded. The best and most readily available account of the making of this knot, as well as of the reef and the third kind of mesh knot to be mentioned, is given by Steven.<sup>8</sup> The mesh knot from under is employed nowadays on a large scale throughout Europe and the United States, but is not recorded in the literature except from Antrea in Stone Age Finland.<sup>9</sup> In the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford it is found only in three bags and two headbands, from Colombia and Brazil, New Guinea and Nigeria, and in the Cambridge specimens only in one fibre net from Ecuador. The knot pictured by Bogoras<sup>10</sup> in a Chuckchee fish net of leather thongs is also of this type, but with an additional twist in each loop.

The method of tying the mesh knot from over (fig. 1*e*) in Samoa and the Cook Islands is described in detail by Buck,<sup>11</sup> and in the Santa Cruz Islands by Firth,<sup>12</sup> while it can be deduced by means explained below that Pitt Rivers specimens from modern Egypt, the Andaman Islands, the Solomon Islands, New Guinea and Australia have been made similarly.<sup>13</sup> Roughley<sup>14</sup> confirms this by describing the netting stick 'being taken over and towards the netter instead of under as we do,' while Davidson<sup>15</sup> states that this particular knotting is the most widespread of any Australian technique, and is absent only from the south-west of the continent and Tasmania. I have found the mesh knot from over in use throughout much of Northern Rhodesia, although records from elsewhere in Africa are lacking. It is made in the same manner as in the Pacific and Australia.

The third mesh knot (fig. 1*f*) is a mirror version of the mesh knot from under and the reverse of the mesh knot from over. It is normally tied by what Ashley refers to as the Martha's Vineyard method,<sup>16</sup> which is also advocated by several earlier European authorities.<sup>17</sup> Like the mesh knot from under it is in present but decreasing use in Western Europe, though apart from modern America it is only certainly recorded elsewhere among coastal fishermen in Sierra Leone.<sup>18</sup> It involves several complicated movements of all the digits of the left hand, and has probably arisen in response to a demand for a more regular and secure knot than the mesh knot from under for the fine twine necessary in gill nets. It could not readily be used where the fingers are called into play in lieu of a mesh gauge, as in parts of West and Central Africa<sup>19</sup> and of Australia.<sup>20</sup> It is best termed the little-finger mesh knot, to conform with similar names in the French and German

\* With two text figures



literature. A twist in the arms of the upper loop depicted by several authorities is produced if the shuttle is led through this loop from back to front, a more convenient method than the reverse, and an unimportant matter in large-mesh nets made with fine twine.

As the mesh knot from over and the little-finger mesh knot are reversed forms of one another, it cannot be decided without field observations which knot has been used, unless the first or last mesh in a piece of netting can be detected. This is obvious in some of the Oxford specimens because the shuttles and their twine are still attached to the netting, and the last rows are still lying on the mesh gauges. In other nets it can be deduced if it is assumed that net-making proceeds from left to right, with the mesh gauge in the left hand and the shuttle in the right. It should be noted that in rectangular nets the alternate rows of knots are normally front and back versions of the same knot, for at the end of each row the whole piece of netting is turned around, so that work can continue from left to right. This is the general modern practice, and has also been followed in many of the Pitt Rivers nets, including one from a twelfth-dynasty tomb at Illahun, Egypt. Firth describes the procedure in the Santa Cruz Islands<sup>21</sup> and Vogt in nets from the Swiss lake dwellings, in which the overhand knot was used.<sup>22</sup> In circular or cylindrical nets there is normally no such alteration because work continues spirally, with the result that the front or back of the last mesh cannot be deduced. Net-making from right to left with the tools in opposite hands is a feasible but cumbersome operation, although advocated in a modern American handbook.<sup>23</sup> A mesh knot from under made in this way produces what is indistinguishable from a little-finger mesh knot. I have further noted that some English fishermen do not turn their piece about at the end of a row, but continue braiding alternate rows from right to left, just as a hole in a net would be mended. But as they then make their mesh knot over instead of from under, the result is still the reverse of their usual knot, the mesh knot from under, and again indistinguishable from it. This practice is recommended by Steven,<sup>24</sup> with particular reference to the cramped conditions on board a modern fishing vessel.

There are over 60 nets in the Oxford collection which have the second or third type of mesh knot, but in the 15 nets in which the method of tying can be established by the means elaborated above only the second type, the mesh knot from over, has been used. It is therefore fairly safe to assume that the more complicated little-finger mesh knot is rare or absent in the localities concerned.

De Mortillet<sup>25</sup> clearly depicts the knot from a Robenhaupt net as being of one of these two types, but Vogt<sup>26</sup> made a careful study of this actual point, and came to the conclusion that there was no evidence of any *weberknoten* in the material from the Swiss lake dwellings, having found only examples of 'half-knots' (i.e. overhand knots). A specimen from Robenhaupt in the Cambridge museum is certainly made with an overhand knot. In the absence of further corroboration this single reference may therefore be suspected.

The reef or flat knot (fig. 1c) is found in West and

Central Africa and in the Americas,<sup>27</sup> and also occurs in a number of other separated localities, to some of which it may have been carried from Western Europe, where it is locally employed, at least in England,<sup>28</sup> Norway<sup>29</sup> and Germany.<sup>30</sup> It is normally vertical; the horizontal form, reported by Ashley<sup>31</sup> to be suitable for twine too heavy for a shuttle, has not been found by me. A cow hitch (fig. 1b), which in nets loosely made or pulled out of shape often spills into a vertical reef, is represented in the Oxford collection in a number of bags from the Naga Hills, Assam, in thick netting from ancient Peruvian graves at Ancon,<sup>32</sup> and in fine netting from the Akowoio tribe in British Guiana, and in the Cambridge museum in a scrap of fine cotton netting from Huaca Prieta, North-West Peru, reliably dated as older than 1200 B.C., and in some pieces of netting from the basket-making Indians of Texas. It is also described from the Belgian Congo.<sup>33</sup> Evidence that the cow hitch is made as depicted is obtained from an unfinished British Guiana net, and that the reef is made as shown in fig. 1c from an unfinished net from Nyasaland. The English and German authorities quoted above<sup>28, 30</sup> confirm that the reef is made in this manner. But both knots could equally well be made in the reverse form, for as in the case of the two mesh knots, it would not be possible to distinguish the front from the back of the knot once the net was finished.

One form of reef in the Rhodesias differs radically from that of other parts of the world, including the neighbouring territories of Nyasaland and Tanganyika, because the course of the twine through the mesh loop gives a characteristic twist to the two lower arms of the knot. It is best considered as a variation of the mesh knot from over, from which it differs in only one movement, and which in some cases is used by the same man in the same piece of work. If loosely made this reef also becomes a cow hitch, with the same twist in the two lower arms.

In spite of their apparent diversity, netting shuttles are of four basic types only. The most primitive is a splinter with a hole at one end, a tool which merely threads the twine through the knot. Surviving specimens are of bone, and only to such implements should the term 'needle' strictly be applied, the term 'shuttle' being reserved for the more complex twine-holding instrument which is called a needle by fishermen throughout the English-speaking world. An exceptional type which is a slight improvement on the true needle is a rod to the end of which loops of twine are attached by clove hitches, the rod and twine being drawn through the knot. There is a Pitt Rivers specimen from the Ysabel Islands, Solomon Group, and Buck records it from Mangaia, Cook Islands.<sup>34</sup> Of the instruments designed to carry a supply of twine through the knot the simplest type, practically world-wide in distribution, is a rod, stick or piece of metal with a groove or fork at each end (figs. 2a-d).<sup>35</sup> The arms of these grooves cause some inconvenience by catching up when passing through a loop, unless they are so fashioned as almost to meet (figs. 2e-g). The perfected tool has a closed front and a tongue (figs. 2h-j) and is such a real improvement that it has been eagerly copied by users of open-ended types. It appears to have arisen in Western Europe in recent times



and spread from there. The earliest description of it dates from eighteenth-century France,<sup>36</sup> for although a much older bronze specimen (fig. 2*d*) has a tongue it is also open-ended.

It seems reasonable to correlate the reef and the cow hitch with the absence of a shuttle, and except in Western Europe these knots are often associated with thick twine and strong nets, which are not necessarily designed for fishing. It should be noted that these two knots are frequently found in the same piece of netting, owing either to

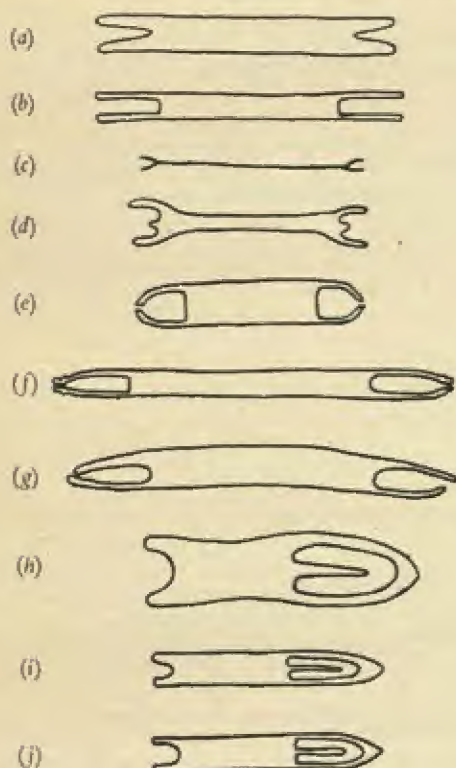


FIG. 2. NETTING SHUTTLES

(a) Sherlock River, North-west Australia, wood, 270 × 18 millimetres; (b) Andaman Islands, bamboo, 180 × 20 millimetres; (c) London (Roman), bronze, 125 × 1.5 millimetres; (d) Haute Savoie (prehistoric), bronze; (e) Chittagong, Assam, bamboo, 175 × 25 millimetres; (f) Woodlark Island, Trobriand Islands, wood, 440 × 25 millimetres; (g) Bering Straits (Eskimo), ivory, 185 × 24 millimetres; (h) Hokkaido, Japan (Ainu), wood, 180 × 30 millimetres; (i) Finnmarken (Lapp, 1898), bone, 135 × 12 millimetres; (j) Kilbirnie, Scotland (1948), plastic, 140 × 12 millimetres.

the fact that the cow hitch is spilled into a reef when the netting, made diagonally as are all square nets, is stretched laterally so as to produce square meshes, or to the fact that the reef is spilled into a cow hitch if loosely made. The reef of Western Europe is not comparable with that resulting from a spilled cow hitch, being the form intended and habitually used with fine twine. In Central and West Africa both the open-ended and closed types of shuttles are used, but they are probably of recent origin, for in some parts most recently influenced from outside, such as Northern Rhodesia, the shuttle is unknown,<sup>39</sup> the fingers being used instead. Further, Aitutaki, Cook Islands, alone in the Pacific has the reef knot, and is without the shuttle,<sup>37</sup> in

TABLE I. WORLD DISTRIBUTION OF NETTING KNOTS†

	Over- hand Knot	Cow Hitch	Reef Knot	Mesh Knot from Under	Mesh Knot from Over	Little Finger Mesh Knot
EUROPE						
Great Britain			*	*		*
France			*	*		*
Germany			*	*		*
Norway			*	*		
Lapland	*					
Neolithic—						
Denmark	*					
Alpine area	*					
Finland				*		
MEDITERRANEAN						
Egypt (Fayum, modern)					*	*
(Fayum, XIIth Dyn.)					* or	*
ASIA						
India (Central Prov.)					*	or *
Assam		*			*	
Andaman Is.			*		*	
Nicobar Is.			*		*	or *
N.-E. Burma					*	or *
N.-E. Asia (Koryak) <sup>41</sup>				*	*	or *
(Chuckchee)						
Japan			*			
AFRICA						
Sierra Leone						*
Nigeria (Lagos)			*	*		
(Niger Prov.)			*	*		
Belgian Congo		*	*	*		
Rhodesias		*	*	*	*	
Tanganyika			*	*		
Nyasaland			*	*		
AMERICA						
Bering Str. (Kotzebue)			*		*	or *
Brit. Columbia (Vancouver)			*		*	
North America (aboriginal)			*	?	?	*
(modern)				*	*	or *
Texas		*			*	or *
Ecuador			*	*		
British Guiana		*		*		
Colombia				*		
Brazil				*		
Peru (Ancon and Huaca Prieta)		*				
POLYNESIA						
Hawaii					*	or *
Ellice Is.					*	or *
Samoa			*		*	
Cook Is.			*		*	
Niue					*	or *
Tonga					*	or *
New Zealand					*	or *
MELANESIA						
Fiji					*	or *
Santa Cruz Is.					*	
Solomon Is.					*	
New Britain				*	*	or *
New Guinea				*	*	or *
Goodenough I.				*	*	or *
Marshall Bennett Is.				*	*	or *
Trobriand Is.				*	*	or *
Torres Str. Is.				*	*	or *
MICRONESIA						
Gilbert Is.					*	or *
AUSTRALIA						
North-West, West, South and East					*	

† Based on the literature cited, the author's own experience and the material in the ethnological museums at Oxford and Cambridge



contrast to the general use of the shuttle and the mesh knot in that area. In the Americas no records of true shuttles can be traced other than in the Eskimo parts,<sup>38</sup> but an idea of how a cow hitch can be tied without one has been obtained by an examination of a fine net from a Carib tribe in British Guiana.<sup>39</sup> In this case, the twine is wound on to a pointed rod of which the head is too large to penetrate the loop on to which the knot is made, and the cow hitch is formed by a crochet movement in which the mesh stick is involved.

I am unable to detect any outstanding difference in the effort required to make netting with the reef and with any of the three mesh knots, for although the little-finger mesh knot requires only one major movement on the shuttle in making the knot, against two needed in the other three methods, the placing of the twine and the co-ordination of the digits of the left hand are more complicated and difficult to learn. Similarly, although slightly more regular and secure netting is produced with the little-finger mesh knot than with the reef or the mesh knot from under (at least when fine twine is used), it is not possible to weigh the claims of the little-finger mesh knot against those of the mesh knot from over without elaborate time and motion studies, for nets in the Pitt Rivers collection from most parts of the world made with the latter knot could hardly exhibit a higher standard of craftsmanship. The little-finger mesh knot, by its peculiar method of tightening the bend on to the arms of the loop being taken up, produces by far the most satisfactory single knot with spun nylon, an advantage which has of course only just been discovered.

#### Summary

A preliminary study of the distribution of the various knotting methods makes possible the following conclusions, which may have to be modified in the light of further knowledge:

(a) The overhand knot of neolithic Denmark and the Alpine area is an unsatisfactory half-stage which has not survived except in Lapland.

(b) The cow hitch and reef are typical of Central Africa and the Americas, the main areas which appear to lack the shuttle, but the reef is also found in Western Europe and a few other localities (to which it was possibly carried from Europe very recently).

(c) The mesh knot from under is the main knot of modern Western Europe and the United States, and is also found in South America and other isolated localities. It was used in neolithic Finland, and possibly in aboriginal North America.

(d) The mesh knot from over is widely spread in the Mediterranean, Asia, India, the Pacific and Australia, in all of which areas it is the typical knot, and is found in at least one part of Central Africa alongside the reef.

(e) The little-finger mesh knot appears to have arisen in Western Europe in recent centuries, but was not sufficiently superior to other knots (particularly the mesh knot from over) to have spread at the same rate as the closed type of shuttle, which probably arose at the same time and in the same area.

(f) The open-ended shuttle has a world-wide distribution, Central and Southern Africa and the Americas being apparently the only regions without it.

(g) The mesh gauge or mesh stick is universal (except in aboriginal Central Africa), but in many parts the fingers are used in place of a gauge for making coarse-mesh nets.

(h) It is not possible to deduce, without considerable further research, whether the knots found outside the main areas of distribution of their particular types were carried there (and if so at what period of history) or whether they were adopted by in-

dependent discovery. But as six main methods of tying a netting knot—one inefficient (the overhand knot), one semi-efficient (the cow hitch), and four of approximately equal efficiency (the reef and the three mesh knots)—have evolved in different parts of the world with only a moderate amount of overlap, and it is not easy to envisage any further mesh knots of equal simplicity and efficiency, it is just as reasonable to suppose that the same few knots were hit upon independently in isolated regions and eras as to infer that in every case there must have been cultural contact. Such contacts, of course, have taken place, particularly in more recent times; the occurrence of the little-finger mesh knot in Sierra Leone is a probable example. But I have come across only one instance<sup>40</sup> of the actual adoption of a knot being recorded.

(i) Similarly, the mesh gauge and the shuttle are such simple and obvious tools that their almost universal distribution need not necessarily be attributed to single origins.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> C. Wissler, *The American Indian*, New York, 1922, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> The facilities and advice given by the curators and staff of the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, and of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of Cambridge, are gratefully acknowledged.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. D. Clark, *Prehistoric Europe: The Economic Basis*, London, 1952, p. 266, and fig. 125a.

<sup>4</sup> J. Granlund, 'Lindbast och Tråbast,' *Folk-Liv*, 1940, Vol. XIV, fig. 6a.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

<sup>6</sup> C. W. Ashley's *The Ashley Book of Knots*, New York, 1944, is a monumental work containing some 3,900 illustrations of knots, bends and splices. Fig. 402 shows the tying of the mesh knot.

<sup>7</sup> F. M. Davis, 'An Account of the Fishing Gear of England and Wales,' *Min. of Ag. and Fish. Sea Fisheries Investigations*, Ser. II, Vol. IX, No. 6, London, 1927, p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> G. A. Steven, *Nets—How to Make, Mend and Preserve Them*, London, 1950.

<sup>9</sup> S. Pääli, 'Ein Steinzeitlicher Moorfund,' *Finska Forn. Tidskr.*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, 1920, p. 16.

<sup>10</sup> W. Bogoras, 'The Chuckchee,' *Jessup North Pacific Expedition*, *Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, Vol. VII, 1904, fig. 60.

<sup>11</sup> P. H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), *Samoan Material Culture*, *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bull.* 75, 1930, p. 471.

<sup>12</sup> R. Firth, *Primitive Polynesian Economy*, London, 1939, p. 95.

<sup>13</sup> Buck, *loc. cit.*, fig. 258, depicts a form of the mesh knot from over in which the final loop which should secure the two arms of the mesh being taken up is spilled below this upper mesh to form an overhand knot on itself, but as this is an aberrant and insecure knot found only in one type of net in Samoa it is not worth further consideration.

<sup>14</sup> T. C. Roughley, *Fishes of Australia and their Technology*, Sydney, 1916, p. 263.

<sup>15</sup> D. S. Davidson, 'Australian Netting and Basketry Techniques,' *J. Polynes. Soc.*, Vol. XLII, p. 257. The knot in his fig. 1 is as described in the text, but later a knot is figured (presumably an error of reproduction) that would spill into a reef with a twist in two arms.

<sup>16</sup> Ashley, *loc. cit.*, fig. 403.

<sup>17</sup> H. L. Duhamel du Monceau, *Traité Général des Pêches et Histoire des Poissons qu'elles fournissent*, 1769-77, Vol. I, Sec. II, Plate III and p. 9, gives the clearest account. Numerous later English, German and French writers copy one another in illustrating the method of tying so incorrectly that no knot would result if their diagrams were followed.

<sup>18</sup> Steven, *loc. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>19</sup> From my own observations.

<sup>20</sup> J. F. Mann, 'Notes on the Aborigines of Australia,' *Proc. Geog. Soc. Australasia (N.S.W. & Victoria Branches)*, 1st session, 1883-4 (1885), p. 35, 'the mesh size is regular and controlled by the finger'; and W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the N.W. Central Queensland Aborigines*, London, 1887, p. 131, 'instead of a mesh stick each mesh is rolled on to the back of the foot as it is made.'

<sup>21</sup> Firth, *loc. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>22</sup> E. Vogt, *Geflechte und Gewebe der Steinzeit*, Basel, 1937, p. 35.



<sup>23</sup> R. Graumont and E. Westrom, *Fisherman's Knots and Nets*, New York, 1948, p. 154.

<sup>24</sup> Steven, *loc. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>25</sup> G. de Mortillet, *Origine de la Navigation et de la Pêche*, Paris, 1887.

<sup>26</sup> Vogt, *loc. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>27</sup> E. Rostlund, 'Freshwater Fish and Fishing in Native North America,' *Univ. Calif. Pub. Geog.*, Vol. IX, 1952, p. 99, details the records of the 'square' knot (the reef), explaining that the 'sheet bend' (a mesh knot of unspecified type) was and is more widespread. This valuable piece of research was received after I had left England, and his references cannot be followed up.

<sup>28</sup> Davis, *loc. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>29</sup> Granlund, *loc. cit.*, p. 181.

<sup>30</sup> M. von dem Borne, 'Susswasserfischerei,' *Handbuch der Fischzucht und Fischerei*, Berlin, 1886, fig. 438.

<sup>31</sup> Ashley, *loc. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>32</sup> There is a specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum, and one in the Peabody Museum is illustrated by C. Rau, 'Prehistoric Fishing in Europe and North America,' *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, 509, 1884, p. 328.

<sup>33</sup> A. Goffin, in *Les Pêcheries et les Poissons du Congo*, Brussels, 1909, mentions that most nets in the region are made with a cow hitch (*nœud de batelier sur ganse*), much liable to slip, but that better examples have a reef knot (*nœud droit*).

<sup>34</sup> P. H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), *Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bull. 179, 1944, fig. 141.

<sup>35</sup> The outlines are drawn from specimens in the Pitt Rivers Museum, with the exception of fig. 2d, which is from A. Gruvel's *La Pêche dans la Préhistoire, dans l'Antiquité et chez les Peuples Primitifs*, Paris, 1928, p. 38.

<sup>36</sup> Duhamel du Monceau, *loc. cit.*, Plate V, depicts both open and closed types.

<sup>37</sup> Buck, *loc. cit.* (note 34), p. 225.

<sup>38</sup> Rau, *loc. cit.*, p. 65, figures a rough instrument from California which appears to be more of a twine-holder than a true shuttle. It consists of two curved pieces of wood bound together.

<sup>39</sup> Miss Butt kindly demonstrated the process with material which she had collected.

<sup>40</sup> H. A. Fosbrooke, 'Some Aspects of Kimwami Fishing Culture with Comparative Notes on Alien Methods,' *J.R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. LXIV (1934), p. 18, states that these fishermen on Lake Victoria learnt to tie a knot by unravelling a manufactured net. His fig. 10, however, clearly shows a mesh knot from under, whereas in all machine-made nets examined by me the knots produced are similar to alternate front and back versions of the mesh knot from over, although in fact they are made sideways, vide the illustration accompanying the article 'Nets,' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th Ed., Vol. XVI, 1929, p. 246.

<sup>41</sup> W. Jochelson, 'The Koryak,' *Jessup North Pacific Expedition, Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, Vol. VI, Part 2, 1908, fig. 85.

## SHORTER NOTE

**The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field.** By H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, LL.D., M.A.

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### INTRODUCTION

During my last stay in the Nilgiri mountains of South India, in 1949, I had occasion to make the following observations in connexion with the reading on the spot of W. H. R. Rivers's book *The Todas* (London, 1906). I was thus able to fill out some of the gaps admittedly left by him, as also to correct some passages which appeared to me as not corresponding, at least no longer corresponding, with the facts. For the benefit of those interested in the Todas as well as for future research workers in this field, I list these observations below in the order in which they occur in Rivers's book, beginning with the additions.<sup>1</sup>

### I. ADDITIONS

1. *Buffaloes* (pp. 47ff.). These are divided into two main groups, the *putir* or ordinary buffaloes, and the *pastir*, or buffaloes sacred to the Teivilkh moiety of the Todas, which name, however, by extension, serves also to designate the sacred buffaloes of the Tardharsh moiety. The latter are divided into four categories, each corresponding to the type of sacred dairy which serves them. First come the *wursulir* or buffaloes of the *wursuli*. These have different names according to the various Tardharsh *mads*. Thus the *wursulir* of Nirkh and Kwordhoni go by the appellation of *kaitankursir*; those of Pan (Mörorl) and the Teivilkh *mad* of Pier are called *kudeipir*; those of Kerar, *moniapir*; those of Norsh, *mersgursir*; and those of Karsh and Tarar, *pidrehtipir*. Next are the buffaloes of the *kurpali* dairies, of which so few still subsist, named *wodrodvair*. They again have different names in each of the *mads* to which they belong. They are *martir* at Karsh; *norshperrtir* at Norsh; *pineipir* at Pan (Mörorl); and *pershasir* at Melgarsh. The following group is a modest one—those of the *kugvali* dairy of Tarar, which are appropriately known as *kugvalir*. Finally come the buffaloes of the *ti-mads*, the *ti-ir*, which are again divided into two principal sections, the ordinary *ti-ir* or *punnir*, and the super-sacred *persinir*. These are not called by the same names in every *ti-mad*. At the Makarsh *ti* of the Karsh clan, there are two kinds of *persinir*, the *parsir* and the *piirsir* or *enodrir*; at the Or *ti* of the Norsh clan there are the *ti-ir* divided into *unir*, *atir* and *teirtir*, and the *warsir* which comprise two subdivisions, *kulatir* and *perithir*; at the Tarsh *ti* of the Pan (Mörorl) *modol* (clan), the *persinir* include *tarsir* and *warsir*; and at the *ti* of Kwordhoni, they are called *arjaiir*. It should be noted that the *ti* of

the Nirkh (Rivers's Nidrsi) people has ceased to exist, and my informants told me that it had already done so in the days of Rivers (see Corrections, 5).

2. *Naming a girl* (p. 332). Rivers writes that 'there is some doubt as to the relative by whom a girl is named.' This doubt persists, in that my informants could not agree whether the child's grandmother (paternal or maternal) or the eldest woman of the *mad* in which the birth has occurred would be called upon to do so. They did say, however, that either of these could perform. All informants denied that the *mumi* (father's sister) was entitled to give a name to her niece.

3. *Mother sibs* (polkhliol) (p. 509). These are referred to by Rivers under the incorrect appellation of *piliol*. This is so important and lengthy a subject that I have found it necessary to deal with it in a special paper (see 'The Mother Sibs of the Todas of the Nilgiris,' by H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, *Eastern Anthropologist*, Vol. V, Nos. 2 and 3).

4. *The marriage of matchwü* (pp. 512-15). Cross-cousin marriages are not necessarily monogamous, as Rivers's text would seem to imply. There have been recorded cases of such unions being polygamous, both polygynous and polyandrous, and although none are to be found just now, there is nothing in Toda custom against such a practice.

5. *The clan divisions of the Todas according to the Badagas* (pp. 541f.). The fivefold Badaga division of the Todas does seem to be connected with the customs regulating the payment of grain tribute (*kur*, see below, 7) to the Todas by the Badagas. It does not arise out of the constitution of the *noim*, because this body, as described by Rivers, is only brought together in that form for affairs concerning relations between the two tribes, and there is no indication, as Rivers believes, that Norsh ever represented Pan or Tarar, the remaining clans. My informants thought it to be a geographical division of the Todas made to facilitate the payment of the grain tribute. Thus the following Badaga villages give grain to the corresponding Toda *mads* below because they lie closest to them:

The closest villages to the Teivilol (Peiki)	
Kodonod Ur (Tuneri) to Karsh and Melgarsh (Kenma and Pekkan)	
Tirjudi to Norsh	} (both Todi)
Kunda to Pan	
Sholur to Tarar	
Mekanad to Kerrar, Päm and Nirkh	(all Kuttan)
Kieriroti to Kororj	
Puirgoroti to Kwordhoni	



My informants denied that it was an ancient Toda classification, but said that the names of the five Badaga divisions were perhaps derived from corrupted appellations of former Toda customs; they were unable to say exactly which, however.

6. *The office of Tiini-ngani-potvayiar* (pp. 555f.). Rivers rightly says that the office of a Toda *monegar* was instituted by Mr. Sullivan and that it therefore is not a Toda title. What he does not mention, however, anywhere in his book is that the Todas do have a chief called the *Tiini-ngani-potvayiar* or 'Purse-Holder.' Persakur (Riv. genealogy 8) is at present the holder, since 1948. Öknarsh (Riv. Arknars, gen. 8) held this office previously when I was with the Todas in 1939 and Parkurs (Riv. gen. 8), Persakur's father, at the time of Rivers's visit. The *Tiini-ngani-potvayiar* keeps the *pirpon*, a very small plain gold coin, in a purse, and the mythology of this piece of money is that the goddess-patron of the Todas, Terkish, gave it to a *palol* as a token that she wanted him to look after the Todas for her, but that unable to do so because of the pressure of his work, he gave it to the elder of the Karsh *modol* asking him to take over the responsibility. Since then, the office has always been held by a senior member of the Karshol. The *Tiini-ngani-potvayiar* has to fast once a week and wash the *pirpon* in the *pali nipa* (dairy stream), and he is never allowed inside a house where there is a menstruating woman, a woman in childbirth or a corpse. Should anything 'go wrong with the Todas,' I was told, the *Tiini-ngani-potvayiar* must call in a *tevol* whom he will consult, and then the Badaga chieftain-priest of the Tueri village calls the *parputi*; a prayer is offered to the Toda gods, a fine is paid to the dairy of the *mad* where things went 'wrong,' the *parputi* puts a silver coin into a piece of *tun* with a creeper and some *tur* bark and gives the packet to the dairy; and finally the *pirpon* is washed in the *pali nipa* of the incriminated *mad*, following which a feast is held at that *mad* at the expense of the *Tiini-ngani-potvayiar*. A somewhat similar ceremony to ward off trouble takes place every year at Karsh, and it is also held there at the appointment of a new office-holder. The principal functions of the *Tiini-ngani-potvayiar* are as follows: He is the recognized religious chief of both the Tardharsh and Teivilkh moieties of the Todas, being, it is believed, related to the gods; he is entrusted with the secret religious lore of the tribe; he decides dairy-temple disputes as a mediator between opposing parties; he fixes the pay of the priests at the various temples; his permission has to be sought in order to open a new dairy temple; he presides over the tribal *noim*; he must learn and know the genealogies of all Toda families; he is always consulted and has to approve before all tribal affairs such as divorce, compensation for stolen wives, outcasting of clan members, etc., are carried out; and he can be appealed to in a last resort by the Badagas should the decision taken in the *noim* go against them. Having discovered the existence of this chief, I once suggested to the Madras Government that he should be made *monegar* instead of the chief of the Teivilkh Kuur clan, since the latter had been only fortuitously entrusted with the office by Mr. Sullivan (because the Kuur chief of the time had shown the way up to the Nilgiris to the first Europeans to go there). The Collector of the Nilgiris later did try to change the office to the Karsh elder, acting on my suggestion. But curiously enough, Öknarsh, who was *Tiini-ngani-potvayiar* at the time, refused, on the grounds that he was a Tardharsh and a high-caste Toda and could not therefore accept 'servant's work,' as he styled it, and be the go-between with the Government as the *monegar* was. The two offices have thus continued to co-exist, and were still in existence when I was in Ootacamund in 1949.

7. *Grazing rights* (p. 558). Rivers is right when he says that there is no regulation of grazing rights between clans and families. There being no individual ownership in these matters, buffaloes can be taken to graze anywhere, even on the grass plots of the other *mads*.

8. *The kur or grain tribute of the Badagas to the Todas* (pp. 630ff.). Rivers calls this tribute *gudu*, but all my informants agreed that it is more correctly called *kur*. My information is that it consists of one *kwach* (five measures) of grain from every Badaga house to the various Toda clans as described under 5. Since 1939, only Karsh, Norsh, Tarar, Melgarsh and Kuur still receive this tribute from the Badagas. It has been stopped elsewhere by the former municipal commissioner of Ootacamund, an influential Badaga called Hari

Gowder, as a means of coercion to stop the Todas having Kotas at their funerals. His complaint was that the Kotas—who perform musical and scavenger duties at the funerals—were low-caste people who should not be allowed to participate in these ceremonies. Hari Gowder similarly stopped Kotas attending Badaga funerals, but he has not been so successful with the Todas. He only managed to stop the *kur* being paid to the *mads* not named, but Kotas went on attending funerals, for, as the Todas say: 'Who will take the sacrificed buffaloes away if they don't come?'

9. *Arja-ir belonging to the Kotas* (p. 639). It is quite correct that some of the Kwordhoni *arja-ir* belong to the Kotas. The story is that some Kotas living next to the Kwordhoni *ti* (no longer in existence) once let some of their buffaloes wander in amongst the Toda ones, and the *palol* who was just then milking his animals also milked the stray Kota ones by mistake. The rightful owners soon afterwards asked for theirs back, but since they had been milked by the *palol*, the latter refused to yield them up, saying that it was now impossible for him to do so. In compensation, the Todas agreed to offer ghee from the Kota buffaloes they had kept and from their descendants every year at the Kota Kambataraya festival. Something similar actually takes place too at the Kota village called Tirsgar, where the *palikartmogh* of Karsh offers ghee at the same Kota yearly occasion. The origin of the custom here is that once, during the yearly migration of buffaloes, the *wurjoli* of Karsh left forgetting his fire stick in the *wurjoli*. In the meantime, Kotas came and took over both the *kurpali* and the *wurjoli*—which they now retain as temples of their own under the respective names of Terpol and Kwala!—and the Todas, in order to retrieve the forgotten stick, were obliged to pledge themselves to give ghee once a year as in the case of Kwordhoni.

10. *Relations of Melgarsh to Kwordhoni* (p. 663). Inter-marriage between the two clans is prohibited because once upon a time there was a Melgarsh woman who was betrothed to a Kwordhoni man. As the bride was making her way to Kwordhoni with a male companion and a buffalo that she was taking along as her dowry, the animal entered a pool of water to cool itself. The man, in an effort to get it to move out, threw a stone and accidentally blinded it. He was so ashamed of what he had done that he turned back to Melgarsh with the buffalo and the girl rather than face the wrath of the Kwordhoni people. But the latter were so offended by the bride not putting in an appearance, that as a punishment for the offence, they vowed that henceforward none of their men would ever take a Melgarsh girl to wife. This is also the reason why a Melgarsh man does not do the milking in the case of a Kwordhoni woman leaving the seclusion hut after childbirth. But it is not only Melgarsh and Kwordhoni that do not intermarry. The Teivilkh clans of Pietarl and Kwadenor (Pergarsh) do not either, because once upon a time a boy of Pergarsh wanted to borrow a buffalo from his maternal uncle at Pietarl. He begged and begged the latter to let him have one, but always met with a refusal. One day, he again set out to entreat his uncle, and on the way, because it was very hot, stopped to wash his face in a cool brook, but he arrived at Pietarl tired, ill-humoured and wet. He went straight to the *pali* where his uncle was *palikartmogh*, and the latter gave him a little buttermilk to refresh himself. The uncle noticed that the boy was ill-humoured and asked why, but his nephew did not answer. Instead, in a most surly fashion, he again asked for the loan of a buffalo. His uncle answered that he was sorry but he really had no intention of making himself ridiculous in the eyes of everybody by lending a buffalo to someone who would certainly be quite unable to look after it properly. This so enraged the boy that he went straight to the *tasth* (pen entrance door), and took up the two posts together with the bars across them. He put a loose stone from on top of one of the posts in his cloak, but it later fell out on the road between two *mads*, where it is still to be seen, moving about mysteriously from place to place. After this affront the people of Kwadenor (Pergarsh) forbade those of Pietarl ever to come near their *mad*, and henceforward marriage between them was similarly prohibited.

## II. CORRECTIONS

1. *Women's household duties* (p. 32). The duties listed by Rivers for the women are by no means exclusive. Although he nowhere



says so, it is often believed on the evidence of Rivers that women do not cook and never touch milk of any kind. This is incorrect. Women do the cooking in the *arsh* and can handle milk from the *putir* (ordinary, non-sacred buffaloes). Women can also milk *putir* and even go inside a *putir tu*.

2. *Sieve* (p. 32, also p. 585). What is described by Rivers as a sieve is not really one. The *murn* would, I think, be more aptly described as a scoop or winnowing fan. It is made of split bamboo, and is used for collecting house refuse or for winnowing, and definitely not for passing anything through it, as in the case of a sieve.

3. *Number of stones to a fireplace* (p. 57). Fireplaces in the Toda houses are now all of the *waskal* variety, i.e. made of three stones. The four-stone type, *kurvars*, is now only to be found in dairies. It used to be the regular way of building the fireplace of a chief *arsh*, but even there it has been discontinued.

4. *The Konorj poh and the pohkartpol* (pp. 61 and 79-81). Contrary to what Rivers says, the *poh* of Konorj is an ordinary *tarvali*, although admittedly the only one to be called by so exalted a name. The ordination of the *pohkartpol* is simply that of an ordinary *tarvalikalmokh*. His companion is a *perol* as in all ordinary *tarvalis* simply because the *poh* is no more than a *tarvali*. That is also why the names used at Konorj are the same as at other village dairies.

5. *The Nirkh ti* (p. 122). All my informants assured me that the *Nirkh ti* no longer exists and that it had ceased to exist even before Rivers. Considering the great emphasis on the visit to the place described, it may be that what is meant is that even if the buffalo herd still was there, there was no proper *ti*. Rivers does not mention the dairy building anywhere, and remarks that the *palol*, Todrigars (41), a Tardharsh man, was looking after the animals although not milking them (perhaps for want of a dairy?).

6. *Prohibition of the Melgarol being palol at the Karsh ti* (p. 118). This is quite incorrect; the Melgarol can be *palol* for Karsh. They cannot, however, be *palol* at the *Norsh ti*, and Rivers's story as to why it is so is otherwise quite correct.

7. *The palol's special ceremony after 18 years of service* (p. 103). All informants (Kanvarsathi, Poshuwö, Pilkhgud) agree that Rivers's account of this is quite incorrect. *Palols* always have a Tardharsh woman before they take office—as an incentive to accept the work, which is known to be strenuous. They can have the same woman (who is of their choice) again every January as long as they are in office. Part of the money they make is given to the woman in exchange for her favours, so that no Tardharsh woman has ever been known to refuse the arrangements, even though her lover be a *Teivikh*. The office of *palol* is limited to 18 years only because there is some danger of the man dying, and of the *ti* consequently being neglected. Karkievan, who was *palol* at the *Norsh ti* for nearly 18 years as Rivers reports (p. 104; he did not fulfil 18 years after all, as he died first), had Edzog of Tarar as his mistress for the whole period, and the jewellery she was wearing at the time of my visit had been bought with the money given by him from the revenue of the *ti*.

8. *The kalmokh at the migration ceremonies of Öntö and Ordhö* (pp. 140-2). This man is not called a *kalmokh* at this ceremony—although he fills the place of one—but a *mirjol*. The name is derived from *mirj*, the *kwarshim* of a stone at Mor. He must be specially appointed for the occasion if he is not a *Teivikh*, as a Melgarol is not allowed to perform.

9. *Tasth-touching by a palol at his ordination* (p. 161). The *palol* does not have to touch the *tasth* at his ordination ceremony as does a *kalmokh*, because he will not be tending the calves. Only the *kalmokh* does this.

10. *The Komosodrols* (p. 195). Informants from Konorj told me on 30 July, 1949, that their ancestors who are now the *Komosodrols* (Rivers's *Kamasodrolam*) did not run away to the plains but were carried thither by Rajput raiders. They said this was quite unconnected with the story of Kwotën and his wife Kwoterpani reported by Rivers. They assured me that the *Komosodrols* still existed, and a Badaga trader is reported to have visited them at Penasmalpet.

11. *Resting the head on the breast of a man during delivery* (p. 323).

All informants were unanimous in stating that this was not correct, at least no longer so.

12. *Kinship terms* (pp. 484ff.). Although the phonetic system used by Rivers is not always reliable, it would appear that *Pian* should rather be *Piin*. *An* is usually pronounced more like *On*, and *Akkan* is really *Okkan*. Straightforward errors include *Nodved*, which is only the name for a middle brother when dead, younger brother being more properly *Urved*; *Avuf* is correct for mother, not *Av*; great grandfather is *Muppiin* or *Mummuk*, not *Pevian*, which term simply stands for ancestor from grandfather upwards; great grandmother is similarly *Muperiav* and not *Peviar*, which is also the term for ancestor, but female ones from grandmother and earlier; grandson and granddaughter are more correctly *Motmokh* and *Motkugh*, although the descriptive terms given by Rivers can also be used; *Urvedkugh* is the proper name used for younger sister, not Rivers's *Nodvedkugh* which is unknown, at least nowadays. The last brother and sister in a family are called respectively *Kadgholtmokh* and *Kadgholtkugh*, the first *Kardarsmokh* and *Kardarskugh*. The *Mun* (maternal uncle) is also called *Kuluv* at times, and the vocative is *Mumma*, not *Mama* as Rivers has it, which is Tamil. *Mumi* (father's sister) should rather be *Minim*, vocative *Mumia*; and *Na* is the proper vocative of *Ol* (husband), not *Ol* or *Olia*. A man's sister calls his wife *Nodok*. *Piin* applies to father's mother's clan brothers, as well as to clan brothers of the mother's father and of the mother's mother. *Mokh*, properly boy, is used for child in general and can thus be used for the latter irrespective of sex. The children of two women of the same generation will only call themselves classificatory brothers and sisters if they are of the same *polkhliol* (see Additions, 3). Likewise, *Mun* will be applied classificatorily to the mother's clan brothers only if they be of the same *polkhliol*; and to a father-in-law only if he is not a *polkhliol* relative; should he be such a relative, he will be addressed by the name of his rank in the *polkhliol*, as this comes first (the *polkhliol* relation is, as can be seen from this example, an all-important one with the Todas). *Mammokh*, my informants assured me, is only used for a sister's son and not as Rivers has it (p. 488) also for a wife's brother's son or a son-in-law who is not a sister's son. Rivers is, however, right when he says (p. 484) that *annatan* for clan is probably a borrowed word; it is Badaga, the Toda word being *modol* (from *mad*, village, and *ol*, man).

13. *Evidence of communal marriage* (p. 531). The interdiction mentioned by Rivers applies, as he believes correctly, to the *modol* in which the woman was born, and not to the one which she joined on marrying. Intercourse with members of the latter is not restricted as it is in the former by an extension of incest prohibitions, and there seems thus to be no reason to see in the rule concerning the woman essential to the *palol* initiation ceremony, any evidence of the earlier existence of some form of communal marriage.

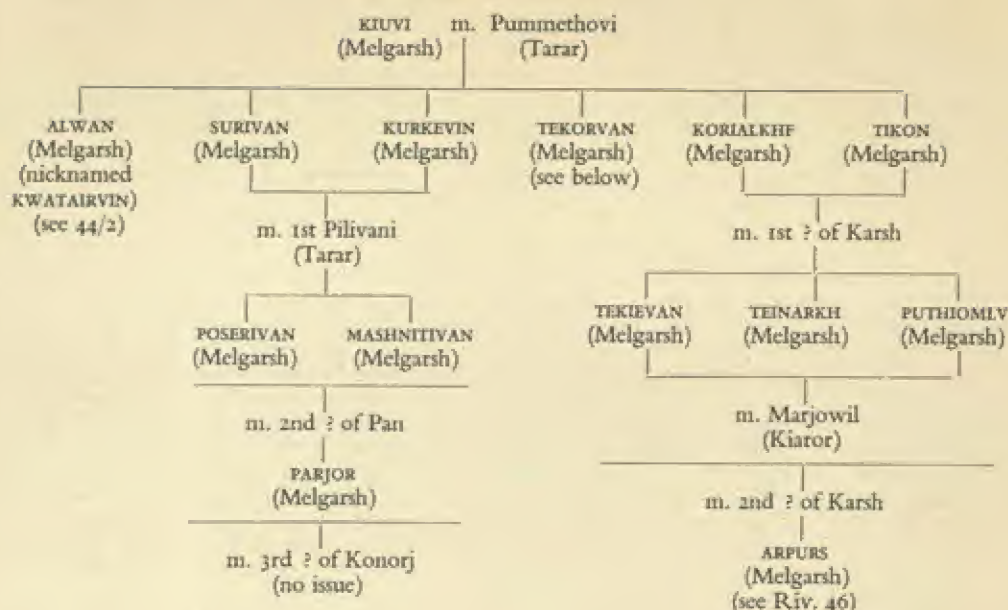
14. *The noim* (p. 550). The *noim* as described by Rivers, with five members of which one is a Badaga from Tueri, only meets to decide questions between the Todas and Badagas—as he, however, correctly guessed at the end of the second paragraph. Questions affecting the Todas as a whole have to be debated in a *noim* on which every single *modol* should have a representative. No quorum is necessary for decisions to be taken, and these are only enforceable if the parties involved agree to the verdict.

15. *Tattooing of women* (p. 578). There appears to be no ceremonial connected with the tattooing of women. When interrogated on this subject, my informants had no difficulty in answering. They told me that the reason why Toda women were tattooed was that once upon a time some Tamils (or Malayalis, they were not sure) carried off some Toda women because they were so unlike their own. Since then, Toda women have been tattooed so as to make them more like the Tamils (it is to be noted, however, that the patterns tattooed are not the same as those of the Tamils). I was also told that should tattooing not take place, the women would be punished in the other world, although nobody could tell me why. (This does, all the same, seem to indicate some ceremonial reason for tattooing, the significance of which has perhaps now been forgotten.)

16. *Kwarshims (Rivers's kwarzam) of the Toda clans (modols)* (p. 614). The following are the ordinary and sacred (*kwarshim*) names of the Tardharsh clans, as given to me in 1949 by my informants (I have spelt the names, in accordance with my phonetic system, as



TABLE I (RIVERS'S TABLE 47)



pronounced by the Todas today, and this pronunciation is often somewhat at variance with Rivers's rendering):

Ordinary name	Kwarshu name
1. Karsh	<i>Ishkelt-Ishkvo</i>
2. Norsh	<i>Porjör-Ökirsh</i>
3. Tarar	<i>Koghersh-Mukhdvo</i>
4. Mörol (Pan)	<i>Pantar-Pijö-Orgharsh</i>
5. Kiaror	<i>Kinejners-Ioncjo</i>
6. Nirkh	<i>Kwordhō-Kiurnersh</i>
7. Konnorj	<i>Muttakhm-Muttishvo</i>
8. Unkiti	<i>Panorj-Panbo</i>
9. Kwordhoni	<i>Kwatenerish-Kwaternvo</i>
10. Melgarsh	<i>Nardnosh-Mutvo</i>
11. Pam (Pirspurs)	<i>Pankit-Panbo</i>
12. Kidmad	Unknown
13. Melgarsh outcasts (Karsh)	None

The site of Pam is now occupied by the barracks at Wellington; the descendants live at (8) (above) and still receive compensation from the Government for this expropriation. The two last clans are outcasts from Melgarsh and thus have no *kwarshu*. (13) (above) is called Karsh by Rivers, but the Todas assured me that this, nowadays, was not the case and they were simply known as Melgarsh outcasts (see 17, below). It is not correct that the Teivilkh clans have no *kwarshu* names; these are, on the contrary, as follows:

Ordinary name	Kwarshu name
1. Kuur	<i>Otghar-Öinersh</i>
2. Omgarsh (Kusharf)	<i>Nalkanerj-Narjuff</i>
3. Pietarl	<i>Teivakh-Tagiurkh</i>
4. Kiötar	<i>Mortkior-Pitskar</i>
5. Kulkhem	Unknown
6. Kiemen	Unknown
7. Kwadenor	Unknown— <i>Pedrkash</i>

Of the Kulkhem clan, only one man is left and he has no issue; he lives with (1). (6) has died out a long time ago and its *kwarshu* is not remembered. (7) are Kuur outcasts, but, paradoxically, do have a *kwarshu* of their own, the first part of which has, however, been forgotten.

17. *Melgarsh outcasts (Rivers's Karsh)* (p. 664). The chief of the Karsh *modol*, Öknarsh (Rivers's Arkners, gen. 8), told me definitely that the outcasts from Melgarsh whom Rivers calls Karsh are not known by this name but simply as Melgarsh Outcasts 2 (to differentiate them from Kidmad, also Melgarsh Outcasts, but 1);

TABLE II (RIVERS'S TABLE 44/2)

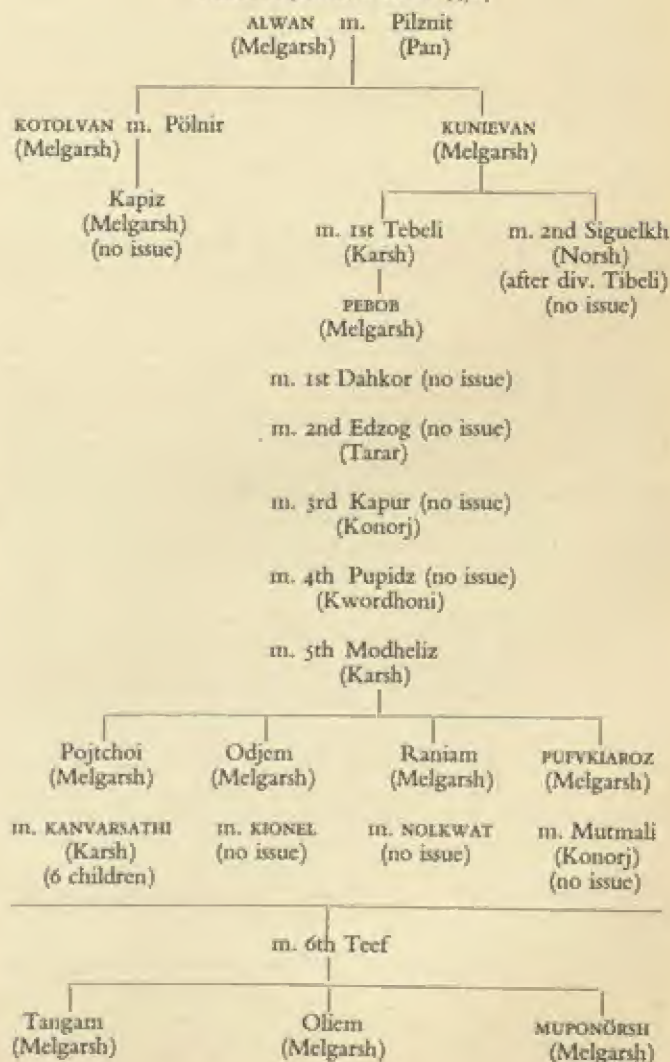
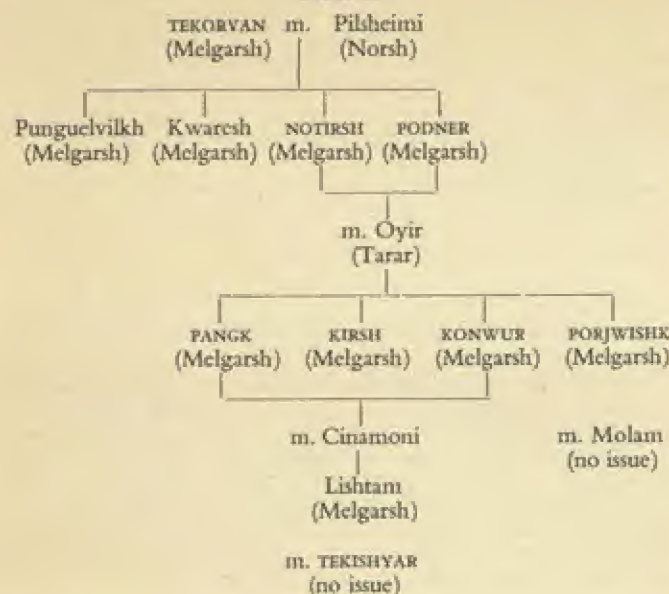




TABLE III

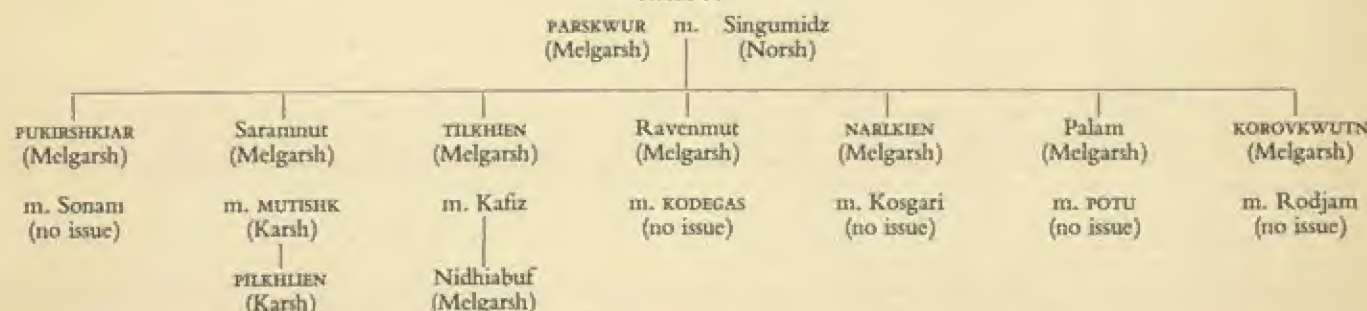


Pilzol of 45/1 is only a nickname, I was told, meaning 'a man who has intercourse with women at the *mund*'; his real name was Surivan, whom we have above. My informants told me that Mudrievan of 45/2 was a Nirkh man, and thus properly should not figure here. Korialkhf, who appears in the table above, is Rivers's Kodiolv of Table 48, and his succession should be as shown above; Tekievan would thus appear to be one generation closer than in Rivers. This Korialkhf (Rivers's Kodiolv) is reputed to have been a trying fellow; he 'gave dairy secrets away,' quarrelled with others when they rebuked him, and then broke his leg on the Melgarsh *tarvali*, which he disrespectfully kicked, calling upon the gods to give him a sign. I was told that Rivers's Kidrievan (Table 44) is probably Kudrevan, also a brother of Alwan and the others, although where he fitted in my informants could not quite say—hence he is left out in the above table. Peidz (Table 44/1) is now Öknarsh of Karsh's wife; she is really the daughter of a Kuur (Teivikh) man (reputedly the famous Toda, Kuriolv), but Pepners was recognized as legally her father, he having given the bow and arrow at the *Pursitpini* ceremony.

Tekorvan's descendancy should read as in Table III, according to my informants, rather than as Rivers has it in Table 47.

Finally, it is not correct to say that Parskwur (Rivers's Parskudr, 48) and Singumidz (48) had no children; it may have been so when Rivers was in the Nilgiris, but now their descendants are as in Table IV.

TABLE IV



they may have been called that in Rivers's day, but it appeared to him very unlikely. He said that there might have been a confusion with the name of someone of the clan. He also said that the story given by Rivers as explaining the origin of this clan was correct; the father and son involved were Kilpan and Karpunelv (which would make Kilpan also an outcast) (see Rivers, gen. 51). Sometimes this clan is called after the name of its leading man at the time; thus today it is often referred to as Pothenkur *modol* (Rivers, gen. 51), after the present headman.

18. *Genealogies from 44 to 48.* Beginning with Table 47, which should be corrected as in Table I, we get a number of variations from Rivers (men being shown in capital letters, women in lower case). The nickname *Kwatairvin* means 'building jumped over'; Alwan was known thus because when in prison for some offence, he escaped by jumping over the wall. *Kiivi* is also a nickname, my informant Öknarsh of Karsh told me, although it has no meaning, and he was unable to identify whom Rivers meant by this name. Besides Kiivi's children marked here, there were two boys, Karsnolv and Kertüli, who died young, and a number of girls whose names are forgotten and who also died young. In Table 45,

## Note

<sup>1</sup> Romanization of Toda throughout this paper is in accordance with the following convention:

a as in hat.	i as in hit.	p as in pot.
a as in hut.	ai as in bite.	r as in rot.
b as in best.	j as French j.	s as in soon.
d as in do.	dj as in job.	t as in top.
dh as mod. Greek delta.	sh as in she.	th as mod. Greek theta.
e as in met.	tch as in chap.	u as in blue.
ei as in date.	k as in kit.	u as in cook.
ee as in meet.	kh as mod. Greek chi.	oo as in moon.
f as in fun.	l as in lot.	ii as French u.
g as in gone.	m as in me.	v as in vat.
gh as mod. Greek gamma.	n as in no.	w as in won.
ng as in ring.	o as in hot.	y as in yoke.
h is aspirate.	ö as in word.	z as in zero.
	oi as in boy.	ê is simply tonic.

## REVIEWS

## GENERAL

**The Law of Primitive Man: A Study in Comparative Legal Dynamics.** By E. Adamson Hoebel. Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard U.P.) (London: Cumberlege), 1954. Pp. 357. Price £2 5s.

Professor Hoebel has already established his reputation as a

juristic anthropologist by his field studies (partly made in collaboration with Professor Karl Llewellyn) of American Indian legal action. The present book, which is a mixture of elementary textbook and theoretical treatise, will enhance that reputation. He has written the best general discussion of primitive law.



The book consists of three parts. The first deals with 'The Study of Primitive Law,' and raises problems of definition and analysis. It is spoilt, in my opinion, by textbook passages of too great simplicity, written as if he were addressing high-school students. This applies particularly to the chapter describing 'methods and techniques' of research, which is at heart somewhat naive. But the discussion of 'What is Law?' is written with that stimulating shock of the cold shower which we know from the similar discussion in *The Cheyenne Way*. Also interesting is his chapter recommending that anthropologists adopt for their recording of law an amended version of Hohfeld's fundamental legal conceptions, which break up the general concepts of 'right' and 'duty' each into four distinct legal ideas. Anthropologists meeting these concepts for the first time will probably feel that they are very cumbersome, and that Hoebel's re-analysis of Yurok cases in terms of them is tedious. But as the book progresses, the evidence for using these clarifying distinctions emerges casually from the many 'trouble-cases' (Hoebel's word for disputes) which are cited. Though Hoebel makes no reference to their work, a number of British anthropologists have for a long time been urging that ethnographical analyses should describe more clearly actual rights and duties, and drop the use of terms like 'ownership'—indeed, Professor Fortes gave a Presidential Address to the anthropological section of the British Association on this theme. It may well be that it would be profitable to adopt the Hohfeld terminology; and I hope that a number of anthropologists will make the experiment. Curiously, after Hoebel has stressed the importance of these clarifications, he himself in discussing land tenure continues to use terms like 'usufruct,' which is certainly not a fundamental conception and in fact was a complex institutional arrangement in Roman law. This again is a problem which has been discussed in African anthropology.

Hoebel concludes that for working purposes law may be defined thus: 'A social norm is legal if its neglect or infraction is regularly met, in threat or in fact, by the application of physical force by an individual or group possessing the socially recognized privilege of so acting.' He then, in the second part of the book, examines how this privileged force is applied in five different groupings of peoples: Eskimo, Ifugao, three Plains Indian groups, Trobrianders, and Ashanti. Each section gives a summary of ecology and economy, and social structure. Then Hoebel lists the underlying postulates of jural significance in the culture, and examines how they affect handling of disharmonies and conflicts of interest in social life. The sections vary greatly in weight and import, largely because of the varying quality of the data on which Hoebel can draw. The best—and it is a very good best—chapter is that dealing with Comanche, Kiowa and Cheyenne. Hoebel has always, like Llewellyn, been fascinated by the problem, what constitutes juristic skill? Why do some peoples produce elegant lawyers, while others are unskilled in producing settlement and judgment? In this comparison of the three Plains Indian groups, he poses this contrast clearly, particularly as between Cheyenne and Kiowa; and he indicates some of the organizational and cultural features which produce the contrast. Here, of course, he is handling field data with which he is personally familiar; and this is a great advantage. They are also, as we know from earlier publications, field data collected with an eye to forensic and juristic problems. The material on Eskimo and Ifugao (I have always felt that Barton's work on Philippine law, good though it is, has been over-valued) is not nearly as rich; and Hoebel cannot make as much of it, though he handles well what there is.

The use of Trobriand material raises other problems. For here Hoebel has to deal not only with field data, but also with Malinowski's theory of law. He has done this critically, but fairly and sympathetically: this essay in critical appreciation is important in itself. He recognizes the immense value of *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* in shattering a series of shibboleths about primitive law against which Malinowski was reacting, and in starting anthropologists on profitable lines of field research. But he also stresses the extent to which Malinowski over-reacted, and examines the later retreats which Malinowski made from his extreme position. Above all, he contrasts the argument set out briefly in *Crime and Custom* with Malinowski's own records of disputes from the great riches of

his longer books. And here, perhaps, I may draw attention to a lesson which this chapter emphasizes. At the time when Malinowski wrote, books written by modern professional anthropologists were rare: we had time and eagerness to read and enjoy the riches of ethnographical and factual detail. Publishing costs were lower, and details could be reproduced. As monographs have multiplied and publishing costs have risen, the emphasis has changed to the shorter book, stating only general principles. I believe that this tendency may rob anthropology of its strength. Hoebel shows that in time it may render particular studies useless. For Malinowski himself provided the material (though in other books) by which we can assess the validity of his theory; and it is material which, as here, can be used by others to develop alternative theories. For Hoebel uses the Trobriand material to advance his own analysis of what law is, and particularly to indicate the factors which produce juristic clumsiness as against juristic skill.

Yet I felt that he has not done full justice to the problem which interested Malinowski—not the problem of reaction to breach of law, but the problem of conformity with law. Malinowski saw that no chain of custom inhibited primitive people absolutely. Yet in most transactions people conform with their code: observance is more regular than breach. Hoebel's analysis itself led me to hope that he would be passing to consider the most difficult problem of all: the relation between conformity itself and the handling of breach of rule. When his book comes to be rewritten for a new edition (I am sure that, in this, its history will resemble that of legal textbooks), I hope that he will consider this problem. I venture to suggest that a chapter dealing with it might well be substituted for the one describing methods and techniques of research, which I have said is too naive.

It is the chapter dealing with the Ashanti that I find unsatisfactory. By some bad slip, Hoebel has misunderstood developments in the Gold Coast. He writes (and the error is blazoned in the publishers' blurb) that 'the viability of the primitive Ashanti state provided the structure that made it possible for the Ashanti (with the Fanti) to be the first African state in modern times to emerge from colonial "tutelage" into the fellowship of free nations.' Where so much is good, it is a pity to cavil in a review at an occasional error; but this cannot be overlooked. More fundamental to the argument is his whole treatment of the political structure of the Ashanti kingdom. He calls this chapter, 'Constitutional Monarchy and the Triumph of Public Law.' But the Ashanti had not yet, for anyone acquainted with the states of South and Central Africa, achieved the triumph of public law. The kingdom was in many ways a 'federation'—an organization, under the king, over still independent provinces. Many of the procedural devices by which superior authorities obtained jurisdiction in disputes arise from this federal structure—as Diamond pointed out in *Primitive Law*. Hence procedure shows a complexity not met with in fully fledged Bantu states, which otherwise were less developed in political organization. Since he does not apparently appreciate the difference between 'federated' Ashanti and authoritative (say) Bechuana tribes or Dahomey, Hoebel's interpretation of Ashanti law and politics seems fundamentally faulty to me. I hope that he will reconsider this for a new edition. He might also look more carefully at works on African political systems—a well studied field of British anthropology. For I am sure that his whole analysis would be improved by this. The length of his bibliography, and his widespread citations, make me feel that it is unfair to complain that he has not read widely enough. But helpful advice is perhaps not out of place, in considering an already excellent work. All British anthropologists will find it strange that Hoebel discusses the feud without any reference to Evans-Pritchard's work on Nuer, Anuak, Shilluk and Bedouin, or Fortes's on the Tallensi, or Nadel's on the Nuba, which are for us classics on this problem. And the bibliography does cite a number of African items which by modern standards are hopelessly inadequate. In result, though Hoebel discusses admirably the forensic skill and social interests which lead to restraint of feud, he has little indication of the actual mechanisms by which restraints operate.

The last section of the book discusses the functions of law and its relation to religion and magic; and finally the evolutionary trend of law. There are parts of this argument with which many will not



agree; but all will be impressed by its value and skill. I regret that I have not space to set my own evaluation on it.

I have had occasion to criticize parts of Professor Hoebel's analysis; and I feel that I must repeat that the whole is of first-class merit. It is suitable for students in a first-year course, but it also repays close study by all interested in sociological problems, at the most advanced level. This is an achievement. And it is vividly and clearly written, in Hoebel's almost slangy style. This can be annoying and obscuring—and ungrammatical—at times; but there is also excitement in reading it.

MAX GLUCKMAN

# **The Non-Human Primates and Human Evolution: In Memory of Earnest Albert Hooton. Edited by J. A. Gavan. Detroit (Wayne U.P.), 1955. Pp. 134. Price \$3.50**

**108** Symposia and colloquia—for all their different-sounding names they always turn out to be the same thing—are the fashion in scientific circles today. Their primary object is to bring together in conference experts on particular subjects, whose discussions are subsequently revealed to a wider audience in the form of a published report. Unfortunately, few symposia succeed in focusing discussion on a narrow area where understanding emerges from the presentation of new fact, the qualification of obscure or mistaken statement, or the resolution of controversial interpretation. The symposium on 'The Non-Human Primates and Human Evolution,' which took place at the American Association for the Advancement of Science at the end of 1953, was no exception. No specific questions appear to have been posed, and papers ranged all the way from primate palaeontology on the one hand to the cultural capacity of chimpanzees on the other. Nevertheless, the meeting was exceptional, partly because the theme on which it bore had not been singled out for similar treatment before, and largely because of the balanced nature of the contributions. Reading between the lines, one senses that this symposium was an effort to get away from some of the controversial spirit of recent discussion in this field—a spirit which has departed so far from the true traditions of scientific discussion that in the maintenance of views which partake more of the nature of revelation than scientific analysis, observations that have been proved false have become entrenched in dogma, and many which have been shown to be true, in heresy.

The tone of the symposium was set in the opening paper, which was given by the late Dr. Earnest Hooton. It considered the general importance of primate studies to anthropology, and Dr. Hooton underlined the fact that the volume of new work in this field and the numbers of new recruits to the subject are falling away very rapidly. He was followed by Dr. Jepsen, who dealt with fossil Primates in the New World, and by Dr. Bryan Patterson, who then reviewed the geological history of non-hominid Primates in the

Old World. This paper is noteworthy for its generally cautious tone. Dr. Patterson emphasizes that relatively few fossil sub-human Primates have been found, compared with other mammalian groups, and that, consequently, it is inadvisable to attempt to construct lines of descent. It is even more dangerous to attempt to assess detailed evolutionary relationships purely on the basis of the comparative anatomy of living forms. The fossil record is adequate merely to give some idea of the radiation of the earliest Primates (lemurs and tarsiers) and then of the monkeys and apes. Dr. Patterson concludes his paper with the suggestion that man is '... the result of an adaptive shift,' and that his characteristic structural features may have evolved rapidly, possibly requiring no more than the '... 10 million years or so allotted to the Pliocene.' This thesis is, of course, speculative, but nevertheless it derives support from the fossil record of other vertebrate groups.

Primate anatomy formed the subject matter of the next three papers, by Dr. G. E. Erikson, Dr. D. Dwight Davis and Dr. N. C. Tappen respectively, and a valuable paper by Dr. E. L. Schuman and Dr. C. L. Brace then dealt with metric and morphological variations in the dentition of some 300 chimpanzee skulls which had been collected in a single area of north-eastern Liberia. One of the conclusions of this study—one of the more exacting of its kind—is the very sobering statement that not even 'the most astute odontologist' can be relied on to distinguish, with any high degree of consistency, between human and chimpanzee molars. The symposium concluded with three behavioural studies, the first by Dr. C. R. Carpenter, the second by Dr. Henry W. Nissen, and the third by Dr. Keith J. Hayes and Dr. Catherine Hayes.

Summing up the conference, Dr. W. L. Straus, Jr., reiterated the warning notes made by Dr. Hooton in its introduction. As Dr. Hooton put it, 'The anatomist or anthropologist who attempts to reconstruct the skull and the postcranial skeleton of a palaeolithic type of man without a sound knowledge of the anatomy of the great apes and of at least the Old World monkeys is really only a sort of chiropractor operating in a situation where the patient cannot complain and the injury done to science, while not fatal, results in the mutilation of fact and the perversion of theory.' Even when the anatomical facts are agreed, they still lend themselves, as Dr. Straus pointed out, to highly different interpretations of primate phylogeny. The sad thought is that while such differences of opinion are only to be expected, nothing can condone the distortion of fact about fossil and living Primates that comes from inadequate study and knowledge, and hasty statement. Dr. Hooton, to whom the volume is dedicated, is now gone. The meeting which he opened will have served its purpose if it does no more than discourage, however little, the further mutilation of fact about Primates.

S. ZUCKERMAN

## AFRICA

# **A Manual of Nuer Law. By P. P. Howell. O.U.P. for Internat. Afr. Inst., 1954. Pp. 256, 9 plates. Price £1 15s.**

**109** This book is sub-titled 'An Account of Customary Law, its Evolution and Development in the Courts Established by the Sudan Government.' Along with Evans-Pritchard's and Crazzolari's writings, it makes the Nuer now widely documented, and the accounts tend to confirm each other. Dr. Howell, himself for some years a political officer among the Nuer, here writes as an administrator. The book arose from a resolution passed by the Nuer District Commissioners' Meeting in 1943 that the principles of Nuer customary law should be investigated and recorded. The aim is stated on pp. 4 f.: 'This is not a code or a textbook in which the precise answer to any legal situation may be found. . . . It is rather a study of basic principles as they are now, exemplified by actual examples, as well as a study of a most complex system of law in the process of development. It is, however, primarily intended for the administration. It is also intended to provide further material for those whose interests lie in a more general and theoretical study of primitive law; although I have myself rarely attempted to interpret that material in terms of comparative jurisprudence.'

The book is here noted in regard to its position in Nuer studies. Although Howell worked in a different part of Nuerland he finds it convenient, in presenting an outline of the society, to use Evans-Pritchard's scheme—I think with rather little criticism. For example, topological differences are mentioned, but I still find it difficult to distinguish one Nuer village from another when they are strung out along a sand ridge. The opportunity has been lost to draw attention to the important organizational differences which must exist between stranger and dominant lineages, although the author makes the interesting note that in Central Nuerland 'the majority of dominant lineages are also Leopard-Skin Chiefs.' Here we would have wished for some statement of the implications. However we are given the clearest account so far of the tenure of Nuer agricultural land (pp. 184-6) and much fresh detail on bride-wealth and divorce.

The last chapter is devoted to a discussion of the emergence and development of courts, and here the author has some interesting data. He points out that in the modern setting much which, 20 years ago, made for 'fusion' is now absent—the need for security and economic insurance—and what there is now centres mainly in the courts. These have been established corresponding in the main to



tribes and their segments. The court works in such a way that the assessors tend to act as counsel for litigants in their own segments, leaving the work of judgment to neutral members. If it is difficult to reach a judgment it is more difficult to effect its execution, for a man's ability to transfer cattle may depend upon his success in another suit. Courts, from being non-existent, have taken the place of the threat of retaliation in the maintenance of Nuer customary values. In this role they attract all manner of insignificant litigation: 'Nuer are pressing... claims for the fulfilment of obligations which were not in the past normally subjects of dispute at all.' Howell claims that in this way the courts themselves are 'contributing to social maladjustment.' He introduces us here to a situation which would repay intensive study.

The book on the whole widens rather than deepens our knowledge of the Nuer. It should be remembered, though, that it was written with the practical aim of serving those on the spot, while it is noted here from another point of view. Being less abstract than previous studies, and speaking for the most part the language of administration, it fulfils its main purpose in an admirable way. It is to be hoped moreover that the author's resilience towards, and

obvious admiration and understanding of the Nuer will not be lost on the new political officers of the South. IAN CUNNISON

# Research and Information on Africa: Continuing Sources.

Washington (Library of Congress Ref. Dept.), 1954. Pp. vii, 70. Price 45 cents

II O This book contains an annotated list of journals and other periodical publications dealing with most aspects of African studies. It includes also a number of institutions in which Africa is studied even though they do not publish journals. After a section listing general publications and institutions, the material is entered by countries, both those which have possessions in Africa, and those which have less direct interests. There are 520 entries, with two indices (publications and institutions). In a book published in 1954 it is curious to note that the late Carlo Conti Rossini is still given as editor of the *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*. It is much to the credit of the compilers that this bibliographical survey is remarkably complete; and it should be of service both to those who have to work on the broader features of African study and to anthropologists and other specialists. G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

## CORRESPONDENCE

### 'Backwards Languages' in Africa. Cf. MAN, 1954, 289

III SIR,—In his note on the Zande princes' game of speaking their language backwards, Professor Evans-Pritchard remarks that 'a slang language of this kind must be very rare in Africa.' A 'secret' language, based on the same principle of reverse syllabification, is found among the Swahili tribes, but is said to be confined to women and children, men appearing rather abashed when asked if it was familiar to them. It is called *Kinyume*, 'backwards language,' and, to take a familiar example, the polite Swahili salutation '*Jambo, bwana, (u)hali gani?*' is rendered as '*Mboja, nabwa, liha niga?*' I heard it spoken for the first time, and at great speed, near the village of Mbwa Maji, just south of Dar es Salaam, some 25 years ago, and for the last time when I was in East Africa during the war. Zanzibar and the adjacent Tanganyika coast may well be its centre of distribution, but I have known at least one Kikuyu (Mr. Jomo Kenyatta) and a Comoro islander who were also acquainted with it, the second, I believe, from childhood. It would be interesting to learn whether a similar women's and children's cant occurs in other Bantu languages.

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J. C. TREVOR

II 2 SIR,—Professor Evans-Pritchard's note on Zande spoken backwards prompts me to draw attention to some similar usages which I believe are by no means uncommon in Central Africa.

In the north-west of Northern Rhodesia I know of this type of 'secret speech' among young people of both sexes of the Luvale, Luchazi, Chokwe and Nkoya tribes. The more complex type is in fact an inversion of syllables similar to that mentioned for the Zande. In two-syllable words the process of inversion is simple; in words of more than two syllables the beginning is retained and the later syllables transposed, e.g. in Luchazi:

- (a) Let us go to the house  
*Tuye kundzivo* (normal)  
*Yetu kuvondzi* (inverted)
- (b) Let me tell you  
*Njikuleke* (normal)  
*Njikukele* (inverted)
- (c) That wife of your friend  
*Uze mpwevo yamukwenu* (normal)  
*Zeu vompwe yamunukwe* (inverted)
- (d) She has gone to catch fish with a sweeping basket  
*Nayi nakuswinga vantsi* (normal)  
*Yina nakungaswi ntsiva* (inverted)

This type of speech is widely used to conceal conversation from the hearing of members of the older generation. To those in practice it is spoken with at least as much speed as normal Luchazi. I am assured that lack of practice makes it very difficult to follow even

if a person was once familiar with it himself. A simpler form is merely produced by the interpolation of a constant syllable between each pair of syllables. E.g. from Luvale:

I like you  
*Ami ngunakuzange* (normal)  
*Atimiti ngutinatikutizatingeti* (with interpolations)

This is much easier to produce, and I myself found that one could both speak and understand it with little effort. In my experience the interposed syllable is used by younger children rather than adolescents. It is to my knowledge used often to conceal speech from Europeans who have a knowledge of the language being spoken in its normal form, but remain unaware of the interposed syllable.

The above examples are taken from an area with which I am well acquainted at first hand, but I am reliably informed that both the transposed and the interpolated syllables are used by Bemba- and Nsenga-speakers in similar manner. There is no significance in these disguised words in Northern Rhodesia comparable to the Zande use associated with children of the aristocratic clan.

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C. M. N. WHITE,  
Acting Director

### 'Die Soziale Organisation in Mikronesien.' Cf. MAN, 1954, 284; 1955, 58

II 3 SIR,—I regret that Dr. Stillfried should have found cause for offence in my brief notice of his book. My remark that 'the bibliography stops at 1950' was a careless error of proof-reading. It is, however, the case that the bibliography is incomplete from 1951 onwards and that the intervening years have seen the publication of significant monographs and papers by a whole string of American anthropologists, including in particular Goodenough, Schneider, Spoehr, Burrows and Spiro.

I had no intention of implying that Dr. Stillfried was unfamiliar with recent American work, but only that 1953 was not altogether an appropriate moment at which to attempt a review of recent researches.

I must apologize also for my suggestion that Dr. Stillfried's book is 'drawn up according to the classical principles of the *Kultur-kreislehre*.' It is, however, an attempt at the reconstruction of culture history based on the present distribution of culture traits. It is the case that no work of this general type has been published in England for many years, and I feel that I was correct in saying that Dr. Stillfried's book will be of only limited value to English anthropologists.

A number of American anthropologists continue to maintain their traditional interest in culture-history reconstructions and for these Dr. Stillfried's study may well be of considerable value, as indeed Professor Murdock's review in the *American Anthropologist* seems to suggest.

Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge

E. R. LEACH









(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



# ROCK PAINTINGS AND ENGRAVINGS IN RAICHUR, HYDERABAD\*

by

COL. D. H. GORDON and DR. F. R. ALLCHIN

## THE PAINTINGS OF THE BENAKAL RESERVED FOREST

**II4** Early in 1935 while searching for holed dolmens in the Benakal Reserved Forest, Leonard Munn, who had from time to time carried out a number of valuable explorations in the Raichur District of Hyderabad State, came across some paintings at the entrance of a shallow cave. Further enquiry brought to light two more groups of paintings, and with some trouble, many of the paintings being so placed that a camera could be aligned only with difficulty, photographs were secured of all of them. Munn discovered that, handicapped as he was by poor lighting and indifferent contrast, the results of his photography did not give a clear picture of the paintings as they existed, so with the help of his draughtsman he had enlargements tinted in the exact shade of red ochre employed by the original artists. The illustrations to this article have been re-photographed from those enlargements, which together with Munn's manuscript notes and the original half-plate contact prints are available for study in the departmental library of the Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum. It is with the concurrence of Sir Theodore Tasker, to whom on Munn's death the results of his archaeological researches passed, that this material is now published so that the record may not be lost.

The paintings in Cave I, Munn's original chance discovery, are shown in Plate *Ga*, *c*. There are groups of humans holding hands, probably dancers, horsemen armed with spears and axes and various animals. In (*a*) there is a rider with two axes and figures with rayed headdresses that are probably women. In the bottom left-hand corner, one of these women is clutched by the arm by a man who displays an exaggerated phallus. There are also two birds which appear to be peacocks, a humped ox and a sambhur doe. In (*c*) are shown three horsemen, many dancers, and three deer or antelope.

The second group of paintings (Plate *Gb*) is executed on a vertical face of gneissic rock with only a narrow overhanging ledge. It includes a strange amorphous object, an irregular outline containing haphazard linear patterns. Below this a man starts back in alarm at being menaced by a bear. Above is a small human figure perched upon what appears to be a face with long streamers flowing from it. The strange central object has parallels in equally schematic and enigmatic groupings of patterns in a border found among the paintings of the Mahadeo Hills. Plate *Gd* shows a large male figure on the roof of a cave two miles north of Rampura, a village in the Anagundi Samasthan.

Munn was able to find little external evidence that could in any way be connected with these paintings. He states that he sieved the contents of the first of these shelters but found nothing but a piece of red ruddle. Though there is occasional superimposing, all these paintings are in the

\* With Plate *G* and a text figure

same shade of red ochre and Munn was unable to determine which overlapped which. Nor does it appear to matter very much as no great change in style can be observed and all must have been painted within two or three generations at the outside. No attempt to equate these paintings with those further north can be of much value. This area, however, contains the only rock paintings as distinct from engravings yet found south of the Tapti. The paintings are crude and a rayed headdress, or stylized hair, of the kind shown here is found in the early second series of the Mahadeo Hills (see my article 'Indian Cave Paintings,' *IPEK*, 1935, Plate XXXII, bottom left figure), but it also appears on a red-ochre figure of the early third series who carries a sword and shield, and the horsemen and metal axe forms are arguments for a late date. This style of horseman in red, with the horse's tail depicted in identically this fashion, is to be found in the Bori shelter in the Mahadeo Hills where, in common with the early third figure mentioned above and the crude red-ochre figures in the Son Bhadra shelters, they are without doubt late, second to third centuries A.D. at the very earliest.

The occurrence of an ithyphallic figure seems to be in line with similar examples among the Bellary rock bruising and to be peculiar to this general area (see my article 'The Rock Engravings of Kupgallu Hill, Bellary, Madras,' *MAN*, 1951, 204). The method of stylizing deer and cattle by the use of two lines one within the other, the upper forming the back and two of the legs and the lower the underside of the animal and the other two legs (Plate *Ga*) is common in the more northern paintings; it is in fact widespread in rock paintings and engravings throughout the world and is an idea which must have occurred to primitive artists at all times and in all places quite independently.

D. H. GORDON

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN THE BENAKAL FOREST, HYDERABAD

When we consider the rock paintings found in the Benakal Forest, two questions arise: who made them and at what date? As neither the paintings nor the rock shelters give any direct information, we must consider other evidence of settlement in the neighbourhood and also whether comparable paintings occur in more definite associations. Fortunately these considerations can assist us to reach some sort of answers.

The Benakal State Forest lies on the north bank of the Tungabhadra river in the Raichur District of Hyderabad. It falls in a zone which receives less than 25 inches annual rainfall and consists of a loose group of gneissic hills rising from 200 to 800 feet above the Deccan peneplain. Generally, modern cultivation is limited to the level ground whilst the hills are covered with a thin sandy soil giving



rise to thorn scrub and grass. On each bank of the Tungabhadra are ancient canal systems drawn from 'anicut' or stone dams across the river. In the irrigated soil sugar and rice are grown. The canals were extended by the rulers of Vijayanagara, and some date back to the later Chalukyas.<sup>1</sup> The forest is adjacent to the ruined city of Vijayanagara which was for several centuries the capital of a flourishing kingdom which long contested Muslim rule in the Deccan. Traditionally it is the Kiskindha of the Ramayana story, and was certainly so regarded in the twelfth century.

some nearly 100 feet in length, containing apparently undisturbed deposits and often with levelled stone platforms at the entrance. Surface finds suggest occupation ranging from the neolithic period of the Karnataka region to mediæval. The second settlement lies on the outskirts of the ancient town of Aneundi (fig. 1, No. 2).

There are nine stone-cist and circle grave sites, three near the settlements. The largest grave site (fig. 1, No. 4) has already been noticed<sup>3</sup>; it includes some 440 graves and a partly artificial surface drainage tank. It is high up in the

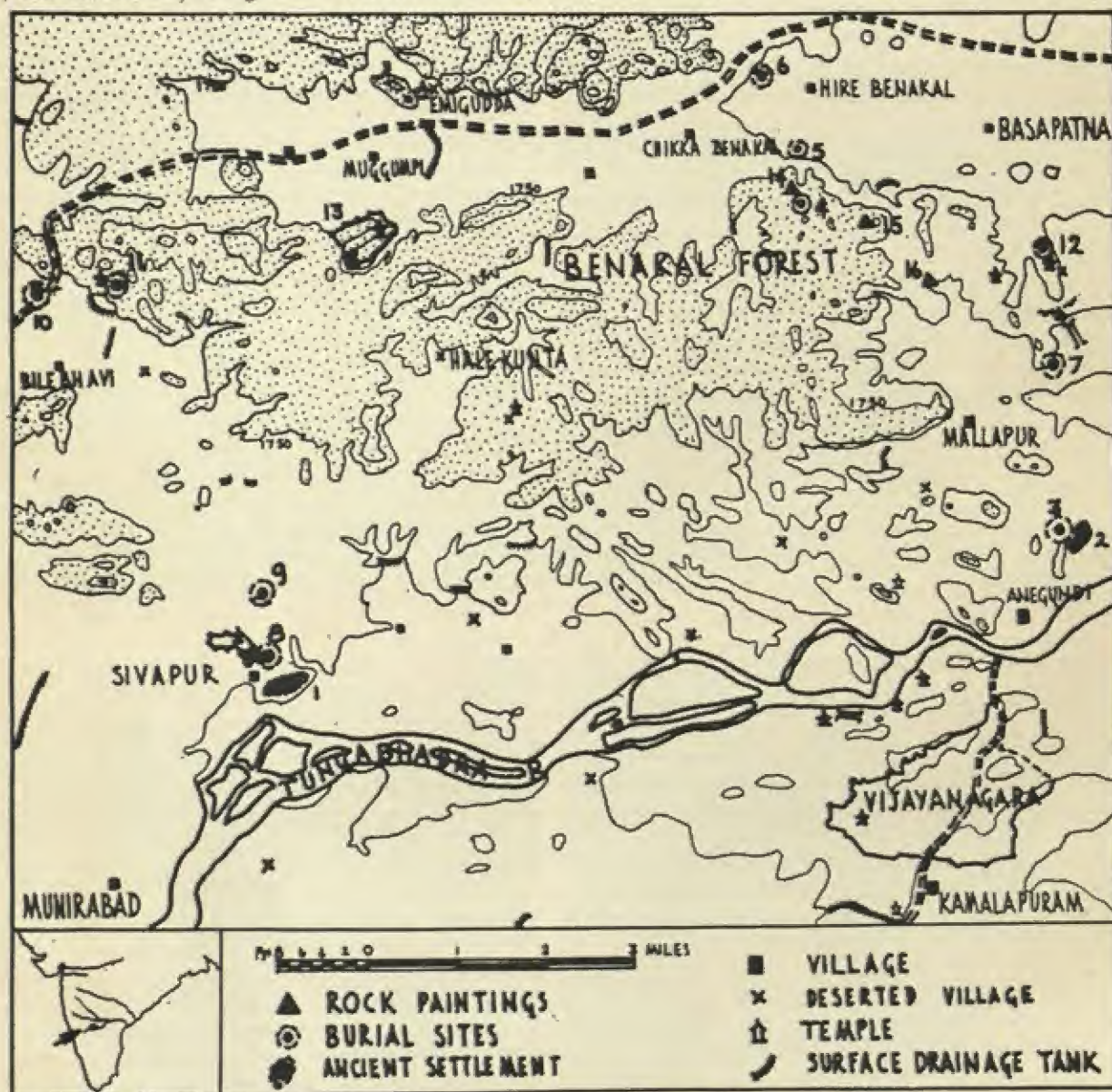


FIG. 1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN THE RAICHUR DISTRICT, HYDERABAD

Indeed, there are suggestions that the association may be as old as Valmiki's *Ramayana* itself.

In 1952 my wife and I visited the forest and discovered a number of ancient sites.<sup>2</sup> There are only two settlements which are certainly ancient. Both are cave sites. The larger lies near the village of Sivapur (fig. 1, No. 1). A few yards from the river bank are numbers of large natural caves,

hills and remote from any traces of settlement. About 50 more graves lie below the site (fig. 1, No. 5). North of Sivapur is another site, of about 200 graves (No. 9), lying near a mediæval masonry dam which has been recently rebuilt in connexion with the Tungabhadra Canal project. A second hill site lies north-east of Bilebhavi (No. 11). Immediately below is a large tank with earth bund, whilst



among the 80 graves are traces of two smaller tanks, one lined with stone slabs. A similar small tank was found in the hilltop cist-grave site near Koppal a few miles to the west.

None of the grave sites has been excavated, but stray sherds of black-and-red burnished ware at five of them and the outward forms of the graves link them with what Codrington has called the South Indian Burial Complex. Some graves resemble examples excavated by Wheeler at Brahmagiri<sup>4</sup>; others those at Savanadurg, near Bangalore, whose excavation produced a copper coin (?) with punched marks<sup>5</sup>; others, again, those of Gulbarga District to the north; whilst some are of types peculiar to Raichur. The dating of the graves has never been precisely determined but some may well belong to the late centuries B.C. The sites may, however, have continued in use for many centuries and this is indicated by several facts. A single sherd from site No. 4 should belong (on Wheeler's dating) to the second century. Site No. 3 lies on made ground behind the mediæval defences of Anegundi and should thus be later than the defences. Site No. 12 appears to be a mediæval deserted village. Outside its walls is a shrine of Hanuman, and around the shrine and apparently contemporary with the village are stone circles almost certainly of graves. At another site in Raichur District I found typical stone-circle graves around the stone foundations of two rectangular buildings the plan of one of which appears to be early mediæval.

I visited several deserted villages in the Forest but none appeared to be earlier than mediæval, and a certain uniformity of building styles suggests that they are the works of the Vijayanagara period—probably contemporary with the many great tanks. The lands of Halekunta (Survey of India: Halekumala) were cultivated from Bilebhavi within living memory, but abandoned because of distance and lack of water. The great fortresses of Sivapur hill and 'Ramaswami ka pahar' south of Muggumpi have never been reported but are probably not earlier than the twelfth century.

The rock paintings discovered by Munn lie in the hills. His first discovery (Plate Ga, c) almost overlooks the grave site and is marked 14 on the map (fig. 1). The second site lies about half a mile to the east (No. 15), whilst the third site, which produced the male figure (Plate Gd), is marked 16. There are other rock paintings in the forest. Near Emigudda (a deserted village and temple) and again near the Bilebhavi grave site (No. 11) are some small paintings in white paint. Both style and context suggest that they are of no great antiquity.

Outside the Benakal Forest, rock paintings and bruising have been reported at seven other sites in Raichur. Of these five produced evidence of neolithic settlement, as indeed did the site at Bellary which has also many bruising

ings. At Piklihal near Mudgal I spent several weeks in exploration and (with the kind assistance of the Director of Archaeology for Hyderabad, Dr. P. Sreenivasacar) made a small excavation.<sup>2</sup> Here numbers of paintings and bruising were found in association with neolithic and later settlement areas and lead me to conclude that they might be broadly grouped in three periods:

1. *Neolithic*, including numbers of bruising of wild and domestic animals and male human figures<sup>6</sup>; also, perhaps, a few red-ochre paintings of bulls. The humped bull is the most common theme.

2. *Early Historic*, including red-ochre paintings of two large groups of hunters or warriors with horses and elephants (?) and carrying metal weapons.

3. *Mediæval-Modern*, including engravings of Hindu sectarian symbols, scratchings and bruising of umbrellas, temples, men and bulls (of a very different style from those of earlier contexts), and white painted groups of dancing figures, bulls and even modern Canarese inscriptions.

The main group from Benakal (Plate Ga, c) has very much in common with the Piklihal groups of period 2, and the other Benakal paintings fall into the same grouping.

Thus we may reach certain tentative conclusions. The forest area has so far yielded only slight traces of neolithic settlement near the Tungabhadra. The later cist and circle graves follow the fringes of the hill area and, in general, the pattern of mediæval village settlement. The Benakal paintings do not appear to belong to the first group, examples of which occur at Piklihal and such other main neolithic sites as Maski, Billamrayan Gudda, Kallur and Bellary, but to the second, early historic, group. Thus they may be associated with the builders of the stone-cist and circle graves, and dated to the first half of the first millennium A.D. Further intensive exploration in the area, including examination of the whole question of settlement and desertion, could add greatly to our understanding of the region, whilst intelligent excavation of such sites as the Sivapur cave settlement and the Basapatna mediæval circle graves could answer many important questions.

F. R. ALLCHIN

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Munirabad Plate Inscription of Tribhuvanamalla (A.D. 1088), *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 5.

<sup>2</sup> The report on this work is embodied in my thesis for London University, June, 1954, and I hope to publish the main parts shortly.

<sup>3</sup> It was first discovered by Keiss and reported by Meadows Taylor (*J. Bombay Br. R. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. IV) and later visited by Munn and noticed in *J. Hyderabad Geol. Surv.*, Vol. II, Part 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient India*, No. 4 (1948).

<sup>5</sup> R. B. Branfill, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X (1881).

<sup>6</sup> It is necessary to distinguish between 'bruising' in which the rock is battered with a blunt hammer and 'engraving' with a point, probably of metal.



# CONTINUITY IN CULTURE CONTACT: EXAMPLES FROM SOUTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA\*

by

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**115** The instances of technological change cited in this paper for the southern Northwest Coast furnish further documentation of the processes commonly recog-

nized in cultural interaction. In these cases, however, attention is focused upon the native culture and the persistence of native interests and skills. When cultural elements are retained, the process need not be the mere retention of traits but may involve the incorporation of new elements into a basic continuation of attitudes and abilities.



FIG. 1. ROLLER LOOM

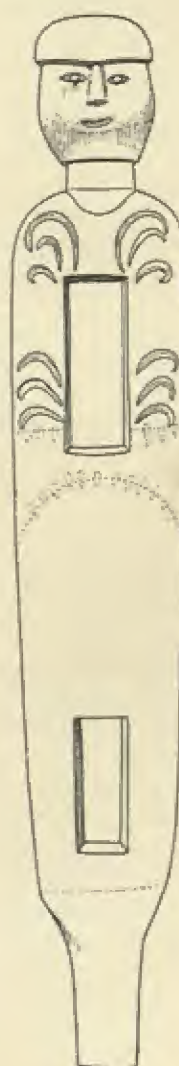
Posts  $48\frac{1}{2}$  by 3 inches; rollers  $48\frac{1}{2}$  inches long; collected by Emmons and attributed by him to 'Cowichan of Saanich Peninsula'; Sir Alfred Bossom Collection; photograph (as also fig. 2): Cookson



FIG. 2. SPINNING WHORLS

(a)  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter, collected by Emmons and attributed by him to 'Cowichan band of Salish at Cowichan'; (b) Cowichan; (c) no provenance; (d) Saanich Peninsula; Sir Alfred Bossom Collection

\* With seven text figures



CMS 0 10 20 30 40

FIG. 3. CARVED AND PAINTED ROLLER-LOOM POST

One of an identical pair, with rollers  $71\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, collected by Emmons, no provenance given but Cowichan in type; Sir Alfred Bossom Collection, drawn by M. Ricketts



Two aspects of this continuity are described, and are summarized at the end of the paper.

The southern portions of the Northwest Coast of America are not as well known to the non-specialist as the more spectacular northern tribes with their totem poles, potlatches and ranked societies. They shared, nevertheless, in the high technical development which made the elaborate social systems of the Kwakiutl and other northern tribes economically possible. Skills in woodworking and fishing were highly developed and, despite the dependence of the people upon a simple food-gathering economy, Northwest Coast technology was extremely well adapted to the purposes for which it was intended. Coupled with rich natural resources, this technology produced the great wealth typical of northern ceremonial display.

Perhaps because southern social life lacked the more extreme forms of self-advertisement and self-aggrandizement so well documented for the north, its particular technical advances are often overlooked. The Coast Salish of southern British Columbia, and their immediate neighbours across the international boundary in the State of Washington, had several technical developments not shared by northern tribes. Not only did they participate in the general Salish and Sahaptin development of basketry which led to the manufacture of consistently watertight baskets decorated by a unique process known as 'imbrication,' but they also enjoyed sole possession of wool-bearing dogs. The rearing of these dogs furnishes one of the very few examples of the native domestication of animals in the western hemisphere. Exact details of both their appearance and rearing have been lost. But the fact that they were kept apart from ordinary hunting and scavenger dogs suggests at least some knowledge of the processes of breeding. Although the question of their origin must remain a mystery, all suggestions of their introduction from outside have had to be abandoned for lack of confirmatory data, and there seems a good chance that they were locally originated. Wild animal fibres, such as mountain-goat hair, were used when available by all Northwest Coast tribes and combined with vegetable fibres for the manufacture of blankets. Among the Salish, dog wool was similarly combined. The northern Salish also made use of the roller loom (fig. 1). Simple as this loom is, it is not paralleled among any people for hundreds of miles and it is considerably more ingenious than that used by more northern tribes. It has never been suggested that the roller loom was anything but a local invention.

The virtuosity which made such technical developments possible has not, interestingly enough, died out under conditions of European contact. It has already been noted elsewhere that in the summer of 1944 an Indian woman figured out the first pulley system to be used to help in the arduous task of fishing in the sheer gorge of the Fraser.<sup>1</sup> Even more noteworthy is the home knitting industry currently active among the Salish of the Gulf of Georgia. This industry provides Indian-knitted garments for export to places as distant as the United Kingdom. The sheep's wool used is spun on machines which combine the prin-

ciples of the aboriginal spindle and the European sewing machine.<sup>2</sup> These machines are local Indian inventions and bear testimony to the vitality of an interest in, and ability for, technical development. It is natural to relate this ingenuity with wool to the former interest in textiles but, unfortunately, it is not now possible to place the origin of the practice of breeding wool dogs or the invention of the roller loom. Although the Cowichan, among whom the new spinning machine was invented, made some of the most decorative spinning whorls of the area (fig. 2) and sometimes elaborated their loom posts (fig. 3), there is no reason for associating them particularly with either the wool dog or the roller loom, both of which 'inventions' may, indeed, be of fairly long standing. Many cases of continuity seem to be of this tenuous sort and the best that can be done is to say, as we have here, that the same general area produced them.

A further example of similar technical virtuosity concerns former proficiencies in woodworking and navigation. In this case, however, we are fortunate in being able to place the development more specifically. The Indians of the region were efficient canoeists, and water transport was the main means of travel. This was true of all the peoples of the Northwest Coast, all of whom made large and seaworthy dugout canoes. Nevertheless, there were several centres of canoe manufacture which supplied canoes over a wide area. Thus the Haida, particularly the groups around Massett Inlet, where the best cedar was found, were renowned as the most skilful makers of the Northern type of canoe, and the largest and best canoes owned by the Tlingit, Tsimshian and northern Kwakiutl were Haida-made.<sup>3</sup> The area of the Middle Fraser<sup>4</sup> seems to have been another such centre. Canoes went from there as far as Puget Sound<sup>5</sup> and were traded up-river to the Thompson.<sup>6</sup> As in the Haida case, suitable cedar was readily available but the trade must also have depended on the skill of the canoe-maker.

Middle Fraser canoes were of several types. To illustrate these, I offer here (fig. 4) an exact copy of the drawings made in the last century by James Teit for the Thompson.<sup>7</sup> A summary of Middle Fraser types is given below with new data from my Chilliwack field notes of 1938 and from the Columbia University trip to Seabird Reserve in 1945.<sup>8</sup>

1. A common type of Middle Fraser canoe is that shown in fig. 4, third from the top, and in fig. 5. It was given as one of three types by Bob Joe in 1938. He called it the 'all-around' canoe, said that it was two to three feet wide, and used for it a term similar to that given for the Thompson example in fig. 4: *xwagelitim*.<sup>9</sup> The native word, *slaxwal*, given for the type by Duff<sup>10</sup> is, according to Bob Joe, the generic word for 'canoe' and would be used for any form or type of canoe (*slakwatl*). It had a stern 'like a duck's tail.'

Two variants are given for the Gulf of Georgia by Barnett,<sup>11</sup> and the Middle Fraser type is more like the Gulf *mukwil* which has a mainland distribution than the *yicelt* with its distribution on Vancouver Island. Both of these occur on Puget Sound<sup>12</sup> and both of them were also



said by my Puyallup-Nisqually informants to have a stern 'curved up like a duck's tail.'<sup>13</sup> The two forms had separate names among the Puyallup-Nisqually but up-river groups called them by the generalized term for boat or canoe. There are thus striking similarities between Puget Sound

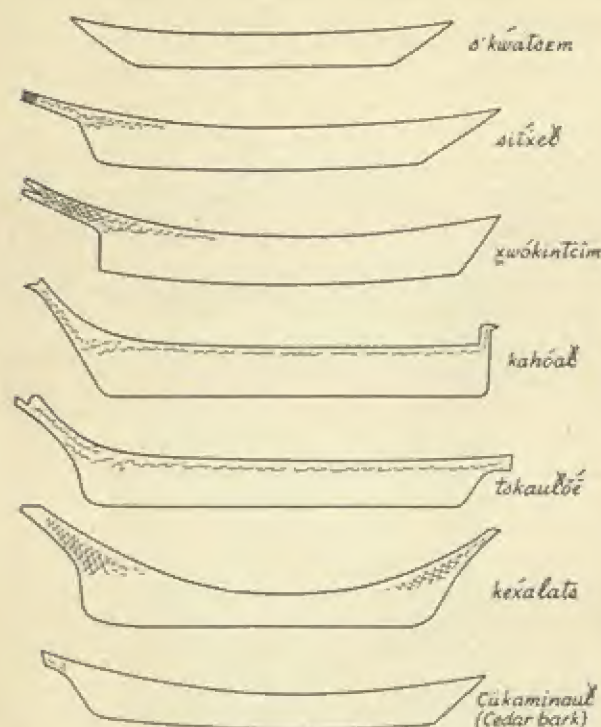


FIG. 4. EXACT COPY OF SHEET REDRAWN TO FURNISH DIAGRAMS OF CANOES AS PUBLISHED BY TEIT

See note 7.

and Middle Fraser data. The form did not occur on the western coast of Vancouver Island or among northern tribes of the Northwest Coast.

2. The 'shovel-nosed' canoe of the Middle Fraser<sup>14</sup> was described by Bob Joe and called by him by a term similar to that reported by Duff, *i.e.* This is also a variant of the Puget Sound term and the shovel-nosed canoe is regarded as a typical Puget Sound form. Bob Joe said that it turned quickly and was especially useful on rough water where it could 'glide right across a cross current.' This was one of the types traded to the Thompson (see fig. 4, top) and is listed for them and the Lillooet,<sup>15</sup> and for the coast groups in the immediate neighbourhood of the Fraser.<sup>16</sup> Otherwise it does not occur north of the international boundary.

3. The Nootka canoe, as the name indicates, is the dominant form among the Nootka of the west coast of Vancouver Island and is known there in five variants.<sup>17</sup> Nootka-made canoes were traded north, but this type was not made by the people of the northern coast. It was used along the Gulf of Georgia, but these groups also often obtained them by trade or purchase.<sup>18</sup> The area of its manufacture was not 'restricted,'<sup>19</sup> however, if the eastern and southern range of the type is considered.

According to Duff, it was 'not only used but made as far up-river as Yale' and is shown among Thompson types in fig. 4, centre.<sup>20</sup> The Seabird informant called it the 'big' or Chinook canoe and said it was made in various sizes. Wide ones which were 'made to ride the waves' were, he said, not made locally but bought from the Muskwium. He called it *k'owith*, which is clearly Duff's *k'uwath*. The Thompson term given, *kahoal*, is certainly similar and agrees with Bob Joe's word for this type, *q'ahowatl*. Bob Joe said this was the large canoe with separate bow and stern pieces, some examples reaching 60 feet in length and 'a fathom' wide. Drucker makes an important distinction between Nootka and Northern, or Haida, types when he points out that the Nootka, unlike the Northern (which was not made on the Fraser), has its superstructures let deep into the hull.<sup>21</sup> The Nootka is similar in form to the Puget Sound type which is known variously as 'big' or 'Chinook' canoe<sup>22</sup> and as 'war canoe.'<sup>23</sup>

4. The Kwakiutl 'war canoe' (*munka*) might be considered a variant Nootka type but is distinguished by a vertically rising, tremendously heavy prow piece.<sup>24</sup> It is reported for the Nootka,<sup>25</sup> and Barnett cites a *munka* among a few Gulf of Georgia Salish with a heavy, but not vertical, prow.<sup>26</sup> The Seabird informant described a 'war canoe' which he thought of as distinct from the Nootka canoe just described, and which he said emphatically was not like the canoe of fig. 5. He gave the following details: the smallest would hold 12 men and a large one 20 to 22; each group on the Fraser would have three or four of these canoes, enough to carry all the adult men; they were used for raids against the coastal groups, for travelling up-river to the Yale fishing grounds in summer, and to transport people to 'gatherings'; and when the Chehalis came down Harrison River to the Fraser to visit groups there, they used canoes of this type. Contacts, however inimical, certainly occurred between the southern Kwakiutl and the Middle Fraser.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, little credence could be given to this account, since neither the form nor native term was obtained, if it were not for the fact that the Seabird canoe photographed in 1945 has a vertically rising, heavy prow (fig. 6). The prow, however, has only a slight lift. Further field work may be able to decide whether or not the *munka* was really a Middle Fraser type. It should also be noted that the Seabird canoe of the photograph bears some resemblance to the 'children's' canoe cited by Waterman. Until a thorough study of canoe types over the whole area is attempted such relationships must remain undefined.

5. The bark canoe so typical of the Plateau<sup>28</sup> occurred in at least one form in the Middle Fraser according to information obtained in 1945. As in other parts of its coastal distribution,<sup>29</sup> it was used mainly for lake travel. It is not reported for Puget Sound. The bark of cedar, spruce, or even fir, might be used, but in all cases the craft were relatively heavy. One of Duff's informants reported the light birch-bark canoe.<sup>30</sup> Bob Joe mentioned canoes of the same material which were used on lakes or to go 'from creek to creek' because they could be carried on a man's back. According to him they were eight feet long and quite wide. They were not used on Harrison Lake but



'further in the interior.' Yet he added, 'once in the time of Fraser some birch canoes were seen around Yale.' They were not used by the Chilliwack. Ray reports birch-bark canoes for the Lillooet and Lower Carrier, birch-bark water-carriers for the Shuswap, Lillooet and Lower Carrier, and birch-bark dishes for the same groups plus the Thompson and Chilcotin.<sup>31</sup> These are all groups on the

for a new purpose, yet most of the canoes, used by White and Indian alike, were Indian-made. There are several references to these in the anthropological literature of the area, but anthropologists were generally engaged in reconstructing the old culture so that information is scanty. That they were adapted from several old types is clear, and it is also clear that hulls were narrowed and lengthened.

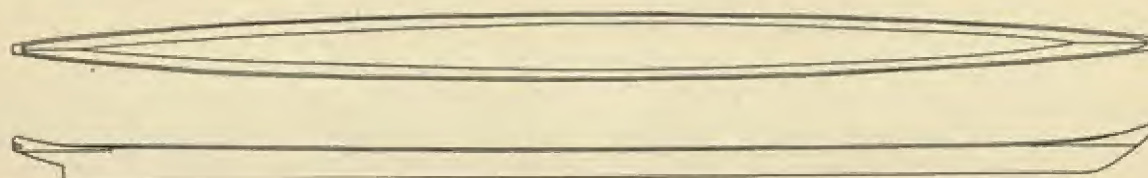


FIG. 5. RACING CANOE FROM SEABIRD RESERVE  
Drawn at Seabird by E. Leacock, 1945

upper Fraser. In 1945, photographs were taken of birch-bark containers in the possession of Mrs. Peters, who came from a village two miles above Hope. Whether this proves that birch containers were made and used in the Middle Fraser it is difficult to say, although it is possible. It seems very doubtful that any birch-bark canoes were made locally, although I would tend to accept the evidence that some had been seen.

Waterman said a quarter of a century ago that Puget Sound had 'the greatest variety' of dugout canoes of any area of the North Pacific. This variety cannot be matched by that of the Middle Fraser but it surely runs a close second. To what extent this is also true of the Lower Fraser tribes and the Squamish just north of the mouth of the Fraser it is impossible to say. Barnett believes that the technologies of the Squamish and Muskwium 'reveal an up-river adaptation,'<sup>32</sup> which might mean a similar proliferation of canoe types. Hill-Tout cites five canoe types for the Squamish,<sup>33</sup> but Barnett elsewhere gives but one, the *nukwil*.<sup>34</sup>

As these details show, the Middle Fraser had considerably more variety in its canoe types than the tribes of the classical Northwest Coast. But not all the northern coast Salish shared in this. The groups of the area in which the spinning machines are now in use were similar to northern and western Vancouver Island tribes in the relatively limited number of distinct canoe types they manufactured. Not only, therefore, was the Middle Fraser a manufacturing centre which exported canoes, but there was a high degree of specialization in types. It is thus possible to establish with fair assurance the high level of local skill that formed the background against which modern canoe-making in the Middle Fraser took place.

One chapter in Pacific native navigation which has received very little attention is the post-White development of the racing canoe. Although competition was keen in aboriginal society, it seldom took the form of organized racing. With the introduction of white practices, however, the Indians took immediately to both horse racing and canoe racing. Early accounts of pioneer life mention both of these again and again. Canoe racing meant craft designed

How much of this was done under direct White suggestion and how much derived from Indian knowledge of the general principles involved in canoe navigation will probably never be known. There was certainly considerable exchange of ideas, and various types of adaptation had ample opportunity for being tried out.

Canoe races are still held on the Northwest Coast, but the peak of activity in this sport, when White and Indian contended together, seems from historical records to have been about fifty years ago. This is reflected in ethnographical accounts, for Hill-Tout wrote in 1900 that the Squamish just north of the Fraser had 'of late years' started to make racing canoes.<sup>35</sup> The Seabird information given above was obtained from a man (see note 8) who was a famous paddler about the same period. The same was true of Jimmy Andrew of Seabird, who added to his fame as a paddler a reputation for canoe-building. He is shown in fig. 6, in the 'fishing' canoe which he made



FIG. 6. FISHING CANOE ON SEABIRD RESERVE  
Photograph: R. Hill, 1945

for his own use. The racing canoe of fig. 5 also belonged to Jimmy Andrew and was made by him.

The trend in most Northwest Coast canoe-building after contact with Europeans was the familiar one of a gradual deterioration of workmanship. Simple dugouts, often called by the English term 'boat,' without any native



designation, were known along the Fraser in 1900<sup>36</sup> and are still made there.<sup>37</sup> The racing canoe shown here, however, shows no such deterioration. On the contrary, it is probably the finest example of its kind. Two of similar form in the Victoria Museum measure 28 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 4 inches and the other, 25 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 8 inches.<sup>38</sup> These are slim craft and elegant enough. But

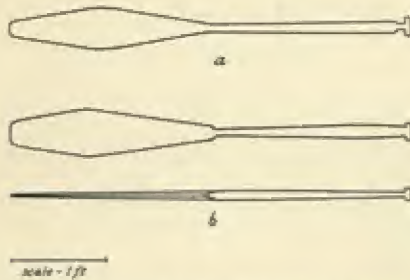


FIG. 7. PADDLES FROM SEABIRD RESERVE

(a) Racing paddle; (b) fishing paddle. Drawn at Seabird by E. Leacock, 1945

they are surpassed by the beautiful lines of this racing canoe which is 38 feet long and only 28 inches wide at its widest section. Additional prow and stern pieces have been let into the hull and it is equipped with paddles (fig. 7) especially adapted for racing. Three steps bearing upon the manufacture of this canoe have been isolated: Jimmy Andrew was born and raised in an area with a strong tradition of fine canoe-making; he participated in canoe racing—a sport that enjoyed wide acclaim in his youth—and he combined tradition with the new interest by constructing one of the finest canoes of its type.

The first white man in the region was Simon Fraser in 1808, but it is unlikely that native practices in regard to canoe manufacture could have been affected by White contact until somewhere between 1827, when Fort Langley was established, and 1848 when Yale was built. Fort Hope was established a few months later and a period of intensive contact began. Ten years later gold was discovered on the Fraser, and it was estimated that 25,000 to 30,000 miners flocked to Hope in the next year.<sup>39</sup> The Indians took an active part in the mining. But the gold excitement gradually petered out, and by 1860 only 200 white miners were left.<sup>40</sup> The Indians, however, must by that time have been well started on their road of acculturation. The continuity in the canoe-building tradition cited here therefore covered a period of approximately 100 years.

Motives of economic profit are certainly involved in the knitting industry and Jimmy Andrew used his fishing canoe constantly. Yet other factors must also have played a part in the construction and maintenance of his racing canoe. Pettitt notes that canoe-making, which is still fairly active among the Quileute, is 'a minor factor in the over-all economy . . . yet it continues to receive a considerable amount of time and thought . . . every family considers ownership of at least one [canoe] essential to proper living. . . .'<sup>41</sup> The people of the Middle Fraser live much more closely with Whites than do the Quileute, and

are not isolated in the same way from the main stream of modern life. Canoes retain no such importance on Seabird Island. Nevertheless, Jimmy Andrew's personal motivation must partake of some of the elements for prestige still generally expressed among the Quileute. The standards of his workmanship have not deteriorated as have those of their canoe-makers, but in both cases the mainsprings of the activity are grounded in the past. The practical craft today are simple dugouts, many of them adapted for out-board motors, and although these give further evidence of continuing technical skill, they are not finely finished. Among the Quileute, one boat is thought to be just about as good as another. The Seabird Indians appreciate the beauties of Jimmy Andrew's racing canoe, but they are not prompted either to make or to own one like it.

The knitting industry is an integral part of Cowichan group life today, as canoe racing was a part of Middle Fraser life in the early 1900's. They both seem to mark the same stage in acculturation, when old and new inventions are combined and form part of the general activities of the group. It is important to note that both of them continue along the general lines of an old tradition. They are also incorporated into an activity with real vigour in which both Indians and Whites share, in which both the contacted and the contacting groups are involved. In contrast, Jimmy Andrew's final interest is isolated and nostalgic. Although his activity follows the same cultural trend as canoe racing, the community has now turned from fishing and navigating to agriculture, and racing as a sport holds less public attention. In 1945 Jimmy Andrew lived in a generally modern rural setting in which the old orientations could play but a minor role.

Nevertheless, the manufacture of Jimmy Andrew's racing canoe and paddles is not to be equated with the cultural retention of a canoe complex among the Quileute.<sup>42</sup> If individuals in a society continue to develop and improve items of their technology, it produces a different situation than that in which a cultural complex is seen to deteriorate, no matter how gradual the deterioration may be. Actually, cultural retention among the northern Salish may be further analysed. It is as inadequate to cite the knitting industry as a retention of an old wool complex as to speak of the racing canoe in terms of simple retention. What seems to have persisted among the northern Salish is a general attitude toward and ability for technical advance. It is possible to document this most fully for Middle Fraser canoe manufacture, but the continuity involved is both generalized and basic.

Two aspects of continuity under conditions of culture contact have been isolated: one in which old capacities can become part of the total social milieu, and a second in which similar capacities, because of factors beyond the control of the individuals concerned, cannot be socially incorporated. These follow each other in the case of Middle Fraser canoes. The first then recurs a generation later in the knitting industry. Both are to be sharply differentiated from simple retention of cultural traits and it is noteworthy that there seems to be no necessary chronological relation between them and the length of culture contact.



## Notes

<sup>1</sup> In M. W. Smith (editor), *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, New York, 1949, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of this industry and for pictures of the spinning machines see B. S. Lane, 'The Cowichan Knitting Industry,' *Anthrop. in Brit. Columbia*, No. 2, Victoria, B.C. 1951. H. G. Barnett's single Cowichan informant denied wool-bearing dogs, *Culture Element Distributions: IX. Gulf of Georgia Salish (Anthrop. Records, Vol. I, No. 5, element 783, 1939)*. Fuller investigation by Lane affirms their presence, however (personal communication, 21 August, 1955).

<sup>3</sup> P. Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI. Northwest Coast (Anthrop. Records, Vol. IX, No. 3, Berkeley, 1950, p. 252)*.

<sup>4</sup> As currently used, the 'Middle Fraser' includes the Nooksack, the native peoples of southern Harrison Lake, and the Upper Stalo of the Fraser River from Yale to Mission. This area begins about 50 miles east of Vancouver, B.C.

<sup>5</sup> J. M. Collins, 'John Fornsbey,' in Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 306; and, for the route travelled, see M. W. Smith, 'The Nooksack, the Chilliwack, and the Middle Fraser,' *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. IV, 1950, pp. 331f.

<sup>6</sup> W. Duff, 'The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, B.C.' (*Anthrop. in Brit. Columbia, Memoir 1, Victoria, 1952, pp. 52f.*), and J. Teit, 'The Thompson Indians of British Columbia' (ed. F. Boas, *Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, No. 2, 1900, p. 255).

<sup>7</sup> This page comes from Professor Franz Boas's files and carries his notations. The printed version drawn from it (Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 255) differs in certain respects and does not carry the associated canoe names. It is probably because of these two facts that Professor Boas retained this one of all the drawings reproduced in the Teit volume. Anyone making a complete study of canoe types will wish to have this more accurate copy available. The phonetics are as they appear on the original but have been somewhat squared off by the copyist. The canoe outlines are exact. It should also be added that several villages included by Teit in the Lower Thompson are included in the Middle Fraser.

<sup>8</sup> The 1938 data quoted were obtained from Bob Joe of Sardis. His value as an informant is very great indeed. His main contacts were with the Chilliwack and the Nooksack (both Middle Fraser). The members of the Columbia University field-training trip in 1945 obtained the other data and gratitude goes to them for their cooperation. The Seabird canoe material was obtained incidentally to other inquiries. That given here as 'Seabird' came from the notes of Dr. Helen Codere, now of Vassar College, who worked with Harry Joe.

<sup>9</sup> Linguistic symbols are omitted here because of difficulties in printing. In conformity with general practice in the literature of this area, the form given is the nearest semi-Romanized equivalent, without accents.

<sup>10</sup> Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>11</sup> Barnett, *op. cit.*, elements 568 and 570.

<sup>12</sup> T. T. Waterman and G. Coffin, 'Types of Canoes of Puget Sound,' *Indian Notes and Monographs*, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York, 1920, Plate I, b and c. See also Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

<sup>13</sup> M. W. Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually*, New York, 1940, pp. 288f.

<sup>14</sup> Duff, *op. cit.*, pp. 52f.

<sup>15</sup> V. F. Ray, *Culture Element Distributions: XXII. Plateau (Anthrop. Records, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1942, elements 2551-2556)*.

<sup>16</sup> I accept here Duff's quotation from Barnett's unpublished manuscript (Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 52) rather than Barnett's earlier work (*op. cit.*, element 566) which he has apparently revised.

<sup>17</sup> P. Drucker, 'The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes,' *Bull. Bureau Amer. Ethnol.*, No. 144, Washington, 1951, pp. 82f.

<sup>18</sup> Barnett, *op. cit.*, element 567, p. 282.

<sup>19</sup> Drucker, *op. cit.*, 1950, element 381, p. 252.

<sup>20</sup> Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 51. Duff does not note the Nootka canoe among Thompson forms but it is recognized among the Fraser River Salish by both Ray (*op. cit.*, element 2558 and *Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America* (Publ. of the Hodge Anniversary Fund, Vol. III, Los Angeles, 1939, p. 141)) and R. I. Olson, 'Adze, Canoe and House Types of the Northwest Coast,' *Univ. Washington Publ. in Anthrop.*, Vol. II, 1927, pp. 1-38. Duff seems to feel that 'most' Thompson craft are like the type listed here as (1).

<sup>21</sup> Drucker, *op. cit.*, 1950, element 443, p. 257.

<sup>22</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, 1940, p. 288. It should be noted that the southern Puget Sound word for the type (*aotxs*) is not the same as that used in the north. This type is also referred to by Olson (*op. cit.*, p. 19) as 'Chinook,' which is, of course, the jargon word for large or big. The Chinook at the mouth of the Columbia also had a variant of the type (V. F. Ray, 'Lower Chinook Ethnographic Notes,' *Univ. Washington Publ. in Anthrop.*, Vol. VII, No. 2, 1938, p. 103). Haeberlin and Gunther, 'The Indians of Puget Sound,' *Univ. Washington Publ. in Anthrop.*, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1930, pp. 34f., say that the *aotxs* was recent among the Snohomish and replaced the 'Kwidel.' If this is a similar name to that noted here, it is an extremely interesting observation.

<sup>23</sup> Waterman and Coffin, *op. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> Drucker, *op. cit.*, 1950, element 385, p. 253.

<sup>25</sup> Drucker, *op. cit.*, 1951, pp. 84f.

<sup>26</sup> Barnett, *op. cit.*, element 569a, 282f.

<sup>27</sup> H. Codere, 'Fighting with Property,' *Monographs Amer. Ethnol. Society*, No. 18, New York, p. 104; B. McKelvie, 'Cold War on the Fraser,' *The Beaver*, Winnipeg, Autumn, 1955; and Smith, *op. cit.*, 1950, p. 334.

<sup>28</sup> Ray, *op. cit.*, 1939, pp. 142-44, and 1942, elements 2617-2619.

<sup>29</sup> Barnett, *op. cit.*, element 679; Drucker, *op. cit.*, 1950, element 388, and 1951, p. 85.

<sup>30</sup> Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>31</sup> Ray, 1942, elements 2615, 1852, 1946 respectively.

<sup>32</sup> H. G. Barnett, 'The Coast Salish of Canada,' *Amer. Anthrop. Vol. XL*, 1938, p. 121.

<sup>33</sup> C. Hill-Tout, 'Notes on the Sk'gomic of British Columbia,' *Rep. Brit. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science*, 1900, p. 495.

<sup>34</sup> Barnett, 1939, *op. cit.*, elements 566-570.

<sup>35</sup> Hill-Tout, *op. cit.*

<sup>36</sup> Teit, *op. cit.*

<sup>37</sup> Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>38</sup> Duff, *op. cit.*

<sup>39</sup> F. W. Howay, 'The Early History of the Fraser Mines,' *Archives of Brit. Columbia, Mem. No. 6*, Victoria, 1926.

<sup>40</sup> H. H. Bancroft, *History of British Columbia*, Vol. XXXII, p. 144.

<sup>41</sup> G. A. Pettitt, 'The Quileute of La Push, 1775-1945,' *Anthrop. Records*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1950, pp. 52f.

<sup>42</sup> The Quileute live on the Olympic peninsula and are outside the northern Salish area under discussion.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

**Interdependence and Conflict in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea.** By Ronald M. Berndt, M.A., Ph.D., Dip. Anthropol. Summary by Mrs. C. H. Berndt of a communication to the Institute, 16 June, 1955  
This region, in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, was

first visited by an Administrative patrol in 1947, and brought under control by 1949-1950. Further south, the country is still classified as 'restricted.' Although warfare and associated acts of violent aggression represented, as they apparently still do, one of the major interests of these people, Administration influence



has led to the disappearance of open warfare in the north. It continues, today, only in the south.

There are here four adjacent linguistic groups of unequal size, with fairly well defined boundaries: Kamano, Usurufa, Fore and Jate. Generally speaking, except at their outer fringes, these comprise together a cultural bloc which is more or less articulately recognized as such. Within it, dissimilarities are acknowledged; but, overall, a common way of life and a common origin differentiate the human beings within it from the strangers who surround it. Each linguistic group is made up of a number of districts (literally, 'big names'); and each of these in turn contains a number of small villages and hamlets. The population of most districts, with some exceptions, ranges from 200 to 700; and the extent and quality of their garden lands varies considerably. Shifting cultivation is the rule, with sweet potato, taro and yam as staple foods, supplemented by hunting and collecting, and the keeping of pigs, dogs, fowls and cassowaries.

Each village or hamlet is occupied by one or more named patrilineages and their adherents. The district is nominally the political unit, although in practice the village (or its core of male patri-kin) acts with a measure of independence in war as in peace. Ordinarily the village is exogamous, as the district is not. Within the district, except for women married into it, all are at least nominally kin. Outside it, apart from certain personal relationships which have no wider significance, all are non-kin, potentially or actually hostile.

One of the principal and avowed aims of the socialization process has been to produce warriors. This process has emphasized the desirability of inter-district warfare, which offers an approved vehicle for the expression of self-assertive aggression, as exemplified in the ideal of the 'strong' man who dominates others by force and threat of force. Fighting is, itself, an enjoyable occupation. But it is never carried out explicitly for its own sake; it must always be justified, verbally, in other terms. One district fights another to exact compensation or revenge for a real or imagined injury—a slight, or a death—which must be reciprocated, or balanced; and either may pay or 'bribe' others to join it or remain neutral. Usually this is on the level of hit-and-run raiding; but occasionally a whole district might be devastated and its members forced to seek refuge elsewhere. Associated with warfare, but also existing independently of it as a means of justifying and reinforcing inter-district antagonisms, is sorcery, in many named varieties, all designed to cause sickness or death to members of other districts. This is a weapon especially useful today in the northern area, where open armed fighting has been suppressed.

Any one district may be on either friendly or inimical terms with any number of others: but the position is likely to change almost overnight. There is no permanency in such matters, except only in the expectation of interaction itself. All districts other than one's own are potential enemies as well as friends; it is only strangers with whom one does not fight. The active desire for this kind of relationship, in which hostility is a necessary component, is illustrated in the plea sometimes sent by victorious districts to the neighbours they had driven away: 'Come back to your own ground: we have no one here to fight!'

The social configuration in this region, then, is one of contiguous districts linked by ties of cooperation and opposition, as equally important facets of their interrelationship. From any one district, as central point, a range of potential cooperation-antagonism extends outward, diminishing in intensity according to socio-geographic distance, and remaining relatively constant through time. Within it one can map out in each case a zone of social interaction, which I have termed the ephemeral zone of political influence. This zone, seen from the perspective of any one district, changes its dimensions as new inter-district marriages

occur, new oppositions emerge, new fighting alliances are formed, and so on.

For the purpose of this talk, attention was focused on the Usurufa district of Kogu, containing five villages, with ten named lineages and their adherents—in all, just over 200 people. Detailed genealogies, supported by case-history material, were examined on the basis of marriages and deaths taking place within the district, or linking this district with others. The zone of interaction which can be charted by this means provides a construct picture, a rough assessment over a period, and does not represent the pattern which could be depicted at any one point in time; nor does it reveal all the short-term fighting alliances in which Kogu engaged during that period. But it does provide one sort of gauge, showing the districts with which Kogu men and women have contracted most of their marriages, and those to which they ascribe most of their deaths. The sphere of greatest intensity within this interactive zone embraces four districts adjoining Kogu (one Usurufa, two Fore, and one Jate), with other near and adjacent districts taking a secondary place. This conforms with information derived from other sources, including personal observation of inter-district movements and transactions. The major area of strain and conflict, in our example, is at the same time the area in which are to be found the greater number of affinal and maternal kin resident outside the district. The anticipation of dissension between affines is reflected in this situation. Similarly, within the district itself, relations between certain close kin (lineage brothers, for instance), aggravated by the stress on aggressive self-assertion counterbalancing the need to unite against outsiders, necessarily involve, at the same time, both interdependence and conflict.

If we are interested in the problem of how to define 'a society,' in this region, we must consider the interaction which takes place between districts, regardless of their linguistic affiliations. The control mechanisms operative within one district to achieve regulation, conformity and solidarity against outsiders, support the continuation of opposition and conflict between the districts which make up this zone at any given period. At the same time, other factors serve to counteract these, and support cooperation between them in non-hostile terms. Under such conditions we can speak of this interactive zone itself, fluctuating as it is, as a social system, containing all the social and cultural ingredients required for its maintenance and perpetuation, in dynamic interrelationship.

It is commonplace to say that conflict is inherent in any social situation. Maclver and Page (1950),<sup>1</sup> Weber (1949),<sup>2</sup> Whiting and Child (1953),<sup>3</sup> and French (1953),<sup>4</sup> for instance, in different ways, have all made this point. But Simmel goes further than this. It is not merely that conflict is, here, a form of sociation. Although I have been unable to present all the evidence in this context, the situation to which I have referred illustrates quite clearly what Simmel called 'the positive and integrating role of antagonism' (1955, p. 18),<sup>5</sup> and of conflict (*ibid.*, pp. 14, 15f.). To acknowledge the validity of this assumption as a working proposition poses, of course, further problems for empirical investigation in regard to the interplay of mechanisms of conflict and cooperation. Here I have tried to indicate only how, in one situation, conflict is an essential and positive feature of social interaction, and a vital and necessary part of the process in which social units are dependent on one another in order, so to speak, to maintain their relative independence within the total constellation.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> R. M. Maclver and C. H. Page, *Society*, London (Macmillan), 1950.



<sup>2</sup> M. Weber, *Max Weber on the Methodology of the Social Sciences* (trans. and ed. by Shils and Finch), Glencoe, Illinois (Free Press), 1949.

<sup>3</sup> J. W. M. Whiting and I. L. Child, *Child Training and Personality: A Cross-Cultural Study*, New Haven (Yale U.P.), 1953.

<sup>4</sup> J. R. P. French, Jr., in D. Cartwright and A. Zander, editors, *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory*, New York and Illinois (Row Petersen), 1953.

<sup>5</sup> G. Simmel, *Conflict*, trans. K. H. Wolff, Glencoe, Illinois (Free Press), 1955.

## SHORTER NOTE

**Efik Iron Gongs and Gong Signals.\*** By Donald C. Simmons, Stamford, Connecticut. With a text figure

**II7** The Efik of Calabar Province, Nigeria, possess a double gong and two types of single gong. Each is beaten by means of a wooden stick, has an oval cross-section, and is made by local smiths (usually Ibo, but sometimes Efik and Ibibio) who weld two pieces of sheet iron along a flange.

The *ñkóng* (fig. 1a), a single gong with a handle, is primarily a musical instrument, although on special occasions members of the Leopard Society carry one decorated with red and white chalk. The length of the gong varies from 15 to 36 inches. A small specimen in my possession has a total length of 17½ inches (the handle measuring 5½ inches and the gong 12 inches), 6 inches maximum width, ¼ inch width of the flange, 1½ inches width of the area where the gong ends and handle begins, and 2½ inches maximum width from one lip of the funnel to the other lip. The tone of the gong varies with the size. When sitting, users hold the smaller gongs by the handle and stamp the funnel on the thigh to produce either a metallic clank or a resonant note when the gong is struck with or without touching the thigh.

The *ñkéngé* (fig. 1b) is a handleless single gong formerly beaten by an eldest son when publicly extolling his deceased father, a warrior reciting his deeds of prowess, or a chief who wanted silence at an assembly. The prime function of this instrument was to attract attention, but it is rarely used now. An average specimen is 13½ inches long, and 5½ inches wide at the funnel, with a maximum width from one lip of the funnel to the other lip of 1 inch. The user holds the gong in the left hand by its slender extremity in an almost vertical position.

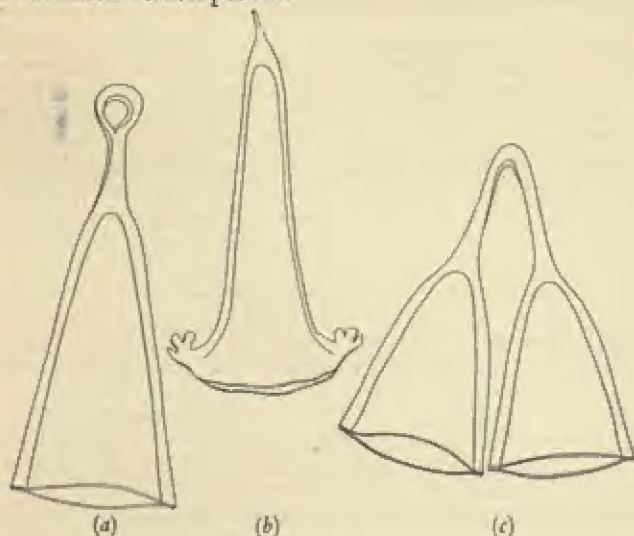


FIG. 1. EFIK IRON GONGS

The *ákánkáng* (fig. 1c) is a double gong consisting of two gongs joined together by an arched handle. The double gong is used to send messages during war, at funerals, and in sacrifices to magic

\* Vernacular spelling has been slightly simplified. The acute accent has been used for the high tone, the grave for the low tone, and unaccented vowels bear the mid tone.—ED.

medicines; it is also beaten as a musical instrument by boys during their *òkóng itok* play. One specimen, slightly smaller than most, has an overall length of 8½ inches; the larger gong is 5 inches long, 3½ inches wide at the funnel, with a maximum width from one lip of the funnel to the other lip of 1½ inches; the smaller gong is 4½ inches long, 3½ inches wide at the funnel, with a maximum width from one lip of the funnel to the other lip of 1½ inches. The smaller gong produces a higher note than the larger gong. Other double gongs sound different tones, but the gongs of any one specimen always produce two distinctly different notes. Efik hold the gong in the left hand by the arched handle in an almost vertical position, and with the low-toned gong on the right side.

Waddell (1863, p. 366) is the first reference on the Efik from which the use of the *ákánkáng* to send messages may be inferred, for, in mentioning the Creek Town chief's son escaping into the bush from a trader's ship in which he was imprisoned over a 'trust' dispute, Waddell wrote: 'He was back in the morass when he heard himself called by a peculiar beat of the native bell in his father's canoe. . . . ' However, the drawing in Waddell's text does not exactly represent a native-made *ákánkáng*, possibly because the drawing is of the chief's gong and Efik chiefs frequently commissioned European traders to obtain for them European-made reproductions of Efik musical instruments.

The double gong possesses the same efficiency in transmission of messages as the *òhòdòm* or signal drum (actually a slit gong) except that the latter has a greater audible range. Under the most favourable conditions the maximum range of the double-headed gong is only one mile, while the wooden signal drum possesses an audible range of five to seven miles.

The correspondence of gong notes and the tones of the spoken message is shown in the examples which follow. The symbols used to notate the linguistic tones of the examples are: low, ' ; high, ' ; and mid, no notation; although they are not illustrated by the examples, the Efik language also possesses rising tone, falling tone and mid-high tone (a tone half-way between mid and high tones). The sounds produced by the gong are notated L for the note of the low-toned gong, and H for the note of the high-toned gong.

Certain modifications occur in the reproduction of linguistic tones since the gong only sounds two notes. Falling tones become either low tone, or a high tone followed by a low tone. Rising tones become either high tone, or a low tone followed by a high tone. Mid and mid-high tones are rendered as high tones. Low and high tones retain their respective tone.

Gong signals consist of short aphoristic phrases, proverbs and nicknames which possess special meaning when used as gong or drum signals. The tones of gong signals are identical with the tones of a signal drum sending the same message. No doubt exists that gong signals simulate linguistic tones, for one can successfully predict the gong notes of a message if the tones of the spoken words are known.

The same form of double gong is used by the Oron, Ibibio, and many Ibo groups, such as the Arochuku Ibo, who name it *ògèné*. Consequently, the area of the lower Niger and Cross River may be included in the distribution map accompanying



Walton (1955) as another provenance of the arch-linked double gong.

The Efik also possess an iron gong known as *òtì*; the only examples which I have seen have been European-made dinner gongs or automobile brake drums, but Goldie (1874, p. 258) states that the *òtì* is 'a musical instrument made of metal with a stick inside to act in the manner of the tongue of the bell.' A drawing of the *òtì* and other Efik musical instruments occurs in Amaku (1951, p. 71).

The following messages were used by warriors on a war expedition. Many other messages were transcribed by me, but all show a similar correspondence between the notes of the gong and the tones of the spoken message.

- (1) *idémédé idáp imén òfòng ikúné*  
LHHH HH LH LL LHH  
wake up tie loincloth

This message warns warriors to prepare for the expedition. The same message may be sent at the commencement of the daily lamentation for a recently deceased relative, or if a sodality desires to perform its ceremony early in the morning.

- (2) *èsinésit ikòt òmám àsànga úsàng ínkpó*  
LHHL HL HH LL H HL H H  
being in bush does walker of road thing.

This is sent to remind warriors of the possibility of ambush.

- (3) *àbiàbon ètòk ètòk àtiàk ànyán òfòng*  
HLH LL LL HL LH HL  
needle very small sews long cloth.

This is sent to inform the enemy that a small Efik force will conquer them no matter how numerous they are.

- (4) *idùòt òdùk òfòng úsùk úsùk*  
HL HL LL HL HL  
chalk enters cloth slowly.

The enemy approaches slowly.

- (5) *òfím ényèngè mbòm ibúnké*  
HL H LL LL HH H  
wind shakes mbòm tree does not break.

This is beaten on return from battle to inform the town that although the battle was fierce the war party did not suffer loss.

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## REVIEWS

### AMERICA

**People of the Deer.** By Farley Mowat. London (Joseph), 1952. Pp. 316. Price 15s.

**II8** The author of *People of the Deer* says that he went to the Barren Grounds purely to satisfy a personal urge to seek for and study a group of Eskimo mentioned by Tyrrell in 1896 and never seen or described thereafter. In fact, he was the junior member of a well organized expedition, one of several sponsored by the Arctic Institute of North America, and he was financially supported specifically to go to these parts to study caribou migration. (I was on one of other expeditions working in that country at the same time, in 1947.) Mowat went back again in the summer of 1948 'but this time I had a companion . . . who shared my restless curiosity . . . and had chosen to accompany me back to the Barrens.' His companion was, in fact, a Field Officer of the Dominion Wildlife Service, and Mowat was hired to assist him. In 1948, his second summer, he implies that he went by canoe, from the base at Windy Bay to Angikuni (p. 218), and later that he returned to Churchill by canoe down the Thlewiaza River (p. 295). The official reports suggest that he made both journeys by plane.

Mr. Mowat claims that he spent two years as a scientist studying the caribou (so contradicting his opening statements), referring in this to the two summers in which he was employed as an assistant; yet he describes a herd of caribou in these words (pp. 64-6): 'In less than an hour I had seen so many deer that it seemed as the world was full of them . . . 10, 50, 100, 300, and I gave up. . . . The surface of the Bay, for six miles east and west, had become one undulating mass of animals, and still they came.' According to the expedition leader, no herd larger than 75 animals was seen. Perhaps he imagined them, for he described the pregnant does as 'quite without antlers in the Spring,' although caribou do not shed their antlers until some time after the fawns are born. One therefore approaches his Eskimo material with caution.

He claims (p. 105) that 'there is reason to believe [that the death rate from tuberculosis] should thus be well over 1,000 deaths' per 100,000 of Eskimos and Indians, and on the same page states emphatically that 'thousands of Indians and Eskimos die each year from tuberculosis.' There should thus be hundreds of thousands of

Eskimos and Indians in the north-west territories; yet in 1947 there were only about 10,000 of them, according to the Census. (Mowat says that he 'loathes statistics'!)

Mowat claims that these Eskimos, the Ihalmiut, have never before been studied or described, and that he was the first to do so. In fact, this group of people is a small band of the larger group known as the Padlimiut described by Birket-Smith in an exhaustive publication (1929) in the series of *Fifth Thule Expedition Reports*. Since that time, and before Mowat, Jean Gabus has published at least four books on the Padlimiut and the Ahearnermiut, the latter being the group to which the small band, the Ihalmiut, belong. The Ihalmiut were known as being a group of about 35 people on the south-western fringes of the territory occupied by the Padlimiut. Mowat makes great play with the decreasing numbers of these people living in that area, believing that they had died off. The most likely explanation is that the majority of the Ihalmiut and the Ahearnermiut have moved northwards towards the Baker Lake region, joining up with another sub-group of the Padlimiut called the Harvaktormiut. (This group was one included in a census made by me in 1947.) Some of Mowat's Ihalmiut actually stated that they came from the Harvaktormiut.

The greater part of the book is taken up with stories said to have been related to Mowat by Eskimos. These he can only have collected in his second summer, for it was then that he began to learn Eskimo words, a form of basic or 'pidgin Eskimo' as he called it. With this he found that he 'was able to speak about quite abstract subjects' and gathered 'some of their folk tales and some of their history.' It is clear from his writing that he knew some Eskimo words. For example, he calls the Kazan River *Innuut Ku*, two words meaning man and river, from which he gathers that the Eskimo call the Kazan 'River of Men.' This is pidgin Eskimo indeed, and would never be used by a man who knew Eskimo well enough to talk about abstract subjects.

Eskimo is one of the most difficult of languages, which missionaries, even working from texts in Padlimiut, and with the advantage of having skilled teachers, can learn only after several years' intensive work. Mowat claims to have done this in one



month—and during a period when he says that he was exceedingly busy collecting zoological specimens.

The stories have a familiar ring about them, but there are many insertions which are un-Eskimo. The description of the winter life would never, I believe, be given by the Eskimo in such detail and style. Nevertheless, all power to Mowat's skill in writing; these stories are beautifully told, even if they are essentially English and lack 'the fine poetic tone and ruthless power which is so characteristic of the Eskimo intellect and which actually constitutes the charm of their stories' (Rasmussen).

Mowat also indulges in archaeology. He finds a 'mighty camp' of 30 tent rings and, because of the graves round about and the odds and ends left behind, including one thread spool, he concludes that the white man's tuberculosis had suddenly killed off all the inhabitants. The 'great tents, 20 feet across,' he compares with the small tent of today and draws corresponding conclusions about the size of the population. He can never have seen a tent being struck and the stones rolled back; nor did he learn that Eskimo return to good sites year after year, generation after generation. In the same chapter he mentions the amazing state of preservation of ethnographical materials. Finally, he contrasts the rapid burials 'of the dying people' with those of the time before the coming of the white man, and in these ancient graves he finds stone pipes. He doesn't tell us what the Eskimo smoked in these days before the white man came.

As a book for the anthropologist *The People of the Deer* is of very doubtful value. As a good story powerfully written, redolent of Mowat's own emotions, it is excellent. His descriptive passages have beautifully turned phrases, even if his syntax and occasionally even the meanings of words go awry. This book could be a lesson to field anthropologists in how to write about primitive people, provided that they retain their professional desire for accuracy. T. T. PATERSON

**Social Anthropology of North American Tribes.** Edited by Fred Eggan. Enlarged edition. Chicago (U.P.) (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1955. Pp. xvi, 574. Price £2 12s. 6d.

**II9** This new and expanded edition of a 1937 collection of essays presented to A. R. Radcliffe-Brown now makes available a classic set of 'Chicago Essays' to a new generation of anthropologists. Besides the original contributions, two others have been added: one by Sol Tax which reviews the history of North American kinship studies over a period of three centuries up to 1937 and another by Eggan which is a comprehensive evaluation of American kinship studies from 1937 onwards. Both are remarkable studies in the detail and thoroughness with which they cover highly technical and specialized fields. In truth, however, Eggan's is the only really new work since Tax's was written for the earlier study but could not then be included for the understandable reasons of insufficient space and lack of consistency with what was a group of exclusively empirical studies. Although the latter disqualification still remains, Tax's study is of itself an outstanding review, a major achievement, covering one phase of the history of anthropological thought not yet otherwise treated in the literature.

Though Eggan, by meticulously noting and evaluating practically all kinship studies done in the last 20 years, clearly establishes the influence of Radcliffe-Brown on American anthropology, even in quarters where there has been no direct contact, he fails to note that he himself has been mainly responsible for carrying on the legacy of the mentor's five Chicago years; much of the work in the tradition has been and is being done by his students. Moreover, all of the other contributors to the original volume have since become engaged in pursuits quite removed from the central task of the dynamic structuralist approach. One must hasten to add, however, that the task now defined for the approach by Eggan exhibits both a sharper focus and new elements.

While the earlier edition includes, in addition to kinship, a range of work on law, sanctions and religion, the summary of recent work is largely confined to developments in kinship. In this connexion it might be noted that of all of Radcliffe-Brown's output 'The Social Organization of Australian Tribes' is elevated to paramountcy. By a curious transvaluation of the approach, the focus has been sharpened to the point where kinship is made the *sine qua non* of social organization.

To what was basically a non-historical functional approach, the added elements are the historical dimension and an emphasis on the impact of acculturation. This variation is not without its reasons. While Radcliffe-Brown did his major work with societies still relatively intact, his American students were working with groups of largely dispossessed, decimated Indians located in new and alien psychological conditions and habitats. The reference to the time dimension which, when combined with the structural and functional point of view of British anthropology today, Eggan sees as the next synthetic plateau of anthropological theory in general may only represent an American necessity; a necessity arising from the absence of any 'pure,' operating kinship models and, hence, forcing the characteristic reach to the aboriginal past and the 'baseline.' It is interesting that this historical bent loses its attractiveness and, indeed, presents exceedingly difficult methodological problems when American students deal with other than North American Indians. The difference may lie in such a simple thing as the more abundant existence in North America of early reports done by reporters who did notice kinship arrangements, a fact which, further, explains the possibility of Tax's study.

There is a tendency in these and other studies which take their guiding ideas from Radcliffe-Brown automatically to consider the kinship order as the key institution of all societies. This habit is exemplified by the frequent and sometimes unconscious terminological equation of kinship system and social organization: as if a society were comprehended by packaging and classifying kinship models. The emphasis on kinship and related formalized relationships as universally central, while it may lead to interesting and enlightening formulations in some cases, has its price. In remnant societies it may lead to a quite distorted version of a social reality in which a relatively unchanging kinship terminology is like, following the biological model, the vestigial appendix. Certainly one would gain a limited or even false view of English or American society by approaching it through its kinship arrangements. It seems almost necessary to assume that the monumental changes being wrought in the four corners of the world by contemporary trends are having some effect on the relationship between kinship and other social orders. The household economy and the lineage and the clan, which stimulated and gave meaning to kinship studies in the past, may now be reduced to dependent or even meaningless entities. The function of kinship in the total complex of institutions found in a society is an empirical problem which must be faced ever anew in specific cases.

Unless kinship models are to be studied in and of and for themselves, as an aesthetic game, the modern social drift will have come and gone leaving a large part of anthropology still engaged in logical tournaments more relevant to the past than the present.

ARTHUR J. VIDICH

**The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada.** By Wilson D. Wallis and Ruth Sawtell Wallis. Minneapolis (U.P.) (London agent: Cumberlege), 1955. Pp. xv, 515. Price £3

**120** The American Indians of southern Canada from Nova Scotia in the east to Vancouver Island in the far west believed in giant races and in dwarfs. In the nineteen-fifties when a Micmac boy, age 12, was asked about dwarfs, he said: 'Pugularamut? You mean the little fellers?' 'Yes. The dwarfs.' 'There was this queen and then there came Snow White. . . .' 'Did you ever see a dwarf?' 'My grandfather did. He used to see a little man in the daytime, singing and dancing around the house. And I've seen a dwarf too. I saw him in front of the hardware store in Newcastle. . . . he'd never grown.' So today three concepts of 'dwarf' are fused. It is about the Micmac of Nova Scotia and the surrounding country that Professor Wallis writes and his main task involves fusion.

His initial field work with the Micmac was done in 1911 and in 1912. In 1950, and again in 1953, he and his wife returned to the Micmac. Those 40 years had brought almost unbelievable changes to some areas of life in the rest of the world and marked changes in Micmac life could also be seen. To give these historical depth, the sources, the earliest dating from 1606, have been gleaned. The result is an ethnography which includes about all that there is to know on the Micmac. If that all is still not very much, no one is to blame, for



even by 1911 Micmac acculturation had gone far. Two-thirds of the book are devoted to the ethnography. The final third consists of a separate section on 'Folktales and Traditions.' As in many ethnographies, the sociological data are sometimes rich, and a final chapter reviews the changes which have come about in 40 years.

From 1910 to 1949, when government figures are available, Micmac population gained 27 per cent. to its present figure of over 5,000. The Indians live on numerous small reserves in general contact with their non-Indian neighbours. In 1953, the principal source of employment was in the United States. Thirty-five per cent. of men and boys from some reserves had crossed the international boundary and each fall whole families go to Maine to help in the potato harvest. The people are all Catholics and, although they speak English, their new customs are often more French than English. The employment drive to the United States has now added a third variant to this combination. One of the most interesting retentions from the old life is a living fear of the Mohawk. Open hostilities with other Indian tribes stopped over a hundred years ago. Nevertheless, the Mohawk are still a threat in the minds of people on each Micmac reserve. To counter-balance this, however, is the comfortable tradition that the Micmac were the most powerful of peoples and the old power lies there to be drawn upon. If need ever arises, the culture hero, Gluskap, will come to their aid, or a 'captain' will appear among them with previously unsuspected abilities. So the fusion continues.

Professor and Mrs. Wallis have supplied an important addition to anthropological literature. For example, Lewis H. Morgan used Micmac data in his *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* which were taken from Rand's *Dictionary*. Unfortunately, his interpretations are not altogether consistent with the facts and anyone working on Morgan will want to check back on the kinship material supplied here. It is the great value of such a book that it can be used in so many ways.

MARIAN W. SMITH

**American Indian and White Children: A Sociopsychological Investigation.** By Robert Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten. Chicago (U.P.) (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1955. Pp. 332. Price £1 17s. 6d.

This study is part of a larger investigation, undertaken by the Committee of Human Development of the University of Chicago and the United States Office of Indian Affairs, to study and compare the moral, emotional and intellectual development of children in a number of American Indian tribes. The growing interest in systematic cross-cultural research has brought into sharp focus the problems of sample adequacy and the functional equivalence of cultural or psychological data. These are by no means new problems for social anthropologists, but they become crucially important when one undertakes to compare different societies in a systematic fashion.

The present volume is a report of the development, administration and findings of a battery of tests designed to probe aspects of the moral ideologies and emotional responses of children. The tests were given to children in eight different groups: the Hopi, Papago, Sioux, Zia, Zuni, Navahos from Shiprock area and the Navaho Mountain area, and 'white' children in a small Midwestern community. Specifically, the purposes of the study are to devise some new techniques for cross-cultural comparisons, and to obtain a description of the moral and emotional development of the children in each culture.

Two of the more successful instruments developed were the Emotional Response Test and the Moral Ideology Test. The former probed attitudes and emotional responses towards significant others, towards different types of objects and situations, towards the supernatural, and towards existing cultural expectations. Here, answers were obtained concerning the principal sources of happiness, sadness, fear, shame, anger, etc., for the children in each society. Indian and Midwest children differed considerably as to the sources of anger. The latter frequently mentioned items grouped as 'restrictions on desires' ('When my mother wouldn't buy me a pair of shoes I wanted,' or 'When I had my mind set on going to a party and had to stay home'). A thematic analysis of the responses corresponded to

what one would expect from knowledge of the groups from other sources. However, there were a number of disparities. It is not too obvious why there are little differences among the Indian children on the theme of individual achievement. From what we know of these groups one would expect that the Pueblos value this much less than the Navaho or Sioux. As expected, however, the Midwest children showed a much greater concern for individual achievement than any of the Indian groups. The data pointed to similarities in the Southwest Indians (Papago, Zuni, Zia, Navaho) as compared with either the Plains culture of the Sioux or that of the Midwestern community.

The Moral Ideology Test enabled the investigators to discover what behaviour the children considered to be approved and disapproved in their society and who the sources of these sanctions were. ('What could a boy (girl) of your age do that would be a good thing to do, so that someone would praise him (her) or be pleased?' 'Who would praise him (her) or be pleased?' 'What could a boy (girl) of your age do that would be a bad thing to do, so that someone would blame him (her) or think badly of him (her)?' 'Who would blame him (her) or think badly of him (her)?') The authors found that while this instrument was useful, it left much to be desired. Data were obtained only on those aspects of the moral ideologies that the children were willing to express in a formal interview situation. Thus, masturbation was never mentioned by any of the white children, although there is evidence that this is a source of considerable conflict for adolescents in our society. On the other extreme, behaviours whose acceptance is so pervasive and taken for granted are sometimes omitted from the responses since they are not matters of concern.

Other techniques included were Tests of Moral Judgement and analysis of free drawings of the children. The former instrument was designed to examine beliefs in immanent justice, animism, and attitudes towards rules of the game. The data obtained here gave partial support to the ideas of Piaget concerning the differences between children of 'Western' culture and those in 'primitive' societies concerning the development of moral judgement as indicated by attitudes towards rules of the game. In the children of the Midwestern community there was a steady movement with age from moral heteronomy (i.e. rules regarded as absolute and unchangeable) to moral autonomy (i.e. the acceptance of personal responsibility for changes in the rules). The Papago, Navaho and Sioux children exhibited no change at all (as age increased) towards moral autonomy. Among the Zuni, Hopi and Zia there were only slight changes in the direction of moral autonomy.

It was interesting to note that the responses of all of the tests showed considerable differences among children within any one group. This indicates the dangers of assuming too great a homogeneity in 'simpler' societies, and points to the importance of the sampling problem for social anthropologists. The authors were impressed with the ambiguity that arose when they tried to use categories derived from one culture to classify responses from another culture. They felt that some of their conclusions may have been weakened by their lack of complete success in solving this problem.

I was impressed with the fact that, in spite of the numerous tables and ample presentation of factual data, the study contributes little new to our knowledge of attitudes of children in the various cultural groups. In addition, the effort can be regarded as a 'sociopsychological investigation' in only a limited sense. Although data on both conceptual levels are included, they are integrated in a rather spotty and uneven manner. At times one gets the impression that the authors derived their tables and then hunted for references in the literature to rationalize the results.

However, the battery of tests that was devised in this monograph has considerable potential value if used in conjunction with some of the standard techniques of ethnological field research. It can provide a short-cut method of systematically questioning an adequate sample of respondents in different societies. Although the further development of these techniques should be welcomed, their too rapid and indiscriminate application can easily lead to serious errors. There were unexplained discrepancies between the results obtained by these tests and those provided by field investigations in these cultures. It is also probable that both the quantity and quality of



the responses were influenced by the rapport established between the tester and the children. Finally, there is the difficulty of analysing the data by categories that are psychologically equivalent in the different cultures. It should be noted, to the credit of the authors, that they take pains to point out the limitations of their work, as well as its potential value.

SEYMOUR PARKER

**Proto-Lima: A Middle Period Culture of Peru.** By A. L. Kroeber. *Fieldiana: Anthrop.*, Vol. LXIV, No. 1. Chicago (Nat. Hist. Mus.), 1954. Pp. 157. Price \$4

**122** Professor Kroeber published most of the work which he did during his 1925 expedition to Peru long ago, but for various reasons his excavations in the Lima and Chillón valleys were omitted. This volume fills part of the gap. The greater part of it is an account of his work in the great group of pyramids, locally called *huacas*, named Aramburú or Maranga, which are a conspicuous feature alongside the Lima to Callao road, with a short description of some poor burials of the same age near Miraflores, a seaside resort near Lima.

The work at Aramburú, which was on a small scale, resulted in the recovery of 15 extended burials, in most cases bound to a litter of canes or sticks. At the same time, a larger excavation was being carried out alongside by the Ecuadorian archaeologist Don J. Jijón y

Caamaño, who has published his results in a book called *Maranga*, the appearance of which stimulated Kroeber to publish his own work. The arrangement of Jijón's book makes the essential information difficult to extract, and Kroeber differs from the details of some of his conclusions, so his work amends the other besides making the results available to English-speaking readers.

In brief, the burials belong to the Proto-Lima culture, previously known from Uhle's excavations in a cemetery at Nievería. It seems to be roughly contemporary with the Interlocking of the Chancay Valley, perhaps with its latter part, and to be immediately prior to the Tiahuanaco spread. Two phases are separable within it; one, which may be later than the other, being distinguished by the presence of a fine orange ware painted in black, white and red, or some of those colours. It is an undistinguished culture, which received influences from many quarters, and in discussing variations between its representatives at different sites, Kroeber calls attention to the possible effects of locality, wealth and status, in addition to those of time. He goes on to emphasize the differences in development between different valleys in the general Peruvian succession, some of which are very marked even in the case of neighbours.

There is a very useful appendix on the textile remains by D. T. Wallace, supplementing previous work by the late Dr. Lila O'Neale.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

## EUROPE

**The Unwritten Law in Albania.** By the late Margaret Hasluck, edited by J. H. Hutton. C.U.P., 1954. Pp. xv, 285. Price £1 10s.

**123** The unwritten law which is still in force among the hill tribes of Albania, while not having reached the stage of enactment, is more mature than simple customary law, for it was codified verbally in the fifteenth century by the national heroes Lek Dukagjini and Skanderberg. The 'canon' of the former, which is respected in northern Albania, was recorded by a Franciscan scholar in 1913 and published 20 years later. To supplement this work, Mrs. Hasluck, who lived in Albania for 13 years in the period between the Wars, embarked on a study of the practical working of the law.

She has described lucidly the complicated etiquette which governs, for example, judicial assemblies, the taking of oaths, blood feuds, injuries to dogs, and the upkeep of roads and boundaries. At the same time, she has taken careful note of the material equipment of

the tribesfolk; for she has seen, as did Brunhes in his study of the irrigation rules of Valencia, that laws can only be understood in their practical context. Thus a description of Albanian domestic architecture prefaces Mrs. Hasluck's account of the duties of the master of the house, the rights of the women, and the rules for subdividing households.

Although this book reads like a completely finished work from the author's hand, Mrs. Hasluck's manuscript has in fact been set in order and edited after her death by Mrs. J. E. Alderson and Professor J. H. Hutton. Thanks to them, her contribution to the study of Balkan ethnology will now be as permanent and honoured as that of her husband to the understanding of Anatolian religions.

W. C. BRICE

### Note

A full discussion and evaluation, by Mr. Q. E. Kastrati, of the sources available to students of Albanian unwritten law will appear in the next issue of MAN.—ED.

## CORRESPONDENCE

**'The Human Animal': A Rejoinder.** Cf. MAN, 1955, 12

**124** SIR,—Lord Raglan launches against Professor La Barre's *The Human Animal* an attack as gallant, ill-advised and anachronistic as the Charge of the Light Brigade. It has the fervour and sarcasm of the philippics of a Saul, defending his own inertia, rather than a creed, against his own budding insights. Indeed, Lord Raglan's own writings are often remarkable for true psycho-analytic insights, which he freely expresses as long as he does not realize that they are psycho-analytic. Thus, with admirable and unique psycho-analytic acumen, Lord Raglan calls one of his books *Jocasta's Crime*—and not 'Oedipus's Crime'—thus implicitly underscoring the role of parental seductiveness in the formation of the Oedipus complex, which psychoanalysts so often ignore in practice, if not in theory... for which insight due credit was given to him in one of my own psycho-analytic articles (*Internat. J. Psycho-Analysis*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 132, footnote).

Not one of Lord Raglan's arguments is tenable. The book is entitled *The Human Animal* in order to underscore the relevance of the zoological characteristics of the primate species *Homo sapiens*, for the understanding of the socio-cultural characteristic of the *Zoon politikon*. Professor La Barre rightly ignored the 20,000 generations since the emergence of man, since there is not real evidence of a change in man's being in that period from the socio-cultural or psychological point of view. Perhaps 200,000 dog generations have

passed since the dog was domesticated, and yet each of the dog's present characteristics can be traced back to the wolf or the jackal. Also, Carleton S. Coon, physical anthropologist and culture historian, in his *Story of Man* has, on the basis of insights derived exclusively from his own disciplines, reached the conclusion that our culture is inherently the last phase of the neolithic.

As a Freudian, I only wish that the view imputed to Freudians: 'A, B and C have this trait—it is therefore [psychologically] universal' were legitimately imputed to them, since it is far more tenable than Lord Raglan thinks—provided only that we specify that said trait can appear as a *custom* in tribe A, as a *myth* in tribe B and as a *neurotic fantasy* in members of tribe C, etc. How else would Lord Raglan account for institutionalized parricide among some Eskimo, the mythological importance of the parricide theme (Kronos, Zeus, Oedipus, Orestes) in Greece, the occurrence of parricide as a crime in many groups, the parricidal self-accusations of Occidental psychotics and the parricidal fantasies of Western neurotics? How else does he account for the wide distribution of so *outré* an idea as the inversion of the penis and its retraction into the abdomen, which is a cultural belief in South China (Kobler), and in Indonesia (Van Wuffien Palthe), a wish jokingly imputed to transvestites among the Mohave (Devereux), an actual manipulation performed by a German psychotic (Reuss) and an incident in the dream of a neurotic American woman (Devereux)?

Lord Raglan implies that in matriarchal societies—do they exist?



—fathers are not kings, judges and lawgivers. This may be so—but it does not imply that *mothers* are. In the Trobriands the chief is a male, and the children are under the authority of a male father surrogate—the maternal uncle—and not of the mother. Iroquois women could depose a chief, but the chief was male, and so was the council. I was an eyewitness to repeated wife-beatings among the matrilineal Rhadé and Jarai of Indo-China—and these habitual wife-beaters included a man who often boasted to me of the high price his wife paid for him. Even in suburban American matriarchy, when the chips are down, the real boss is the father, and the absurd extent to which American divorce laws favours women is but further proof that she is defined as the weaker vessel.

It is true that pure Buddhist theology knows of no personal deity—but actual workaday Buddhism is another matter. The Moslem may be forbidden to view God as the father, as the Catholic is forbidden to indulge in idolatry. Yet, in private conversation a scholarly Monsignor excoriated his flock for engaging in idolatry, under the guise of venerating the saints. And does not Lord Raglan forget that Islam accepts the Bible which defines God as the father? And does not Allah have innumerable paternal attributes? What theologians *say* and what people (including theologians) *do* and *feel*, are two different things, as Lord Raglan well knows.

Art, despite Lord Raglan, is a flight from that objective reality which is conveyed to us by the senses—first and foremost in the Taine-ian sense of a reinterpretation of reality in terms of one's temperament (personality structure). Also, precisely what reality, fleeting or otherwise, does music capture, except intrapsychic reality? Likewise, poetry is not 'of course older than prose' in any imaginable sense. To begin with, like Molière's Monsieur Jourdain, Lord Raglan should discover that he has spoken prose all his life, without knowing it. Next, one doubts that the basic legends which we inherited in the form of epics were first evolved in verse form. Indeed, the corpus of primitive folklore is composed largely of prose. If mostly poetry survived from earlier times, this may be due, *inter alia*, to the simple fact that rhythm and rhyme are excellent mnemonic devices. No doubt Lord Raglan, like myself, memorized his Latin prepositions by means of the time-honoured verse '*ante, apud, ad, adversus*,' etc.

It pleases Lord Raglan to jest in professing not to comprehend the remark that Englishmen wear—and we might add, are justly famous for—tailored clothes, which were invented by Siberians not quartered on the arms of Britain as actual ancestors. The context shows that Professor La Barre simply emphasized that borrowed traits too can become characteristic cultural insignia (*cf.* Linton, *The Study of Man*, for a similarly humorous proof of this point).

The sentence 'The Hindu assassins used hashish as devotees of the goddess Thuggee' is not a 'quaint muddle,' though the printer inadvertently omitted the word 'of' before Thuggee. For the use of hashish by Thugs Lord Raglan is referred, *e.g.*, to Taylor's *Confessions of a Thug*. Professor La Barre apparently infers that Thuggee is related to the Hashishin sect. This is less preposterous than it may seem. It is hard to explain otherwise the enrolment of many pious Moslems into the ranks of Hinduist Kali's Thug worshippers, whose very password, 'Greetings, brother of Ali,' is not only tinged with Moslem elements, but actually (Ali=Shia) points to Persia, and Alamut. This is but one of the many fascinating culture-historical hints which Professor La Barre scattered broadside in his book.

Lord Raglan grudgingly concedes that Professor La Barre is a 'widely read' man. This compliment has an edge to it. Professor La Barre is not 'widely' read—but profoundly erudite . . . a difference of some significance. He is also a theoretician of the first magnitude.

The neophyte's fervour is proverbial . . . far more so than the fervour of Saul seeking to ward off his impending reincarnation as Paul. Lord Raglan, as his writings attest, has brilliant insights into the unconscious of man, though he chooses not to use or to develop them. That is his privilege—but a real loss to science. However, he might bear in mind that it is always unwise to review a book with whose viewpoint one is utterly out of sympathy, because, in so doing, one often gags at minnows, while swallowing imaginary whales whole. *Gesegnete Malzeit!*  
Devon, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

GEORGE DEVEREUX

# Note

Dr. Devereux's letter has been shown to Lord Raglan, who writes as follows: 'The title of my *Jocasta's Crime* was suggested by the quotation with which it begins, and not by any theory of parental seductiveness. There is, of course, no suggestion of this in the story, which no psycho-analyst seems to have read.

'To take his minor points first, "goddess of Thuggee" certainly makes better sense than "goddess Thuggee," but it is still incorrect, for Kali is much more than that; Thuggee is pretty certainly of purely Hindu origin.

'As for arms—what are borne, quarterly or otherwise, are certain conventional devices, such as the chevron and the lion rampant, adopted and regulated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. To speak of quartering tribes is nonsense.

'To say that the artists of Lascaux, or Rembrandt, were flying from reality seems to me absurd, and when I mentioned prose and poetry I referred, of course, to what is known as oral literature.

'Dr. Devereux's analogy between man and dog is fallacious. Culture has transformed man from an instinct-motivated to a tradition-motivated animal.

'Our property laws used to favour the husband; now they favour the wife. This would apparently convince Dr. Devereux that the role of the sexes has been reversed.

'We now come to Dr. Devereux's main point, the father complex, and as far as I can understand him his theories are that every man wishes to kill his father, and that every religious man regards God as his father. Yet he fails to draw the obvious conclusion.

'Finally, he holds that books on Communism should be reviewed only by Communists; I disagree.'—ED.

**Durability of Moulded Clay and Beeswax.** *Cf.* MAN, 1954, 180,

258  
**125** SIR,—Ronald M. Berndt, in a recent letter (MAN, 1954, 258) concerning North Australian pottery, discussed 'the relative durability of hard beeswax in contrast with moulded clay.' Donald Thomson (1954, 180) had previously said: '... this material [wax] does not become hard and lacks the permanence of clay.'

Recently I have had an unfortunate experience which bears upon the point in question. I shipped some specimens from Bathurst Island, near Darwin, N.T. The crates were inadvertently exposed to the summer rains of North Australia. When they were unpacked, the specimens were sodden. In the material which was soaked were included pieces of unfired clay, fired clay and hard beeswax.

The unbaked, moulded clay objects were formed of a clay known in the Northern Territory as 'mangrove mud.' Specimens of this material crumbled into small pieces owing to the moisture and subsequent drying.

The baked clay objects were made of a red clay formed when ant beds are dissolved by rain. The clay had been fired during preparation for the cooking of the yam *kulama* at the 'first fruit' ceremony at Bathurst Island. These baked clay chunks were not altered by soaking.

The hard chocolate beeswax was also unaltered by moisture. A neck ornament had been fashioned of two orbs of wax which were joined by strings and decorated with red and black seeds. At Bathurst Island this beeswax had been subject to damage by an agent other than moisture. Part of the wax had been eaten away by cockroaches or a small rodent. Further destruction of the ornament was stopped by pressing the wax into the hole that had been excavated. Apparently the pests began to work in a soft area on the surface. They avoided the hard wax and expanded the first hole rather than attack another area. Wax that has been lying in the sun or that has recently been worn by a human is soft and vulnerable to attack.

I do not fully agree with either Ronald Berndt or Donald Thomson. The hard beeswax of North Australia is more resistant to moisture than the unbaked, moulded clay, but wax is less resistant to destruction by pests. However, baked clay is more durable than either hard wax or unbaked clay.

ARNOLD R. PILLING

Department of Anthropology, University of California









(a) *Lincolnshire wagon of old spindle-sided type at Great Staughton, Hunts.*



(b) *Typical scotch cart with 'spectacles' decoration, Northants.*

**CART AND WAGON DECORATIONS**



# SOME CART AND WAGON DECORATIONS OF THE BRITISH ISLES AND EIRE\*

by

C. F. TEBBUTT, F.S.A.

**126** In the past the study of carts and wagons in these islands has as a whole been rather a neglected one, although many folklorists have noted the obvious fact that design, size and method of construction varied from district to district. This study should be made without delay, since few of the traditional local types will survive this generation. Some folk museums are now at last collecting and studying examples of their local wheelwright's art, a notable example being Belfast Municipal Museum under the inspiration of Professor E. Estyn Evans.

An almost forgotten but important chapter entitled 'The Evolution of the Cart' is contained in the late Dr. A. C. Haddon's book, *The Study of Man*, published in 1898. Recently, Mr. T. C. Lethbridge, in *Merlin's Island*, made the interesting suggestion that the wagons of eastern England are of Danish, and those of the west and south, of Roman or Norman origin. At the time of writing the above, he was, he told me, unaware of the fine Romano-Swiss mosaics in the famous Lausanne villa, where wagons are depicted with straight tops and bars up the sides, precisely like modern Cambridgeshire or East Anglian types.

My own researches<sup>1</sup> have been chiefly concerned with the spread of one particular cart decoration which became the trade or hall mark of a design of farm cart made in central Scotland, at least as far back as the early nineteenth century, and spread from there into parts of Scotland and Ireland, where there were probably at the time no spoke-wheeled carts, and to certain parts of England where it was considered superior to the local make. It is of interest to note, from the point of view of what happens when a culture is diffused or exported, that the decoration in question has remained to this day relatively unchanged in its district of origin, but elsewhere has degenerated into a multitude of variations, although almost everywhere the name scotch cart has stuck to the design.

The decoration in its simplest and purest form is known in England as the 'spectacles' (fig. 1), and no better description can be given to it. It is applied almost invariably to the front of the cart which was originally made of two layers of boarding, the outside layer having cut out of it the shape of the spectacles, and the back layer thus exposed being painted a contrasting colour. In recent times in Scotland and Ireland, and to a lesser degree in England, the 'spectacles' are simply painted on a single-layer boarded front, and very occasionally the decoration is applied in relief. There is a suggestion that at one time in Scotland all these methods may have been contemporary. Very rarely, I have seen the 'spectacles' painted or applied on the back board of a cart.

It was in my native county of Huntingdon that I first noticed this decoration, observing that with rare exceptions

it was used only on the scotch cart, a rather squarer roomier-bodied vehicle than the 'tumble' cart, an older local type which is nearly extinct. As I travelled about the neighbouring counties I began to map the limits of this decoration, and found that it extended approximately over the whole of the counties of Huntingdon, north-east Northamptonshire, Rutland and Cambridge, and most of Lincoln, and also south-east Nottinghamshire, east



FIG. 1. WAGON OF PLANK-SIDED TYPE  
*Downham Market, Norfolk*

Leicestershire, north Bedfordshire, north Hertfordshire, north-west Essex, west Suffolk and south-west Norfolk. The decoration was most extensively used in the first four counties, but of course examples may be found anywhere, as farmers usually take much of their dead stock with them when moving to a new farm (fig. 2).

I have often asked wheelwrights about these carts and their special decoration. In eastern England folk memory is short, and the only reply was that they supposed that the scotch carts originally came from Scotland, that the 'spectacles' had always been put on them, and that this was a trade mark.

In 1937 a chance find in a Huntingdonshire wheelwright's yard gave me the first clue linking the scotch cart with Scotland. I was astonished to see a scotch cart with 'spectacles' painted on its front but differing in design from any other I had ever seen. The chief difference was that the shafts ran right through to the back of the cart, forming part of the main framing of the body. This cart belonged to a Scottish farmer lately come to the parish, and bore the metal trade plate of Alexander Jack, of Maybole, Ayrshire.

A letter to this firm brought a ready and helpful reply. They stated that they had been makers of carts since about

\* With Plate H and five text figures



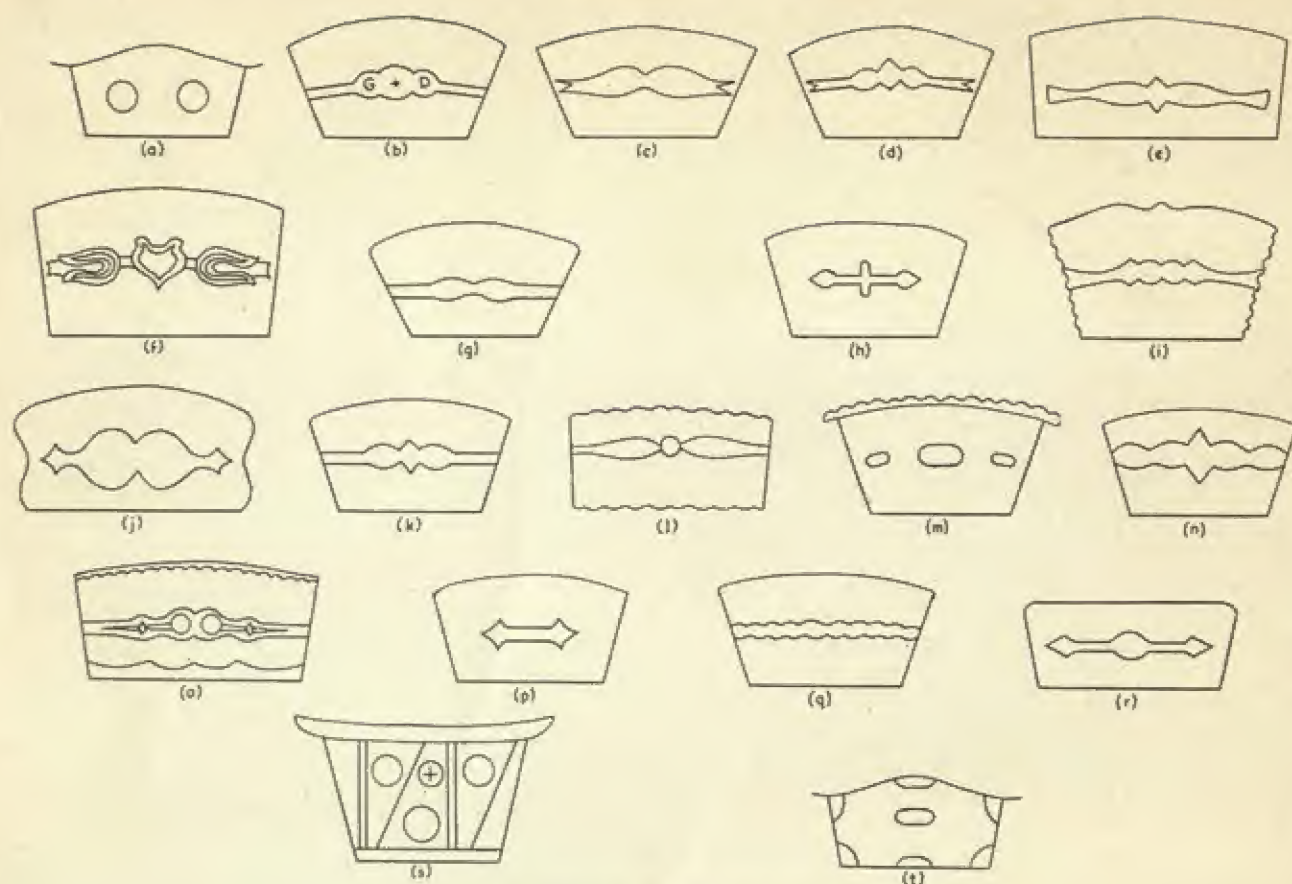


FIG. 2. ENGLISH CARTS AND WAGONS

(a, b) Duloc, Eaton Socon, Beds.; (c, d) Willington, Beds.; (e) Roxton, Beds.; (f) Colmworth, Beds.; (g) Caxton, Cambs.; (h) Watton at Stone, Herts.; (i) Sawbridgeworth, Herts.; (j) Checkwarton, Norfolk; (k) Yelling, Hunts.; (l) Eynesbury Hardwick, Hunts.; (m) Winwick, Hunts.; (n) Great Gidding, Hunts.; (o) Hilton, Hunts.; (p, q) near Grantham, Lincs.; (r) Cromwell, near Grantham, Lincs.; (s) wagon from South Thoresby, Lincs., 1826; (t) wagon from Great Staughton, Hunts.

1850 and in their earliest surviving catalogue, dated 1862, no cart with the 'spectacles' decoration was shown. Their standard pattern at that time was 'the old country style of cart with four starts in the front.' In the 1870 catalogue, however, a cart with this decoration appeared called the 'Lanarkshire pattern.' The firm also stated that within living memory the decoration had always been painted on; that it was not known in the north of Scotland, but was almost always used in the west.

On a visit to Scotland in 1938 I found Alexander Jack's carts in use all over Sutherlandshire as far north as Cape Wrath, together with others, made by Alexander Mackenzie, of Achnagaron, Invergordon, of similar design and decoration (fig. 3, b, d).

This firm was equally helpful in answering my enquiry. They believed that the 'spectacles' originated in central Scotland and belonged to the scotch cart, but said that in recent years it had been taken up by many firms as a means of decoration, and for that reason they themselves had adopted it as a painted sign. In shape and size, they said, it varied with different users, but up to about 1924 it was confined to one or two firms of which Kemp and Nicholson of Stirling, who closed down in 1930, was one. This

firm had three sizes of carts and used the decoration on their carts with typical Scottish economy. The heavy cart had a double front with the decoration cut out. The piece of wood thus removed had its edges bevelled and was screwed on to the single front of the medium cart. On the light cart the decoration was painted on. Jack's and Mackenzie's carts can now be seen all over the Highlands together with a few examples of the old country type with four starts in the front, and no decoration. I have examined a large number of carts in the shires of Perth, Argyll, Inverness, Sutherland, Dumfries and Wigtown, without finding any decorated examples other than those obviously made by large mass-production firms similar to those mentioned above. Indeed, Dr. Haddon has shown that in the eighteenth century carts of the most primitive kinds only, with solid block wheels and basketwork bodies, were then used in the Highlands.

In contrast to England, where every village had its wheelwright, the lack of roads in the Highlands, the stony and hilly land surface, and the shortage of suitable hardwoods was no encouragement to the development of the wheelwrights' craft. In the Lowlands, conditions were nearer to those of England, and when communications



were opened up in the Highlands, the Lowland wheelwrights soon expanded their business to supply the north.

Mr. Lethbridge saw some examples of carts with 'spectacles' decoration, as well as degenerate forms, in Uist in 1951 (fig. 3e). He was told by the local bard that there were no carts in Uist until 'after the year of the yellow snow,' which seems to have been about 1892. It is interesting that Dr. Johnson noted that there were no carts in any of the Islands at the time of his visit. Degenerate forms of the 'spectacles' decoration have also been seen in Jura (fig. 3f), and I have little doubt that the presence of

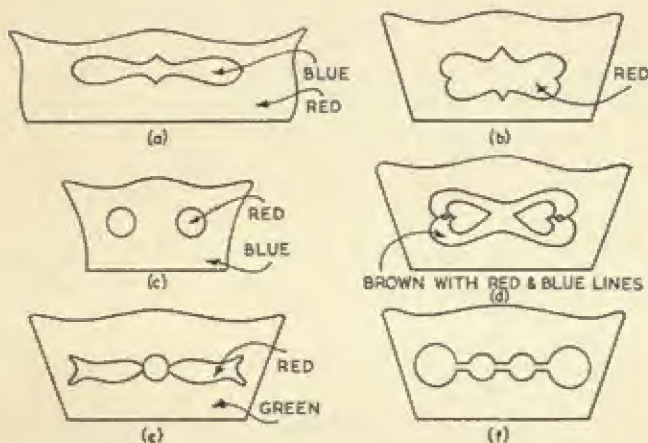


FIG. 3. SCOTTISH CARTS

(a) Cumbernauld, Stirling; (b, d) Achmagaron, Invergordon, Ross and Cromarty; (c) Fyndford Bridge, Lanarkshire; (e) Uist; (f) Jura

these carts, so far from their source of manufacture, has necessitated their being locally repaired and repainted, which is how variation in the decoration may occur.

I had not expected to include Ireland in my researches, until in 1947 I saw a small group of donkey or pony carts parked in a side street on market day at Carrick in west Donegal, all decorated with a degenerate form of the 'spectacles.' These carts also had an unusual feature that I had never seen before. A piece of lath was nailed vertically to the middle of the front board, projecting well above it and carved somewhat suggestively to resemble a phallus (fig. 4). I am told that the purpose of this is to separate the reins, but it does not seem to be necessary on any other cart.

This find led me to make enquiries in Belfast and Dublin. Professor E. Estyn Evans informed me that in Ireland this decoration was known as the 'fiddle' and was regarded as Scottish in origin and that the large spoke-wheeled cart, commonly called the scotch cart, was introduced into Ireland about 1800. The 'fiddle' decoration was associated with this cart and was common in many degenerate forms, especially on the coasts of County Down and the coasts and glens of Antrim. Mr. G. Thompson, Keeper of Antiquities at the Stronmillis Museum, Belfast, confirmed Professor Evans's information, adding that the design of the scotch cart had remained unaltered for almost 150

years. He quoted from the *Statistical Survey of Co. Clare*, 1808: 'Carts are used only by a few gentlemen; those made in the country are sometimes called Scotch carts, but the principles on which they are made are little understood by carpenters; they may have the appearance; and be painted blue with red wheels (a plan adopted lately by every blotching carpenter) yet be deficient in good principles.' It would appear that the word 'cart' was unknown in Ireland until the introduction of these vehicles from Scotland; all the various primitive native types being known as 'cars.'

Further evidence is quoted by Dr. Haddon from *Sixty Years Experience as an Irish Landlord*, Hamilton, 1894. In 1823 on the Brown Hall estate in Donegal, 'carts they had none; most of the carrying was done on creels or ponies' backs. Some superior farmers had what were called low-backed cars—a sort of platform with shafts, and under it

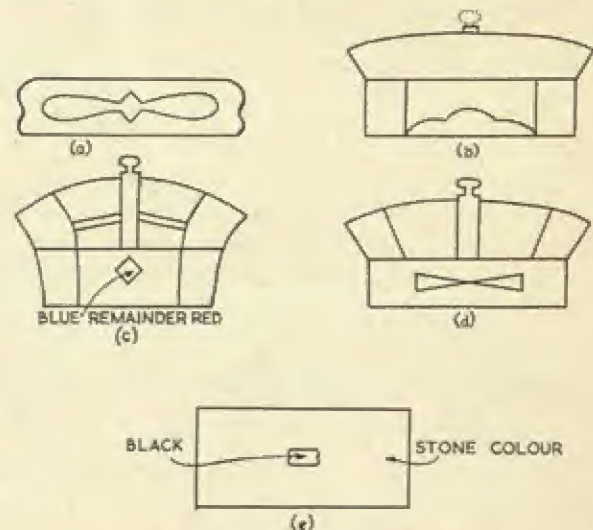


FIG. 4. CARTS FROM EIRE AND WALES

(a) Killebegs, Co. Donegal; (b-d) Carrick, Co. Donegal; (e) Abbey Cwmhir, Radnorshire

a pair of solid block-wheels. One rich man had spoke-wheels which were greatly admired. Crowds came to see the first cart that was turned out; but though it was voted "illegant" it was declared useless. "For," said a sage among the spectators, "who ever heard of a cart in this country?" However, a few years later the Scotchmen had at one time orders on hand for 50 carts.'

From Eire, Mr. Sean O'Sullivan of the Irish Folklore Commission, University College, Dublin, passed on to me information from the Commission's collector at Gortahork in north-west Donegal. There, 65 per cent. of the carts had card-suit ornamentation, one only of either diamonds, hearts, spades or clubs painted on the front in that order of frequency. The club always had its shaft turned to the left, and so might represent a shamrock. Seven carts had a star with a white spot in the centre, and one had an obviously degenerate 'fiddle.' A few had a white and one a green shamrock, and several an upturned horseshoe. The collector



was a native of south-west Donegal and had never seen any decoration there, but mentioned instead the upright lath with bulging head projecting above the centre of the front board.

In 1951 I travelled by road to Scotland *via* Carlisle. In Lanarkshire, and as far north as Stirling, some of the new and many of the old carts had the 'spectacles' (or 'fiddle') decoration. I saw only one degenerate form, which consisted of two circles without connecting lines (fig. 3c). A young wheelwright at Cumbernauld, Stirlingshire, told me that he had several carts in his yard newly painted with the decoration, but could not tell why he used it, or even give the decoration a name. He said that he had always used it, as had the master wheelwright to whom he had been apprenticed, thus taking it back to about 1870 (fig. 3a).

We have seen how the scotch cart and its decoration spread to Ireland and to the Highlands and Islands. I think there is good evidence of how it came to eastern England, and especially to the Fenland counties. It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that steam drainage pumps made Fenland drainage at all effective and encouraged wealthy and progressive farmers to sink capital into re-equipping and stocking the fen farms. Many did so and reaped rich rewards. During the same period the Scottish Lowlands were regarded as the most up-to-date farming area in Great Britain, and methods evolved there were copied all over the country. My grandfather was sent to Stirlingshire to learn farming in 1842, and he brought back with him designs and layouts of farm buildings which he used later in Huntingdonshire. I have no doubt that the scotch cart was introduced at this time, and that local wheelwrights copied its construction as being superior to the native tumble cart, not omitting the decoration as a guarantee of the genuine article (Plate Hb).

My evidence can be briefly summarized. Somewhere in the region of Lanarkshire or Stirlingshire, in the eighteenth century, there was evolved and made the scotch cart, inseparable from which was the 'spectacle' or 'fiddle' decoration, cut out, applied or painted on the front. Very early in the nineteenth century these carts began to be exported to Ireland where, up to that time, only 'slide' or primitive solid-wheel cars were used for farm work. Local carpenters soon copied the new type, altering it to suit local conditions, and varying the decoration according to their fancy.

The Highlands were in as backward a state as Ireland in respect of farm carts, and during the same century the mass-produced (but still craftsman-built) carts from the Lowlands spread there also, carrying with them the trade mark without which the wheelwright firms felt their products to be unfinished and incomplete.

About the middle of the century the scotch cart was introduced into eastern England, and at the end of the century it reached the Scottish Western Isles. England possessed wheelwrights in every village equal in skill to those of Scotland, and they quickly copied and probably improved the cart design, while retaining the decoration, varying it according to individual fancy.

A word should perhaps be said here on the question of colour, although I am unaware of its significance. Horticulturists hold that different parts of the country favour different colours, and are careful to send flowers of the right colour to districts where they are known to sell better than in others. I am unaware that this subject has been studied by folklorists.

All over the British Isles, until recently at least, most farm carts had some red paint on them. In the Lowlands all the carts I saw were red and blue, and similarly in Northumberland. Either the cart was red with the decoration blue or *vice versa*. In Uist the carts were green with red decoration. *The Statistical Survey of Co. Clare* of 1808 mentions carts painted blue with red wheels. At Gortahork

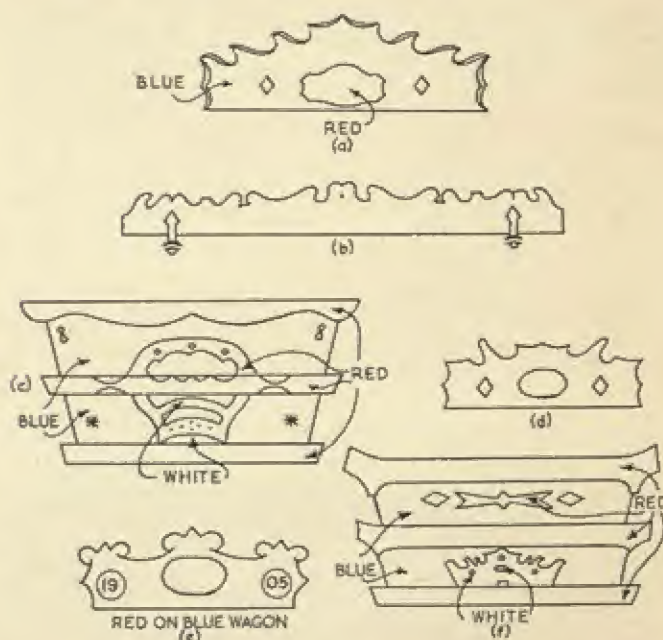


FIG. 5. NORFOLK WAGONS FROM FRANSHAM AND FAKENHAM

in north-west Donegal they were painted red and black, and only 2 per cent. had any green on them. At Carrick in Donegal they were red with blue decoration. In eastern England, red or orange is the dominant colour of the body with the decoration and ironwork picked out in black. In recent years many bodies are done in stone colour with red or black decorations.

A word should also be said about English wagons in the scotch-cart area. There is little doubt in my mind that not only cart but also wagon construction was radically influenced by the introduction of the new design. The old type of spindle-sided wagon construction (Plate Ha) was abandoned for the plank-sided wagon, built in many particulars like a scotch cart. No doubt it was for this reason that many of the new wagons were given the 'spectacles' decoration on their fronts.<sup>2</sup> Even the old wagons when repainted often had circles of a contrasting colour applied between their 'starts' on the front.

Among the illustrations I have included one from a small local-type cart from central Wales (fig. 4e), the



only decoration I have seen in the west; also some decorations from wagons in Norfolk outside the English scotch-cart area. These seem to belong to a school of decoration in Norfolk based on wheelwrights at Fakenham and Fransham. One appears to be influenced by the 'spectacles' but the others may be independent of it (fig. 5).

Although I have succeeded in tracing the spread of the scotch cart in the last 150 years, I am still no nearer than I was 20 years ago to explaining the origin and purpose of the striking decoration inseparably associated with it. One naturally thinks of the *oculi* on Chinese and Mediterranean sea-going vessels and of similar circles on carved Pictish stones. Portuguese, Mexican and Sicilian farm carts are elaborately painted, often with religious scenes, no doubt to promote fertility in the fields, and one wonders if the 'spectacles' could originally have been intended for this purpose and be phallic in origin. The upright lath on the Donegal carts rather supports this view, but we do not know if it is a local feature or something that came in with the scotch cart but has survived only in this remote region. If this feature is indeed phallic, one is reminded of the phallic terminals to the Early Iron Age chariot poles

found at Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Mr. Thompson has suggested the possibility of a Scandinavian origin, pointing out that similar decorations occur in carved furniture and porch gable ends of Norwegian wooden houses. In 1952 I saw one perfect 'spectacles' and another degenerate one cut out in the space above the door for ventilation in a hay barn attached to an old Alpine-type farmhouse at Cortina in the Italian Tyrol. I can only suggest that a thorough search among early prints and pictures of rural scenes in the Scottish Lowlands may throw some light on the matter.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> R. U. Sayce, Keeper of the Manchester Museum, said to me in 1939 that it was desirable to publish a general account of a piece of research as soon as the main lines begin to appear, and fill in the details later. This must be my excuse for publishing my results, up to date, of about 20 years' observation of, and enquiry into, the decoration of farm carts and wagons in the British Isles and Eire.

<sup>2</sup> A fuller discussion appears in C. F. Tebbutt, 'The Wheelwright's Art in Huntingdonshire,' *Cambs. and Hunts. Arch. Soc. Trans.* Vol. VI, pt. vii.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Cyril Fox, *A Find of the Early Iron Age from Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey*. National Museum of Wales, 1945.

## KOŽUH: A CROATIAN NATIONAL LEATHER JACKET\*

by

MIRKO KUS-NIKOLAJEV, PH.D.

Zagreb

**I27** The leather jackets of Croatian peasants, like clothing in general, serve both to protect the body and to adorn it. Nowadays, it may be said that the decorative aspect of these jackets is dominant, not so much because of their elaborate ornamentation, as because they are worn for merely decorative purposes. The *kožuhec* (small jacket) of a peasant woman from Šestine is an integral part of her holiday dress and no longer has any connexion with protection of the body from cold. Hence the once exclusively functional purpose of the jacket has changed in the course of time to the exclusively decorative one. Jackets richly decorated with leather appliqué preserve a vestige of the earlier, protective, function of leather. Where the jacket has really preserved its basic purpose as a garment, as for instance in Lika, its manufacture has remained simple and modest.

These jackets from Lika are mostly made of sheepskin; they are simply cut, and their length depends on the length of the sheepskin. They are sleeveless, and there is no buttoning in front, though sometimes a hasp or two is stitched on. This prototype of the leather jacket is generally a home product made by the shepherds themselves.

Leather jackets with ornaments (*i.e.* leather appliqué), woollen embroidery, dyeing, etc., are mainly the handiwork of special country craftsmen who attain considerable skill and produce remarkable ornamentation. Today the production of leather jackets, as in the case of other country

crafts, is in steady decline where it is not artificially maintained.

The leather jacket from Lika is an undeveloped prototype garment, which has been preserved in its primitive form in an isolated and economically underdeveloped region. Peasant leather jackets in other parts of Croatia are more elaborate both in the treatment of the material and in their cut, as well as their ornamentation (fig. 1). In their development from a prototype they have been exposed to a number of influences, both as regards form and design, at various periods and in various directions. I deal here with only two characteristic and especially remarkable types of jacket.

The leather jacket worn by peasant women from Vukomerac (fig. 2), which has now almost disappeared, has interesting stylistic features. It is tight-waisted and the lower part is bell-shaped. Similar in cut are the *zobuni* made of cloth (for example, the *cuban*). The assumption of some ethnographers, now obsolete, that cultural forms from the city were preserved in the village, saw in the tight waist an influence of men's coats from the Biedermeier period. In fact, however, this is a special type of kaftan, widely worn in Asia, both among agricultural peoples and among the Mongolian, Tatar and Turkish nomads. These peoples brought the kaftan-shaped costume to Asia Minor, whence it reached the Balkans. The other migration route crossed the Asian steppes into Russia, where Russian national costumes, *e.g.* the *sarafan*, were

\* With four text figures



considerably influenced by these kaftans. Where and when this type of costume came into existence cannot now be determined. It may, however, be taken for a certainty that the basic material for the kaftan was cloth, which can be inferred from the style of cutting peculiar to that



FIG. 1. A CROATIAN LEATHER JACKET FOR MEN

*This cut is used in the Zagreb district*

material, and from the sewn-up seams of the individual parts of the garment.

Costumes in kaftan style can be seen in mural drawings in the cave temples of Eastern Turkestan, especially in the district round Turfan. These drawings date from the early Middle Ages, and as the finishing of the garments reveals a remarkably sure touch, it is most probable that the kaftan is far older. No doubt the Croats have preserved in this type of costume a cultural element that stretches from the Balkans in the south, through Asia Minor as far as China and Japan.

Of no less interest is the genealogy of the women's short leather jacket (*kožušec*) worn in the surroundings of Zagreb (fig. 3). Its elementary design also points to the East. These short jackets are variations of the well-known *jelek* or *djelerma* which is, as some ethnographers insist, of Syrio-Turkish origin. *Jelek* is a Turkish word, though its origin is more probably Persian. It should be mentioned that the richness of Persian costume, especially as regards its influence in the Near East and in the Balkans, has not been sufficiently investigated, although that influence may be clearly noticed in many garments. In comparison with



FIG. 2. A WOMAN DRESSED IN AN OLD LEATHER JACKET

*At Vukomerec in the Zagreb district*



FIG. 3. PEASANT WOMEN DRESSED IN SHORT LEATHER JACKETS

*At Markusevac in the Zagreb district*

the kaftan type, the influence of the eastern *jelek* in our regions came much later—through Turkish mediation. Through the Turks, too, it influenced the short-type women's jacket, which certainly reached the surroundings of Zagreb *via* Slavonia.

Only two characteristic types of leather jackets in Croatia have been considered here, but it must be pointed out that other types of jackets—although perhaps less



conspicuously—contribute with their distinctive characteristics to the genealogy of leather jackets. Apart from material and style, there is another point which is decisive in determining the specific features of the leather jackets, namely, the ornamentation.

Even in jackets with the richest ornamentation, be they dyed or embroidered with woollen or silk emblems, a superficial observer will notice that they comprise variations and combinations of some elementary decorative units. The tulip, the rose, the oak leaf, the pumpkin, etc.—all these give the jacket a rich variety of colour and form, and each of these emblems is by itself a contribution to the genesis of Croatian ornamentation. But we shall discuss here only one specific emblem (fig. 4), the tulip from the Persian *dulbend*.

The tulip as a theme in the decoration of leather jackets is of considerable significance by reason of its origin. It may be most simply attributed to direct Turkish influence. We know that there was in Turkey, from the days of Sultan Ibrahim I (1640–1648), a real mania for the ornamental use of the tulip, and that a whole period of Turkish culture was named *lale dervi*, 'the age of tulips.' It might, therefore, seem clear that the tulip as a decorative theme gradually spread from Turkey to our country. Incidentally, according to Solms-Laubach, tulips were brought to Europe in 1554 by Busbecq, Ambassador of Ferdinand I to the court of Istanbul. But since the tulip as an ornament is far older, and as there already existed earlier migratory connexions with Asia, and in particular with middle Asia, the true home of the tulip, it is more than probable that the tulip ornament also reached Croatia earlier. In any case, the tulip is connected with the Turks, who were its first growers in its original homeland, Turkestan, as Victor Helm points out. The explorer Clusius believed the Crimea to be the homeland of the tulip, and thought that the Crimean Tatars, related to the Turks, had brought it near to Europe. This more northern migration route, if we take the southern one as running over India, Persia, and Asia Minor, might have had the tulip as an accepted theme in an earlier influence on Croatia; in the twelfth century Tatars of Moslem faith, the so-called Besermens (in Hungarian, *Böszörmények*), pressed by religious persecution, migrated from the Crimea to Hungary. Later on they

were christened, and it is possible that they brought the tulip ornament with their handicrafts, and that it was then taken over by the Hungarians, who in turn handed it on to the Croats.

Considering the age of the tulip ornament, the possibility



FIG. 4. TULIP DESIGN FROM SLEEVE OF WOMAN'S LEATHER JACKET

*From Gušća in the district of Sisak*

is not excluded that the Hungarians introduced it to their new country when they occupied this towards the end of the ninth century, and that it was later repeatedly brought over by new migration waves—by the Besermens and later by the Turks. We see how an apparently quite simple trait acquires high cultural and historical significance if we follow its origin, development and migration as a document of human culture.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

### Man in Britain: Six Public Lectures on Aspects of Anthropological Study, Spring, 1954

**128** In February–April, 1954, the Royal Anthropological Institute arranged a special series of lecture meetings in the meeting room of the Royal Society of Arts, John Adam Street, London, W.C.2, in order to bring to public notice some of the ways in which the anthropology of the British Isles has already been studied and can profitably be studied in the future, with special reference to its possible applications in modern industrial society. Each lecture was followed by a discussion. In the four following articles summaries are presented of four of these lectures, but unfortunately no summaries are

available of the remaining two. In the first of these, 'The Rural Community' (16 March, 1954), Professor Adam Curle examined, with illustrations from his own fieldwork, the impact upon the life of the rural community of the social and economic changes which have occurred in England during the last hundred years; in the second, 'Ploughs in Britain' (30 March, 1954), Mr. Francis G. Paine gave a copiously illustrated account of the earliest British ploughs, of the ploughs of the late Iron Age and Roman periods as evidence of climatic deterioration and a new ploughing technique, of eighteenth-century dissatisfaction with traditional ploughs and plough teams, and finally of the Rotherham plough and its successors.



**The English Heritage: Its Study and Demonstration.** By  
Professor H. J. Fleure, F.R.S. (16 February, 1954)

**129** It is important for us to realize that anthropology is the study of man as a whole. Our Institute has wisely devoted much attention to the study of pre-literate peoples whose indigenous cultures were being rapidly altered by contacts with modern commerce and administration. There is now a need to study those alterations, and, in fact, few indigenous ways of life untouched by modern communications still survive. Alongside of this effort we further need to study ourselves and our past, to realize that we have in our make-up a great deal that we have inherited in common with the pre-literate peoples, that we do not exist simply to produce goods for sale and use, but we should be clear that the producers are persons in their own right.

In the study of physical character among us, the method which is based upon description of an average of a general population has probably yielded most of its possible results. Mendel relieved Darwinism of all hesitation about survival of variants side by side independently of natural selection. We now know that a population is made up of many inherited strains carrying their differences down the generations, however freely interbreeding may occur. It is true, of course, that we have only limited experimental evidence of Mendelian inheritance in man because breeding experiments are out of the question. But in blood groups and in some pathological features that type of inheritance is now fully recognized. It is also ever increasingly recognized as the principle of heredity in the plant and animal realms, and it would therefore be foolish to suppose that it does not apply to man. We thus need to feel our way cautiously towards the fuller recognition of differences within a population that may be a freely intermarrying group. The study of physical features of airmen in relation to their work, begun especially by Dr. G. M. Morant, is one line of practical application of physical anthropology on more individualist rather than on the old 'mean-value' lines. It may be said that, in the latter half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, statistics of production, costs, prices, wages and so on too largely dominated thought about ourselves in Britain. There was too little realization that man is a social being, that there is a great difference between a community with men as its members and a crowd with, as it were, atomized individuals as its components.

Large industrial undertakings have increasingly found that, in spite of goodwill and welfare schemes, their relations with their staffs may not be really productive of happy co-operative endeavour. There are informal groupings originating often outside the factory or workshop that must be brought into the picture. The man is not simply a wage-earning producer; he has roots that affect the growth of his thought and may easily be of more importance than even wages. In coal-mining areas, during the deep inter-war depression, attempts were made with the best intentions to promote movement of workers to other districts offering more immediate hope. But in several cases these efforts had only small partial results; they broke the strong sense of community that had grown among men who had faced danger together day by day. To understand the influences affecting community life among ourselves may need more than statistical study, which, too often, seems rather unrewarding. Machine industry has spread equipment among the people previously almost without the needs for reasonable health and wellbeing. Craftsmanship has probably suffered temporarily to meet the call for machine-tending and 'the endless band.' Yet it has been one of the bases of self-respect and mutual confidence among men and women, and one sees signs here and there of its search for scope under the new conditions. The evidences of it from the past can be a help here. The recent Leonardo da Vinci exhibition had a great

success to which our Vice-President, Sir Robert Hyde, contributed notably by encouraging firms to send their staffs to see the efforts of the great artist and craftsman. Exhibitions of tools and the objects they produce can be very valuable, and one appreciates the efforts at York, Norwich, Bristol, Lewes, Shoreditch (Geffrye Museum), Forest Hill (Horniman Museum), Reading (Agricultural Museum) and elsewhere in so far as they attempt to get beyond the preservation of by-gones and to demonstrate changes in equipment as both factors and results of social evolution. Several nations with smaller populations have gone ahead of the English in this respect: Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Wales have museums to demonstrate the life of the people, usually with large grounds in which to rebuild old and interesting constructions. Wales, in addition to its fine national museum at Cardiff, has St. Fagan's, in the grounds of which have been rebuilt a beautiful timber-barn, a pandy (woollen mill), a farm house, an early chapel, an early longhouse, all of which were falling into decay before they were rescued. An English Museum could become a storehouse and a demonstration of our tradition, and it could help the local and regional museums mentioned above in many ways. It should show our general equipment, buildings and groups of buildings, furnishings, tools, and many types of products in their relation to our social evolution. To suggest one illustration, one may mention chimneys. Introduced in the middle ages probably to improve the hitherto smoky atmosphere of interiors and to lessen dangers of fire, they encouraged brick-baking, gave a larger measure of family intimacy and privacy, and thus strengthened family life and child care. In fact they were a factor as well as a result of technical and social betterment—and how many Tudor chimneys are things of beauty too! Chimneys have spread from the mansions to the people's homes, and that has been a mode of progress in many other fields of effort and invention as well. We need to develop the demonstration of technical progress in its social relationship, the study of which is a most important duty of our Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

**Anthropological Aspects of Blood Group Studies in Britain.** By Dr. J. A. Fraser Roberts (2 March, 1954)

**130** It is difficult to summarize this lecture. It consisted largely of a commentary on a series of lantern slides. The slides, moreover, were nearly all taken from maps prepared by Dr. A. E. Mourant, who would undoubtedly have given the lecture himself had he not been abroad. Most of the maps have now been published in his book *The Distribution of the Human Blood Groups* (Oxford, Blackwell Scientific Publications, 1954), a volume which presents systematically the information available at the present time, including, of course, the studies carried out in Great Britain. The leading features of variations of the distribution of the blood-group genes in the British Isles may, however, be briefly recapitulated.

Europe, west of the Elbe, and north of the Alps, the Pyrenees and the lower Danube, shows a relatively high frequency of gene *A* and a low frequency of gene *B*. In the British Isles *O* is somewhat higher, and *A* and *B* rather lower, than in most of the rest of this area. In particular, Scotland, Ireland, North Wales and Iceland have the highest *O* in Europe. At the same time, in these peripheral areas *B* rises again by a small but significant amount. The gradients in regard to *O* and *A* are thus relatively steep over comparatively short distances. The rise in *O* and fall in *A* as one passes north and west does not, however, appear to be gradual. South of a line which passes through southern Yorkshire and southern Lancashire, there is little variation, and the typical southern English frequencies apply also to Cornwall and to most of South Wales. About the line mentioned there is a



rather sudden rise in *O* and fall in *A*. There then extends northwards a second uniform area bounded on its northern side by a line which partly follows the river Tyne, and then passes south of west, leaving northern and western Cumberland to the north. The third region of yet higher *O* and yet lower *A* probably includes most of Scotland south of the Highland line. A further change then occurs, and in fact some extremely high *O* frequencies have been reported in parts of the Scottish Highlands.

It seems not unlikely that the main features of the variations in *O* and *A* broadly reflect successive waves of immigration. The variations in gene *B* are quite different. Apart from the slight general rise to the north and west already mentioned, there seems to be little in the way of general trends of variation, but there do appear to be marked and apparently capricious fluctuations from place to place, often over quite small distances. Amongst the various points of interest which have been noted in particular localities, there are, for example, pockets of relatively high *A*, which apparently reflect Viking settlement, and pockets of high *B* in Wales, which may reflect very ancient survivals.

Next to the *ABO* system in information available comes the Rhesus system, though this information is far less detailed than for *ABO* and is largely confined to simple division into *Rh*-positive and *Rh*-negative. The British Isles seem to share the relatively high and relatively uniform *Rh*-negative frequencies of Western Europe generally, though it is not unlikely that future studies will disclose lesser but nevertheless real differences. There appear to be indications of Rhesus heterogeneity in Ireland.

The other blood-group systems, to the extent that they have been studied in their anthropological aspects, do not display any marked fluctuations in the British Isles, but lesser differences which may well be meaningful are not unlikely to emerge when much larger numbers are available for study.

### The Importance of Custom in Industrial Society. By H. N. C. Stevenson, O.B.E., B.Litt. (13 April, 1954)

**131** A major task in modern industrial relations is the discovery of the sources of motives and patterns of behaviour. Both in routine relationships and, with greater emphasis, in situations of change where new machines or methods or men are introduced, industrial peace and goodwill depends upon knowing why people act as they do. Hitherto the emphasis in research has been upon psychological studies of individual reactions and, following the striking results of American experiments by Mayo and his followers, upon the study of small face to face groups. American industry, however, differs from British industry in certain very important respects, particularly in the nature and structural orientation of the trade-union system. The effect on the individual of American interest-group reactions, such as those induced by trade-union customs, differs radically from that of those found in British industry. Methods which yield valuable results in America cannot always be applied in Britain, and the reason lies in differences in social custom.

Even in Britain we regard ourselves as agents with a free choice of action restrained only by the rule of law, whereas, in fact, for the large majority of us, law only clears the field in which the game of life is played according to the customs of lesser social groups within the nation. We rarely stop to question our actions in this respect, or the source or validity of our motives. We bathe behind locked doors, more fearful of being caught in the nude or performing a natural function than of being left helpless through an accidental fall, or scald, or electric shock. We dress within the narrow limits imposed by the customs of the groups among whom we live and work, fearful of ridicule; we start work at hours fixed by local custom; we regulate our output (in all repetitive tasks) according to interest-group custom; we sit in

segregated groups, divided by custom into occupational units, in works canteens, and so on. Custom is the clearest objective manifestation of, and clue to, the existence of social groupings, and it is found in association with all kinds of groups at all levels of society. There are family customs, kin-group customs, local-group customs, secular-interest-group customs, religious-group customs.

In every group, custom is maintained by educative activities of one kind and another which stress the positive advantages of group membership, and by informal or formal sanctions. This education may be no more than an informal pressure to emulate, as when a street gang 'educates' initiates to conformity in language, dress, recreation and attitudes to authority. On the other hand, trades and professions have long periods of formal training in which initiates are taught not only the technical skills of the group but also its history, myths and traditions, its values and attitudes towards co-members, members of like groups, and the general public. It is because apprenticeship is a social as well as a technical training that the craftsman's outlook differs so widely from that of the unskilled workers on so many subjects.

Union education may differ widely in purpose as well as in scope. For example one union rule book says: 'The society, while contending unyieldingly for a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, will as strictly compel its members to fulfil honourably their engagements with their employers. The honour of the society, as well as the members, will then be upheld, and employers will recognize that while guarding the rights of labour we do not forget our duties nor shirk them. Thereby confidence and good feeling will be created between employer and employed.' In contrast, another union makes no mention of loyalty to the employer, and exhorts its members as follows: 'Above all, members can best show that they are true to each other by being loyal to their union. Let them not expect something for nothing, and, as all members want social improvement from parliamentary action, let them support the political fund of their union and thereby advance the workers' cause. Workers Unite!' Clearly these two approaches to employee/employer relations will yield very different results, results which stem, not from the personal qualities of members, but from the indoctrination that they receive.

The behaviour-channelling effects of group custom and the authority which any group exercises over its members depend partly on the nature and purpose of the group itself, partly on the nature of the sanctions which uphold its customs, but mainly upon the consequences of the ultimate sanction of expulsion, from which all lesser sanctions derive their force. If expulsion means no more than some slight inconvenience while seeking membership of another group which will serve the same purpose, the group will exercise little power. Expulsion from a bridge four or a tennis club holds little terror. If, however, the group concerned is a craft union or a profession, expulsion may mean permanent loss of livelihood and status, and hence group discipline is proportionately stronger. If expulsion means social 'death,' as it does in a strict caste society, the power of the group is enormous.

In a democracy, society works through groups of many kinds. We are all members of many such groups, and we alter the balance of the social structure by giving or taking away our allegiance to groups. Different allegiances often pull us in different directions, and then the advantages of group membership and the consequences of deviation from group custom become important. For instance, in a strike situation a craftsman may have to choose between loyalty to an employer whom he respects and who is fair to him, and loyalty to his union, which may call him out on a matter not directly concerning his work, such as support of another union. In such cases, since expulsion from the



union is more serious than expulsion from the job, the craftsman will generally side with the union. An unskilled worker, with a different balance of penalties, might do the opposite. In short, individual behaviour in industry often stems from group custom, and cannot be understood fully unless group custom is taken into account.

### The Application of Anthropological Knowledge to Our Industrial Society. By Sir Robert Hyde, K.B.E., M.V.O. (27 April, 1954)

**132** Speaking, as I am, at the end of a series of lectures by well-known scholars it may be as well to point out that I am not a trained anthropologist, but I have long since reached the conclusion that the anthropologist has a contribution to make to the better understanding of some of the perplexities that beset the modern industrial system by which we live, and of which we are part.

My interest in man both collectively and individually is of long standing. For 17 years I lived and worked in the very poorest parts of East and West London, and since 1916 I have had unusual opportunities for observing industry in this and other countries. It was in that year that Mr. Lloyd George, who had just created the Ministry of Munitions, reached the conclusion that unless something was done to improve conditions and relationships in industry, the production of needful war material would suffer. He called to his aid Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, who formed in the Ministry what became known as the Welfare Department, and I was invited to join him in his work. The purpose, to use Lloyd George's own words, was 'To soften asperities, and to secure the welfare of the workers, and to build a bridge of sympathy and understanding between employer and employed.'

Since I shall be using the word 'industry' in this talk it may be well to say something by way of definition. I have tried in vain to discover when that word was first used to describe those activities, considered collectively, which are concerned with the winning and manipulation of natural resources, as the production, and distribution, of goods. In that collective sense industry in Britain consists of about 242,000 industrial establishments in which are persons engaged in 49,000 separate occupations, each with its own skills, wage rates, traditions and working conditions. It is upon the stability and prosperity of industry that all our institutions depend.

During that period to which I have referred I have been forced to accept the truth of some words of Elliot Smith:

We are apt to forget the extent of our debt to antiquity and the all-pervading influence of our great heritage. At every moment of our lives events that happened centuries, and in many cases, thousands of years ago, in distant parts of the world are shaping our behaviour, and intimately affecting our innermost thoughts, in particular our attitude to modern events around us. We are part of the great social current formed of a multitude of intermingling streams that have come down to us from remote ages and distant lands to carry us along with it.

Evidence of old customs, superstitions and beliefs is all around us, and whilst much has been done to record their existence in our social life, little has been done to investigate their survival in industry. Yet such exist and influence daily life and action. In one firm of world-wide repute it is the custom when an apprentice finishes his time, for his mates to force him into a barrel where he is held whilst shavings, oil, sawdust and water are poured over him. The comment made by my friend who gave me this example was: 'I believe this custom may be the remains of some initiation rite.' The conflict often revealed between the manual and the 'black-coated' worker is mentioned in an Egyptian papyrus quoted by Professor Gordon Childe in his

book *What Happened in History*. Miners cease work for the day when a fellow worker has been killed in the pit; the provision of pithead baths was rejected for years largely for the reason that many miners believed that if water touched their spine they would be weakened physically; in the chemical industry, if a man is fatally gassed, the primitive reluctance to make direct reference to death finds expression in the words 'Roger's got him.' The recent resistance of the docker to the use of the fork lift is in direct line with the Luddites. Such examples would seem to bear out the statement of a recent writer, that 'in a changing society, where innovations have not yet crystallized into their place, the contact of past and present is of great significance.' Since these innovations throughout the ages have so often been associated with tools, and since it is chiefly through his external equipment that man has survived, I have tried to illustrate man's long history by means of a simple chart. (Here a chart was displayed—a strip of paper 42 feet long showing the main periods in human development. The period since James Watt applied the expansive power of steam to rotary movement and so introduced the industrial age in which we live occupied approximately  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch on this chart.) When we regard the present age in which so much is taken for granted—I need not recall the manifold benefits we enjoy—we are apt to overlook the speed and magnitude of the changes that have been wrought in that short period—changes in relationships as well as in material standards. Here I would add a comment by Dr. Oakley which bears upon modern mechanical advancement and its impact upon our lives:

Modern civilization owes its form to machine tools driven by mechanical energy; but these perform in complicated ways only the same basic operations as the simple equipment in the tool bag of Stone Age man; percussion, cutting, scraping, piercing, shearing and moulding.

In passing, may I add that according to some authorities man's first garment was a girdle of raw hide into which he could place his tools, leaving his hands free? You too may care to know that Mr. Edwards of Brandon in Suffolk is still making flint implements just as they were made in that far-off past.

I have spent a little time in dealing with tools because their evolution has had, and is still having, a profound influence upon relationships between man and man and master and man, and because recent advances in techniques have overtaken man's capacity to adjust himself to them.

Our way of life in this country (and much of our language, e.g. names, place names, metaphors) is founded upon the small village community. Work had a known social value; master and man were bound together in simple common interest; money was not the only symbol of achievement. Now masters and men as individuals or small groups have given place to vast negotiating bodies, and the significant though simple question is asked: 'Who is my boss?' In a recent broadcast talk the speaker asked 'Why do men strike?' He suggested that the strike is known to be part of a pattern of industrial sickness, and he suggested that the universities must accept the task of studying the functioning of the industrial system in sickness and, by experiment, show how the diseased organ works, what the disease is, and finally, how it can be treated. Too often causes of unrest are sought in immediate events or distresses, whereas the real causes may be deeply rooted in the past; so too, immediate palliatives, e.g. an increase in wage, are applied but such do not always reach the seat of the trouble. Here it is that I believe the anthropologist has a part to play: not that of the doctor called in to deal with sickness and to suggest remedial treatment, but, with his knowledge of other and perhaps older cultures and other human groups, to detect weaknesses in the industrial system which encourage discord instead



of promoting harmony—perhaps to give answer to the question put to the watchman: 'What of the night?'

The Acton Trust recently published the result of a study on the effect of the size of firms upon morale, and whilst the authors do not admit that size is the final determinant, they claim that the subject calls for further attention and study. Figures relating to days lost through industrial unrest reveal that the great proportion of this loss falls within the scattered industries, and although I am advised that these figures do not lend themselves to statistical analysis, I believe that this matter would repay careful investigation. Since Mr. Lloyd George first directed his thoughts to the betterment of working conditions and relationships, vast changes have been seen in Great Britain. Millions of pounds have been spent in making working life happier and more tolerable, safer and more healthy. These changes have been in keeping with the comment made by Dr. Trevelyan, who made reference to these changes in his classic work:

They were a striking improvement upon all past ages. As the nineteenth century grew older humanity pervaded more and more all the dealings of life. The advance in humanity far more than the boasted advance in machinery was the thing of which the century had best reason to be proud—for in wrong hands machinery may destroy humanity.

But now something else is happening. As a result of the self-examination to which in recent years many thoughtful men have submitted themselves, the conclusion has been reached that one cannot equate fair wages with high morale; proper selection with co-operation; wages incentives with high production. So it is that both here and in America employers are beginning to realize that the anthropologist, whose object of study is man himself, especially in his group relationships, may be able to make contribution to the better understanding of the human problems of an industrial civilization.

I do not think I can be charged with exaggeration when I suggest that in the minds of hundreds of thousands of people today work—the daily task in mill, mine or factory—is regarded as something unpleasant. In the *Oxford English Dictionary* 'work' is defined as 'expenditure of energy, striving, application of effort to some purpose.' In our leisure hours, and in some occupations, vast energy is expended in making, cultivating, repairing, and those so occupied become so absorbed in their effort that all else is forgotten. Therefore what is sometimes called the curse of Adam would seem to be not upon work as such, but upon something associated with work. What is that something? If we knew the answer much good might follow. Again, in the industrial field loyalties of employers and employees are divided. Due to bygone conflicts most employers are organized in federations, and most workers in trade unions, and often individuals must act against their own personal inclination and judgement because of the decision of the organization concerned. Sectional groups—high-pressure groups with vested interests—become stronger and more powerful. How can their action be checked before the nation suffers as a result of some sectional quarrel?

Frequently we are advised by well intentioned persons that peace and harmony in places of work are dependent upon wise leadership. Do we really know what this work or quality means—is it due to upbringing, home or religious influence, or can it be acquired? And since the word is often used in association with juvenile delinquency, perhaps we may pose the question: Why, if it be true, does the present attitude of indifference in the minds of young people today prevail? There exists, and is at times revealed, a conflict between the manual and the 'black-coated' worker; there is unhappiness amongst the supervisory groups in industry; growing apathy in trade-union branch life has been the

subject of comment, and the evolution of the welfare state is already creating new and disturbing problems. These and many other features of modern enterprise call for dispassionate study, for too often their consideration is clouded by bias, prejudice, firmly fixed opinions, tradition and political influence. And it is here that I believe the anthropologist has much to offer. The work of Elton Mayo at the Western Electric Company in Chicago led to the formation of the School of Business Administration at Harvard University, and although at first he was regarded as an innovator his work and teaching have now made a deep impression upon many leading businessmen in America.

Professor Moore of Chicago University tells me that the impact of social anthropology upon industry has, in his opinion, been very great in his country. It has inspired basic research at Harvard, Chicago, Cornell and Yale; it has stimulated studies of organization and management on a large scale. On the other hand Professor Sayles of Michigan is not too encouraging, for he writes that some American employers feel that research may appear to threaten established procedures. He adds, however, that as a neutral organization, the university has secured complete trust with the work force and trade unions. The Raytheon Manufacturing Company of Massachusetts, in reply to my enquiry, stated that Professor Richardson had worked for them for four years on how to determine worker morale and control it. The company expressed the view that work was only beginning in this field in which, they felt, there was much to be discovered, and 'in the writer's opinion there is definite requirement in manufacturing for the work he is doing, and end results will be advantageous to both worker and the management.' Lee Warner, one of Mayo's followers, has undertaken several valuable studies and makes the comment: 'The sources of industrial strife lie beyond the words and deeds of strikers'; and again: 'The American scene, as a result of the machine, is that "the ladder to the stars" has gone, and with it much of the fabric of the American dream.' Already much of the work being done in America has found a focus in the Society for Applied Anthropology, which was formed in 1941. Its objects are: 'To investigate principles controlling the relations of human beings one to another; and the encouragement of wide application of these principles to practical problems.' A quarterly journal, *Human Organization*, is published as well as other literature. Dr. E. D. Chapple, the head of this organization, wrote to me:

Once the anthropologist gets over his nostalgia for the vanishing primitive he will find that the industrial situation offers him a magnificent opportunity to improve his understanding of changes in human relations.

Dr. Burleigh Gardner, whom I met, succeeded Elton Mayo at the Western Company, now runs a consulting practice and is regarded as a leading authority in this field.

It seems, therefore, that in America there is a rapidly growing awareness on the part of employers that there is a place in industry for the application of anthropological knowledge and experience. Had Elton Mayo, who had settled in this country at Cambridge, lived a little longer, I feel certain that he would have made a deep impression over here as well. However, the work that he established still continues. Recently a group of influential businessmen have been meeting some of the members of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute and discussing with them ways and means of bringing about that association with industry which is felt to be desirable and necessary. At the moment one cannot do more than refer to the fact that this group exists, but soon it is hoped that plans will have matured for giving effect to their desire.

After I had written these words a letter appeared in *The Times*



by Mr. Blair Cunynhame, urging that in view of the massive changes in the structure of our industrial society during the last quarter of a century, consideration should be given to the appointment of a committee to examine the whole structure of formal and informal relationship between employer and employed.

I would conclude by saying that if in following a new way of

life man has strayed into a kind of industrial fun fair and cannot find his way out, there is no need for pessimism. Professor Gordon Childe has very wisely pointed out that progress, if real, is discontinuous. The upward curve resolves itself into a series of troughs and crests, but no trough ever declines to the low level of the preceding one; each crest out-tops its last precursor.

## SHORTER NOTES

### The Discovery of the Right Parietal Bone at Swanscombe, Kent. By Bertram O. Wymer

**133** Although not in such good condition as the well-known left parietal and occipital bones of the Swanscombe skull found 20 years ago by A. T. Marston, the sutures of the right parietal found on 30 July of this year<sup>1</sup> are in such condition as to prove conclusively that the bone is of the same skull.

By courtesy of the Nature Conservancy and the British Museum (Natural History) extensive and systematic excavation has been carried out at Swanscombe, Kent, in the high terrace gravels of Great Interglacial age. This has not, so far, yielded further indisputable human bone remains, but it is to be hoped that among the very great number of the osseous fragments some of the obscure ones may prove to be human. With the exception of several large mammalian vertebrae, most of the remains are small and in a soft and very eroded state. They occur extensively and chiefly in the lower part of the skull layer.

A considerable number of flint implements of Middle Acheulian age and numerous flakes occur throughout. A recent discovery of a small amount of what appears to be charcoal is of great importance at this horizon. The very small and local limitation tends to suggest that this was not due to widespread heath or scrub fires. Crazed and reddened flints also occur and may be due to heat action.

That human remains of the same or other individuals may await discovery is of course a possibility that I trust will substantiate itself in the excavation work which is still going forward.

#### Note

<sup>1</sup> This discovery was made by Mr. John Wymer and Mr. Adrian Gibson while assisting Mr. and Mrs. B. O. Wymer in excavations in the Barnfield Pit, Swanscombe, which were being conducted under licence from the Nature Conservancy. The new parietal lay in the same seam of gravel as the two fragments found by Mr. Marston, 51 feet from the occipital found on 29 June, 1935, and 49 feet from the left parietal found on 15 March, 1936. For a more detailed report, by John Wymer, of the new discovery at Swanscombe, see *Nature*, Vol. CLXXVI (3 September, 1955), pp. 426f.

### Some Sources on the Unwritten Law in Albania. By Qazim Kastrati

**134** A book by the late Margaret Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, the first four chapters written by herself and the remainder written from her notes by her literary executor Mrs. J. E. Alderson, was published in 1954 by Cambridge University Press (and is reviewed by Mr. W. C. Brice in *MAN*, 1955, 123). It will be of value to anthropologists to know something more of the background to this study than Mrs. Alderson is able to give in her preface or Professor J. H. Hutton in his introduction; also more about some previous sources.

Of previous workers the foremost in importance was the Franciscan Father Shtjefën A. Gjeçov (1874-1929), the Italian version of whose work is mentioned in the introduction and used for checking Mrs. Hasluck's translations of excerpts from the

original. Father Gjeçov was an Albanian from the north, well educated, and outstanding for his careful research work into the traditions and mode of life of the northern tribesmen, most of them Catholics. This work was his absorbing interest; and he carried it out at a time when Albanian traditions had not yet been much weakened or modified under the impact of modern civilization. Just as the application of the traditional 'Law of Lek' varied somewhat from one to another of the relatively isolated mountain communities, so no doubt in the same community the centuries brought some changes in its interpretation and application, since both of these depended considerably on the memory and wisdom of the local chieftains and elders. One can, however, rely on Father Gjeçov's ability to obtain, sift out and present the best and most trustworthy version of the law as remembered, interpreted and applied in a given community at the time when he himself studied it.

During the 20 years or so in which he was writing his account of the traditional law, and indeed for years before that, Father Gjeçov travelled extensively in the various tribal regions of the north, collecting and comparing traditions and customs. He was a man to whom the tribesmen gave information readily and to the best of their knowledge: he was one of them and saw their code and way of life through native eyes. As Miss Durham found (*J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. XL (1910), pp. 455 f.), 'the mountaineer is guided for the most part by mysterious superstitions and beliefs hidden in the recesses of his soul, and he cares no jot for priest or *hodja* when their teaching runs counter to his own Albanian ideas as to the fitness of things.' Although as priest Father Gjeçov would try to mitigate the harshness of some aspects of their code through charity and forgiveness, he was out to learn and to record rather than to condemn. In gathering his material he had, furthermore, the co-operation of the local priesthood, who knew their districts well and looked up to him as an enlightened patriot and a man of wide knowledge.

Years before his researches were published in book form they were appearing in one of the best known of the Albanian reviews, *Hylli i Dritës*, published (monthly as a rule) by the Franciscans in Shkodër (Scutari). His fellow Franciscans took a special pride in this piece of research work and his contributions would be very thoroughly discussed before publication, as in the case of most writings in *Hylli i Dritës*. (I speak from personal knowledge: I myself, a Moslem Gheg, was once fortunate enough to be present as listener at a discussion of the contents of an issue of this Franciscan review before it was brought out.) When Father Gjeçov's contributions appeared in print there was again an opportunity for those who were in a position to do so to give any further information they might possess; and the readers of *Hylli i Dritës* were by no means confined to Catholics.

When this work was published in book form after his death, an introduction of 36 pages was contributed by three distinguished compatriots, two of them Gheg Franciscans like himself, the third a Moslem Tosk from the south. They were: the national poet Father Gjergj Fishta, O.F.M., whose intimate knowledge of the life of the northern mountaineers is shown in his great epic *Lahuta e Malës* (The Lute of the Mountains); Father Pashko



Bardhi, O.F.M., editor of *Hylli i Dritës*; and Faik Konica, the most distinguished of our prose writers and scholars, and editor both of the review *Albania* and of *Dielli*, organ of the Albanian community in America.

Father Gjeçov was assassinated by Yugoslavs in Prizrend, Yugoslavia, on 13 October, 1929. His work *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit* was published by the Franciscan Press in Scutari in 1933. It is in large format (12½ × 9½ inches) and contains 129 pages of text in addition to the 36-page introduction, seven pages of index and a four-page glossary of rare words and phrases.

The Italian translation of Father Gjeçov's work which Professor Hutton refers to in his introduction to Mrs. Hasluck's book was made by P. Paolo Dodaj, an Albanian priest. It was published in Rome by the Reale Accademia d'Italia in 1941, during the Fascist occupation of Albania, and was the second important work to be produced by the Centro Studi per l'Albania. It is entitled *Codice di Lek Dukagjini ossia Diritto Consuetudinario delle Montagne d'Albania*. Though Pater Giuseppe Valentini, S.J., an Italian who himself translated parts of *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit* for incorporation in his books on Albania, says on p. 208 of his important work *La Famiglia nel Diritto Tradizionale Albanese* (Vatican City, 1954) that Pater Dodaj's translation was 'somewhat free,' the fact that P. Dodaj was a Gheg from the north, and the statement on the title page that the translation was made 'A cura di P. Giorgio Fishta e Giuseppe Schirò,' gives confidence in the correctness of the meaning. Father Gjergj Fishta was, as stated, a Gheg writer; Giuseppe Schirò is a member of a literary family of Albanian stock settled in Italy.

The second important source is Miss Edith Durham (1863-1944) whose contributions to a knowledge of the unwritten law in Albania are, as Professor Hutton rightly says, 'admirable indeed.' The references he gives are *High Albania* (1909), *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans* (1928), and 'two other works more nearly concerned with politics.' In *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans* Miss Durham presents her observations regarding Albania in a wider Balkan setting and inevitably leaves out some colourful and detailed accounts of the incidents which she witnessed, the conversations in which she took part and the circumstances in which her observations were made. Such details contribute to an understanding of Albanian traditions and ways of thought. They are to be found scattered through a number of her other writings, not only in her books *The Burden of the Balkans* (1905), *The Struggle for Scutari* (1914), *Twenty Years of Balkan Tangle* (1920) and *The Sarajevo Crime* (1925) but also in papers that she contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* and to *MAN*, and in the numerous articles that she published in various reviews. Miss Durham was also correspondent of *The Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*, and her articles and her letters to the editors, often containing appeals on behalf of Albania, frequently relate interesting or amusing incidents throwing light on Albanian life and the operation of the traditional law. Two of her shorter writings are of particular interest from the anthropological point of view: her paper 'High Albania and Its Customs in 1908' (*J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. XL (1910), pp. 453-472) and her review of Olive Lodge's *Peasant Life in Yugoslavia* (London, 1941) in *MAN* (1942, 82) in which she speaks of the customs and ways of life in some Albanian communities which in 1913 were incorporated in Yugoslavia.

Though Albania gained her independence in 1912, the World War which followed made it impossible until after 1921 to set about the organization of the country under a central government, with its consequent changes in the traditional way of life. Miss Durham began her studies of Albanian traditions and customs long before this, in the early years of the century; though even in

1908, in view of the 'changes sweeping rapidly over the Balkan Peninsula,' she felt the urgency of studying 'the very primitive conditions' and 'mass of ancient customs' still surviving in the northern highlands before it was too late. As to the accuracy of the northern tribesmen's memory she says 'he possesses an extraordinary memory, and has handed down quantities of oral traditions, most of which remain to be collected' (*J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. XL (1910), p. 453).

Like Father Gjeçov, Miss Durham was trusted by the tribesmen, lived in their homes and travelled extensively among them. Her work in the hospitals, her relief work among the poor and the sick in their own homes, and her political work championing the cause of Albania, made her the best known and best loved friend Albania had. What she says in her preface to *Some Balkan Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans* of the numerous Balkan friends to whom she was indebted was certainly very true of Albania: 'friends who admitted me to their daily life, and allowed me to see their way of living . . . too numerous to name as they range from humble peasants to officials and high ecclesiastics.' Hospitality is the law of the mountains and she accepted it even when meagre, since the tribesman gave freely and of his best: 'he offers you "bread and salt and my heart"' (*J. R. Anthropol. Inst.*, Vol. XL (1910), p. 463).

All this helped her in collecting her data, and in collecting it she carefully compared the information gained in one place with that given her in another. Though she never spoke Albanian fluently she was always accompanied by Albanian friends whose knowledge and veracity were not open to question, including some very well known Catholic priests. Furthermore, as anyone who knew her would testify, Miss Durham was by temperament and experience a serious-minded and quick-witted woman with a considerable sense of humour, who knew how to judge character and draw out the best sides of it, had much penetration and imagination, and was well able to discover any attempts to play tricks or mislead her. Such a woman provided no encouragement to even the most mischief-loving chieftain to fill her up with fanciful stories. In addition, before publishing any of the material she had obtained, she would check and discuss it with reliable and well informed friends. Like Father Gjeçov, she had a sense of mission, and of dedication to the task of sifting out fact from fiction, exposing cant, and defending the truth as she found it against any misrepresentation whether due to ignorance or prompted by political or personal interest. After leaving Albania she was always interested to hear anything further, especially relating to subjects on which she had written. She maintained by correspondence her contacts with Albanian friends, and took every opportunity of meeting Albanians in England and any other persons who had gained some knowledge of the country.

I myself never met Miss Durham when she was in Albania, for I was a child then (and for the same reason I met Father Gjeçov only twice, and that towards the end of his life); only later on in London, did I have the privilege of meeting her, and fairly regularly. The more I compared her writings on Albania with those of other foreigners, the more I was impressed by her greater understanding and knowledge of my countrymen. She had a remarkable memory for incidents, people and conversations; and she did not confuse what she had seen or heard as most other people tend to do as time passes.

We turn now to Mrs. Hasluck (1885-1948), who, as Mrs. Alderson tells us in her preface to *The Unwritten Law in Albania*, made her home in Elbasan, Central Albania, from 1926 to 1939. During those 13 years Elbasan was her centre; from there she made excursions to the mountain regions of the north, usually in the summer or early autumn, to collect material on Albanian folklore and customs and also to collect political information.



Between 1926 and 1939, apart from her unsigned political articles as correspondent of certain important British newspapers, and some articles in English reviews, she published a collection of sixteen Albanian folk tales, written down by school children in the neighbourhood of Elbasan from dictation by their elders and revised by her Albanian friend Mr. Lef Nosi. These, with English translations, grammars and vocabularies, were published as *An Albanian-English Reader* (C.U.P., 1932). It was dedicated to Lef Nosi, who had 'revised the English translation, the vocabularies, and the grammars of my making, thoroughly earning the dedication of the book by his zeal in what was often a most ungrateful task.' Miss Durham in reviewing it (*MAN*, 1932, 212) says: 'This little book can be cordially recommended to those wishing to begin the study of the Albanian language'; and points out that 'the dialect used is that of Central Albania, which differs somewhat from that of the South and considerably from that of the North, the only one with which I am acquainted.' Later, towards the end of the war, Mrs. Hasluck compiled a small *Albanian Phrase-Book* (date and place of publication not given). She also published in *MAN*, during this period, the following papers relating to Albania: 'On Physiological Paternity and Related Birth in Albania' (1932, 65); 'Childhood and Totemism' (1933, 48); 'Bride Price in Albania' (1933, 203); 'Pearls as Life-Givers' (letter, 1935, 125); and 'Couvade in Albania' (1939, 18). Two further papers were published after the war: 'The Bust of Berat' (1946, 29) and 'The First Cradle of an Albanian Child' (1950, 69).

The mass of material which Mrs. Hasluck collected on Albanian customs and traditional law was intended by her for a larger work, and her literary executor Mrs. Alderson tells us with what determination she set about writing it when she realized that her time was short, and with what courage and persistence she worked on this task to the end. She died leaving only four chapters—about an eighth of the book—complete, the headings of the remaining chapters planned out, and a mass of notes. From this material, much of it 'in a chaotic condition,' Mrs. Alderson completed the unfinished work, Professor Hutton editing the book both in MS. and proof. The devotion, care and hard work which Mrs. Alderson has given to a most difficult and exhausting task calls for special appreciation. *The Unwritten Law in Albania* is excellently written and gives a very interesting, detailed and systematic account of its subject. Mrs. Alderson's large part in producing it might easily be overlooked, since she makes only brief mention of it in her preface.

In assessing the reliability of the account given, one must consider first the reliability of Mrs. Hasluck's own observations, and then the extent to which she checked and amplified them by reference to those of earlier workers in this field.

In a number of ways Mrs. Hasluck was much less adequately equipped for the collection and interpretation of material on Albanian customs and traditional law than either Father Gjeçov or Miss Durham. Apart from the fact that her data were collected at a later period, when traditions were rapidly losing their authority and becoming less clear in men's minds, she differed from both of them in temperament, in her methods of work, and in the kind of relationship that she established with those from whom she sought information. In consequence, she never succeeded in gaining the full confidence either of the tribesmen or of the Catholic priests, whose influence would be a very important factor in her favour or against her. She had not Miss Durham's discrimination or her sense of humour or of fun, and she tended to keep aloof. When travelling in the mountains she rarely lived in Albanian homes, where the strong tradition of Albanian hospitality would have done much to protect her against being misled and where she would have had greater opportunity of studying Albanian life at first hand. She usually lived in a tent,

and took her own food with her. Again, although ostensibly engaged only in studying 'folklore,' she was known to be a political correspondent of certain foreign newspapers not always friendly to Albania. The somewhat mysterious life she lived excited distrust and suspicion, and there was a feeling that contact with her might easily involve any indiscreet informant in trouble with the authorities. She was accompanied by one or sometimes two bodyguards, not local men, nor particularly intelligent or well informed, but men engaged simply for personal service and treated as servants. Her relationship with them was far from smooth, and they contributed very little to establishing good relations between her and the local tribesmen. Mr. Lef Nosi, whose patriotism and knowledge would have given her a better status among the tribesmen and helped her to obtain reliable information, was not in a position to accompany her. Because he was under suspicion by the Albanian authorities, his movements were watched, and restricted to the neighbourhood of Elbasan. Nor had he, except perhaps in Mirdita, personal friends among the tribesmen in the north whose goodwill he might have invoked in her favour.

I knew Mrs. Hasluck quite well. She was a sincere friend of Albania, and I valued her as such. I know also how greatly she regretted having to leave the country when the Fascist invasion of Good Friday, 1939, was clearly impending. She longed to return and did all she could in my country's interest from then on, both during the war and after; and she felt it most bitterly when Albania had to pass under Communist dictatorship in 1944. I met her many times between the wars, not only in Scutari, in Tirana and at her home in Elbasan, but also in London when she was preparing her *Albanian-English Reader*; also once in the mountains. On that occasion I came across her unexpectedly at Shkrelë, and was able to see her actually at work. I saw with regret how a mischievous chieftain was entertaining his friends by the way he was misleading her with absurd stories, which she duly recorded. I pointed this out to her afterwards, and she wept at the difficulties of understanding the mountaineers and was sad to have to scrap what seemed such interesting material. Though she spoke Albanian, she did not speak it so well as to distinguish nuances, and she was unable to tell from the chieftain's eyes, gestures and choice of words that he was having a good time at her expense.

Though handicapped in the ways I have mentioned in collecting her material on Albanian customs, Mrs. Hasluck was a woman of great energy and persistence in pursuing the enquiries she had undertaken; and she had at her disposal Father Gjeçov's contributions to *Hylli i Dritës* and, after its publication in 1933, his *Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit*. Twelve excerpts from this, which she translated, are given in the Appendix to her book<sup>1</sup>; and the chapter headings under which she planned it are very similar to his. The language in which his book was written would, however, present some difficulties to her—a form of Gheg difficult to understand even by literate Ghegs unless they have made a special study of the rare words and phrases it uses, many of them not given in the glossary.

*Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit*, in P. Paolo Dodaj's translation, was available also to Mrs. Alderson and Professor Hutton. Mrs. Hasluck's translations from the original are compared with it, and footnotes appended to some words that were found to differ in meaning from Pater Dodaj's (in these cases comparison with the original shows that the error is Mrs. Hasluck's). That Father Gjeçov's work was studied extensively, in the preparation of this book by Mrs. Hasluck and her literary executor, is shown by numerous references scattered throughout its pages. Had she lived to finish the book herself, her preface might have told how far she was guided by and how much she drew from Father Gjeçov's researches; also perhaps it would have told whether Miss Durham's



works were consulted on other aspects of the traditional law than where she is quoted, namely, on that relating to the general assemblies of tribes. The greater the book's indebtedness to these two sources the greater its authority. It has the great merit of bringing together and presenting in systematic form a picture of the traditional law in Albania; and, if it is not taken as the most reliable source but used in constant reference to the more authoritative studies mentioned above, it should form a valuable addition to English anthropological literature on this subject.

#### Note

<sup>1</sup> The Appendix also contains a translation from the 7 November, 1942, issue of the newspaper *Tomori*, though the relevance of this last, which gives the terms of an alleged covenant of the Mati Tribe, under the Fascist occupation, to denounce, arrest, punish, etc., all anti-Fascists, is not immediately obvious.

#### The University of Reading Museum of English Rural Life.

**I35** By Sir Robert Hyde, K.B.E., M.V.O., Chairman, British Ethnography Committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute

The University of Reading has a long tradition of interest in agriculture and the Council are to be congratulated upon their enterprise in providing this museum which was opened at the end of April by Sir Keith Murray, Chairman of the University Grants Committee. The chair was taken at this ceremony by Viscount Templewood, who, with the rest of the speakers, was seated on a very fine specimen of a farm wain.

## REVIEWS

### EUROPE

**Excavations at Star Carr: An Early Mesolithic Site at Seamer near Scarborough, Yorkshire.** By J. G. D. Clark. C.U.P., 1954. Pp. xxiii, 200, 24 plates. Price £3 3s.

**I36** In his book *The Mesolithic Settlement of Northern Europe* (1936), Clark made it clear that eastern Britain formed an integral part of the Maglemosian culture area during the Boreal period; but he also drew attention to the fact that the evidence relating to the Maglemosian culture in Britain was poor, compared with the results of the excavating of bog sites in Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein. What was needed was excavation of water-logged deposits where physical conditions would favour the survival of organic materials. A suitable site was at last located at Star Carr, near the eastern end of the vale of Pickering, about five miles south of Scarborough. The finding of this site—at the beach of a Mesolithic lake, filled with peat—was due to the local archaeologist John W. Moore; and its great potentialities were realized by Professor Clark, who undertook a large-scale excavation under the auspices of the Prehistoric Society and the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge during the summers 1949, 1950 and 1951.

Archaeologists, quaternary geologists and zoologists have co-operated in this great undertaking. And the result is a full elucidation of the ecological development of the area. The lake stratigraphy, pollen analysis and vegetation history have been treated in a large chapter by Dr. H. Godwin and D. Walker of the Sub-department of Quaternary Research at Cambridge University. Another chapter, about the faunal remains, is due to the zoologists Dr. E. C. Fraser and Miss J. E. King of the British Museum (Natural History). Archaeology has benefited immensely from this co-operation with biological disciplines.

The archaeological material brought to light at Star Carr is very rich and of fundamental importance not only to the knowledge of mesolithic culture in Britain, but to the prehistory of north-western Europe as a whole. The first object of the excavation at Star Carr was to find something like the mesolithic settlements from the Boreal period at Mullerup and other classic Danish sites. However,

The curators state that 'the Museum should have begun its work some years earlier before the radical changes of the last twenty years had swept away so much for ever, and it is a cause for regret that it is too late to save examples of many tools and implements.' The tragedy is that as far back as 1928 the Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries gave a warning that houses, cottages and workrooms were fast disappearing and that 'in a very few years it would be impossible to make such a museum on the lines of those at Stockholm, at Aarhus and Lingby in Denmark, and at Arnhem in Holland.' Later, in 1945, the Standing Committee on Museums and Galleries in its Third Report mentioned the Welsh Folk Museum and expressed the hope that 'it will point the way to the similar museum for England we have long advocated.'

Many years have passed, what little remains of the material evidence of the past way of life of England is being destroyed as new dwellings, roads and aerodromes obliterate once familiar features of the landscape, yet nothing has been done to provide that English Museum so strongly advocated as far back as 1903 by Dr. F. A. Bather. Now that it has been shown what can be done, and by one university, and done so admirably under the inspiration and guidance of the Keeper, Mr. J. W. Y. Higgs, it is hoped that interest in the provision of a national museum may once again be stirred.

An excellent guide to the Reading Museum has been published, which should prove of value to those who are interested in rural life and farming history.

the investigation has proved that the Star Carr site belongs to an earlier time, namely a late phase of the pre-Boreal period (Zone IV in the history of vegetation). So Star Carr helps to fill a gap in the prehistory of north-western Europe.

It should also be noted that this careful and thoroughgoing investigation of a mesolithic site throws new light upon several sides of primitive human existence. I wish to emphasize two important points.

The area of settlement at Star Carr was about 220-240 square yards. This agrees well with other mesolithic settlements from different parts of temperate Europe. Clark calls attention to the fact that there is a marked contrast between the size of these hunter-fisher communities and the peasant communities of neolithic Europe, which might be about a hundred times more extensive. This is a valuable contribution to the problem of population densities in prehistoric times. Evidently, the new economy of agriculture brought a rapid and enormous increase.

Very remarkable is the find of worked stag frontlets with portions of the antlers in place and perforated parietal bones. Twenty-one examples of such frontlets were found at Star Carr. Clark adduces good reasons for the hypothesis that these frontlets were used as a kind of mask or head-dress, secured by means of straps through the perforations in the parietal bones. They may have been used for stalking, hunters carrying such frontlets when approaching the game, or for magical purposes in ritual dances to promote the hunter's luck or the fertility of the deer. GUDMUND HATT

**The Archaeology of Sussex.** By E. Cecil Curwen. Second edn., London (Methuen), 1954. Pp. xx, 330, 32 plates, 94 text figs. Price £1 5s.

**I37** This book is a second edition, revised and reset, of that which first appeared in 1937, in the *Methuen County Archaeologies* for 12s. 6d. That the book has no more than doubled its price despite the inflationary trend of the years between is a worthy achievement on the publishers' part, the more so as the new edition is better produced.



The layout of the book is substantially the same, and most of the plates and figures appear in both editions. The greatest improvement is in the latter part of the book, where the chapter on Roman Sussex has been expanded and includes our increased knowledge of Roman roads. More important, the chapters on the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age have been recast, and the chapter on the development of pottery omitted. The result is a more continued and interesting narrative connecting the Middle Bronze Age to the Roman period without a break, and making use of Professor Hawkes' recent work on the chronology of that period. Accounts of recent excavations are included, notably the first publication of the important and thoroughly excavated Late Bronze Age settlement at Irford Hill.

There is less evidence of revision in the chapters covering the Stone Age, although increased knowledge of this period might have justified some recasting of these chapters over and above including accounts of recent work on the field and on the Piltown Skull.

National Grid references are now given to the principal sites, enabling them to be pinpointed on the 1-inch Ordnance Survey maps, which will be useful to those wishing to explore these sites.

A minor point is that the Table of Contents could well have been amplified to include chapter sub-headings and the useful table of Bronze Age hoards on pp. 213-17. On the other hand, the distribution maps are much improved, and this applies to the book as a whole.

M. A. BENNET-CLARK

**Ulster Folklife.** *Issued by the Committee on Ulster Folklife and Traditions. Belfast, 1955. Pp. 66. Subscription 5s. 6d. p.a.*

**I38** In the knowledge that the whole story of Ulster—the story that lies around us in the everyday things; in the places where we live; in the customs we observe, and in the beliefs we share—has yet to be written, a group of interested persons came together two years ago and formed a committee to

undertake the important task waiting to be done. This excellent booklet describes the aim of the committee and appeals for voluntary support in collecting material before it has passed away for ever.

A series of well written and informative articles on various aspects of Ulster folklore serves as an introduction to the Ulster story. The committee are to be congratulated upon their enterprise and foresight in undertaking this important work. ROBERT HYDE

**Gods of the North.** *By Brian Branston. London (Thames & Hudson), 1955. Pp. ix, 318. Price £1 5s.*

**I39** The author starts by saying that a myth is 'a direct expression of the unconscious mind.' This must mean, if it means anything, that all myths have emanated from the mouths of people talking in their sleep, but the rest of the book shows that the Norse myths originated very differently. Among the author's points are that Tyr was the original Allfather, and was superseded by Odin about the beginning of our era (p. 136); 'the parallels between the attributes of Baldur and Adonis are so strong as to make it certain that Baldur is . . . an immigrant from Asia Minor and Greece' (p. 126); the myth of Ragnarok is not derived from Christianity, but is a later northern combination of early myths (p. 291). Less convincing is the view that Loki was once wholly maleficent, and that when he appears with good qualities he replaces Lothurr, who is to be identified with Heimdallr and the Hindu Agni (p. 147).

The author's translations from the Eddas read well, but would read better without 'blarged' and other uncouth words of uncertain meaning. A more serious fault is repetition. The Binding of Loki is literally a thrice-told tale (pp. 95, 168, 276), and a six-line stanza about Freya is not merely given in full three times, but is quoted from at least twice.

This is an interesting book which wider reading and better revision might have made a very good one. In the index 'Odin' is followed by 15 lines of numbers. RAGLAN

## CORRESPONDENCE

**Totemism and Heraldry.** *Cf. MAN, 1955, 9*

**I40** Sir,—In my review of Professor Bernal's *Science in History* I commented on his belief that heraldry is based on totemism. I have since learnt that this belief is held by others, and have written this note with the object of showing that it has no possible foundation.

It seems to be widely supposed that heraldry is very ancient. This may be because in the seventeenth century, when heraldry had become a kind of parlour game, arms were attributed to ancient heroes and even to Adam and Eve. The exact circumstances in which heraldry came into existence are unknown, but it is certain that this occurred during the Crusades, and it is probable that in the polyglot and illiterate host it was found convenient to have insignia which, whether displayed on the person or outside a tent, would enable the leaders to be easily recognized. There is no doubt that in earlier times chiefs and warriors had sometimes borne devices on banner or shield, but there is no evidence to connect these devices with either heraldry or totemism. Heraldry may owe something to the Saracens, but there is no reason to suppose that either they or the Franks retained any traces of totemism, even if it be granted that they were once totemic.

The earliest coats-of-arms (a misleading term since they were originally borne on shields) consisted largely of rectilinear devices, the bend, the fesse, the pale and half a dozen others, and of these the cross is the only one whose origin can be traced. They can hardly be supposed to be totemic. The only, or almost the only, animal to figure in the earliest coats is that which was known according to its posture as a lion or a leopard. The King of England, Richard I, adopted the three gold leopards on a red field, and the King of Scotland, probably William 'the Lion,' adopted the red lion on a gold field. These two coats are, of course, quartered in our royal arms. There is no reason to suppose that the lion was other than a symbol of valour. The eagle made a fairly early appearance as a symbol of empire, and was probably derived from Rome, but

there is no reason to regard the Roman eagle as totemic. In the thirteenth century heraldry spread from the nobles to knights generally, and as time went on many more devices were needed. Some animals were adopted from the bestiaries, in which the pelican typified parental devotion and the unicorn chastity. There are many punning coats—a raven for Corbett, three calves for Medcalfe, three buck's heads for Dering. Other animals were chosen arbitrarily by their bearers or for them by the heralds, but the idea of an English knight's selecting a wolf because it had been, or he thought it had been, his ancestors' totem is fantastic.

A coat-of-arms was an individual possession, thereby differing from a totem. A knight could adopt any coat he chose, subject to the rules of heraldry, which are similar but not the same throughout western Europe, and subject to its not having been already adopted by someone else. If two knights were found to be bearing the same arms, a court of chivalry would decide which had the prior claim. Arms soon tended to become hereditary, but an eldest son could not bear his father's arms in his father's lifetime without a difference, and younger sons had to make a permanent difference. This practice fell gradually into desuetude, but is still followed by our royal family. Nobody may bear the royal arms undifferenced except the Queen; the Duke of Kent, for example, surcharges on the royal arms a label of three points, each bearing an anchor. The first English arms known to have descended from father to son are the three chevrons of Clare, about A.D. 1150.

Heraldry was in its heyday a useful little art, ancillary to chivalry. To the limited extent to which it involved animal symbolism it may perhaps go back, by way of Biblical and other traditions, to some prehistoric system of animal symbolism. The same may be true of totemism. But to say that heraldry and totemism may possibly be descended in part from a common ancestor and to say that heraldry is based on totemism are too quite different things. For the latter there is not the slightest evidence or probability. *Usk, Monmouthshire* RAGLAN









ABORIGINAL BARK PAINTING OF MAMARAGAN, THE LIGHTNING MAN, WESTERN ARNHEM LAND

*Stone axes are shown attached to the hands and knees of Mamaragan. The lightning flash is represented as the band between his hands and feet.*



# THE LIGHTNING MAN IN AUSTRALIAN MYTHOLOGY\*

by

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**141** There is a widespread belief throughout Europe, Asia, Africa and some of the Indonesian islands that the prehistoric stone axes found by the peasant people are thunderbolts or thunder axes.

Many curious myths are associated with these prehistoric tools. Among others, that the thunder axes fall from the sky during the storms, the stroke of lightning being the flash made by the descent of the axe, the thunder-clap being the after-effect; that the thunder axes, on striking, sink seven fathoms into the ground, afterwards rising at the rate of a fathom a year until they reach the surface; that if a thunder axe is built into the wall of a house, or under its roof, the house will not be struck by lightning. These prehistoric tools are also used for medicinal purposes; to protect cattle from disease, to keep milk from going sour, and to cure human sickness.

Evans<sup>1</sup> and Blinkenberg,<sup>2</sup> who both give a survey of the distribution of the myths of the thunder axe and their

As the monsoon season approaches, Mamaragan leaves his watery home and travels from place to place in the thunderclouds. During this season he often thunders, and



FIG. 1. ARNHEM LAND AND MELVILLE ISLAND

associated beliefs, state that these beliefs do not exist in the South Sea Islands, America or Australia.

Although, as far as I am aware, the Australian chipped or polished stone axes, found on the surface of the ground, are not associated by the aborigines with lightning or thunder, I have collected, on two recent expeditions in northern Australia,<sup>3</sup> myths and bark paintings which describe sky beings associated with lightning, thunder and the stone axe.

A bark painting from western Arnhem Land (Plate 1) depicts Mamaragan, the Lightning Man. During the dry season Mamaragan lives quietly at the bottom of a deep waterhole, called *Gudjamandi*. The aborigines avoid this waterhole, for, should they drink from it, or even as much as disturb its surface, Mamaragan will rise into the sky, creating large thunderstorms which will flood the countryside and drown the people.

\* With Plate I and two text figures



FIG. 2. CONVENTIONALIZED BARK PAINTING OF BUMARALI, THE LIGHTNING WOMAN. MELVILLE ISLAND

The painting shows the stone axes of Bumarali. Also, a, a, her eyes; b, her nose; c, c, her feet; d, d, her breasts; e, e, the crooked handles of her stone axes; f, the flaming path (lightning) of her stone axes as she strikes the earth; g, g, the trees killed by her stone axes

with the stone axe on his knees and hands strikes the trees and the ground beneath, sometimes killing the aborigines.

On Melville Island there is a Lightning Woman, Bumarali (fig. 2), who, during the dry season, lives quietly



in an upper world above the sky. As the wet season approaches, she, like Mamaragan, of western Arnhem Land, enters the thunder clouds, and with the mounted, chipped stone axes, which she carries in each hand, she strikes the earth beneath, destroying the trees, and frightening aboriginal people. However, the aborigines were definite that neither Mamaragan nor Bumarali left their axes behind, as in the widespread thunder-axe myths.

The chief interest in these myths lies in the fact that the Australian aborigines, a typical stone-age people, have

myths which link lightning, thunder and the stone axe. Although, at present, we know only of these two myths from the northern coast of the continent, it is likely that further research will extend the range.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> John Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> C. Blinkenberg, *The Thunder Weapon in Religion and Folk-Lore*, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> National Geographic Society's expedition to (a) Arnhem Land, 1948, (b) Melville Island, 1954.

## THE THEORY OF 'CARGO' CULTS: A NOTE ON TIKOPIA

by

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**I42** In the course of an examination of the nature of rumour in Tikopia, and some of its effects, I have been led to consider some aspects of the theory of cargo cults.<sup>1</sup>

There is no cargo cult or cargo movement in Tikopia. When I began to consider the subject, my first reaction to such a thought was the unlikelihood of any such movement arising in Tikopia. It seemed absurd. The Tikopia have too well integrated a society. Although they are divided in religion between paganism and Christianity, each of the religious systems has a strong framework which would not allow of the emergence of a new mystical system. The Tikopia are too pragmatic in their attitude to the acquisition of Western material goods by work and by exchange to lend themselves to any fantastic notions of aeroplanes or visiting ships bringing special cargoes to them. And yet the idea, as I shall show, is not so far-fetched.

It seems to me fairly obvious to assume that cargo cults tend to arise as a resultant of several factors in operation together: a markedly uneven relation between a system of wants and the means of their satisfaction; a very limited technical knowledge of how to improve conditions; specific blocks or barriers to that improvement by poverty of natural resources or opposed political interests. What constitutes a *cult* is a systematized series of operations to secure the means of satisfaction by non-technical methods. Yet the implications of technical methods may, as I have shown,<sup>2</sup> approach cult behaviour if they are used more to give immaterial than material satisfaction.

A gap between wants and the means of their satisfaction may be assumed for all human beings. What is characteristic of a cargo-cult situation is where the gap is markedly very wide by comparison with a much narrower gap observable in another cultural system. In other words, the situation is one of relative magnitudes, established by comparison. Such disparity is very apt to be established in modern conditions of technical and economic development in under-developed countries. For the most part

these have sufficient untapped resources to provide a field for development, offering a market for labour or for goods, enough to give the impression of lessening the wants-satisfaction gap. But there are some areas where the resources are exceedingly scanty, or for other reasons the means of development are very limited. Moreover, in primitive communities an increase of communication facilities may lead to a rapid expansion of wants. It may spread information about the outside world more rapidly than avenues for differential acquisition of wealth and status become available. Communication development might thus produce a cargo-cult reaction if there does not seem to be possibility of parallel development in the economic and political spheres.

Poverty alone does not stimulate a cargo cult. On the other hand economic enterprise in itself does not mean that such a cult may not develop. Some individuals, especially if they are willing to leave their group, may be able to match their wants and their satisfactions to a tolerable degree. But if such individuals have a strong sense of communal responsibility (e.g. founded on a wide-range corporate-kinship system), such prosperity may be inadequate for them if it be theirs alone. Again, even although a group may advance economically to a considerable degree, a moderate economic prosperity without political control may not be enough for them.

Is the development of a cargo cult inhibited by a strong centralized government, e.g. where there is a well developed chieftainship? The answer would seem to be, not necessarily. Among the Maori, and among the Fijians, both with highly developed chieftainship, movements analogous to cargo cults, or movements of a Messianic kind, have arisen. Such cults have found leaders from among traditional chiefs as well as from new leaders of a charismatic type.

Does an integrated religious system of traditional type inhibit this development? It may do so. A strong ancestral cult of unbroken type may block the development of ideas that ancestors can bring new kinds of property. A cargo cult usually seems to come where there is a dual



framework in religion as in other social matters. But a cargo cult may arise in an area where no foreign religion has penetrated, and indeed where white men have not yet arrived.<sup>3</sup> What is basic here is the spread of information by new communications so that new wants have been generated, but without access to the goods in adequate supply to meet them. What is important from the angle of religion is the catalytic agent. There must be some generating mechanism, some purported channel, which allows of free invention beyond the existing religious ideology. One such ideal channel is a spirit-medium cult. Here fantasy and wish fulfilment are given easy expression, and according to the cultural system, with relatively little control. But it is not necessary to have a spirit medium—a Christian priest will do if he is willing to take an extra-dogmatic role of creative interpretation.

How does this refer to Tikopia? I have said that there has been no cargo cult in Tikopia. But cargo cults feed on rumour. In Tikopia there have been at least two rumours which may be regarded as prototype cargo-cult phenomena. One of these concerns what the Tikopia termed 'the goods of Pa Fenumera.' Some time after I had arrived in Tikopia in 1952 I was asked if it was true that I had brought with me the goods of Pa Fenumera and given them to another man. I was puzzled. The man whom I had known in 1929 as Pa Fenumera had been dead for some years, and there had never been any communication between us since I had left the island in that year. It then turned out that in the view of Tikopia the spirit of this man had been equipped after his death with special powers in recognition of the special functions he used to perform in the most sacred pagan religious rites. Indeed, though in life he was only a commoner he had been elevated to aristocratic status in the spirit world with the title of 'The Chief of the North.' A spirit medium had announced that he owned certain European goods abroad, and that he had put these goods in my charge to bring them from Australia, and to deliver them to him in Tikopia. Presumably, I was to have given them to the human medium through whom this spirit spoke. Some goods which I had given to one of my other friends had been tentatively identified by the general public as those for which Pa Fenumera had asked. Hence the query to me. Hardly needless to say there was no truth in this story, and after my denial I heard no more of it. What it illustrates, however, is the possibility of an incipient 'cargo' theme arising—namely, putative wealth of Western type, eagerly desired from overseas, destined for a Tikopia and turned aside by a European agency. If the Tikopia had not known me so well and presumably trusted my word, the rumour might have got much greater currency.

Another later rumour was of the apocalyptic type which often is an accompaniment of, or alternative to, a 'cargo' movement. This was traceable to a member of a missionary family who misinterpreted a wireless message about a hurricane. He alleged that Honiara, the capital of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate and the Government, had been destroyed by the hurricane. He also said that a tidal wave was coming to sweep Tikopia, and that

all the inhabitants, except presumably the elect, would be killed by it. This rumour began to circulate towards the end of a period when Tikopia was being affected by the edge of a hurricane centred several hundred miles away. Hence, it was widely believed. In the hope of survival, some people started building houses inland, 15 to 18 dwellings being completed before the end of the violent winds. They also began tearing out their crops near the beach, in order to save these or at least to have a last feast if they should die. This rumour affected only the district where its author lived, since people of the other districts were more closely in touch with the radio and could check daily upon its reports. In fact, these reports were to the effect that the Government meteorologist, having plotted the course and velocity of the hurricane, had given information that it would not affect Tikopia further, and that, indeed, the centre would miss the island by 100 miles if it advanced. Honiara, of course, had been unscathed, nor was there any tidal wave. The notion of complete destruction embodied in the rumour, and the fact that it sprang from a missionary family, suggests a basis in Biblical narrative. But it was reminiscent of an apocalyptic cult movement in its effects of causing people to build houses to escape disaster, and to destroy crops for a final feast if they were destined to perish.<sup>4</sup>

In both these cases the development differs from that of a typical cult movement; in fact there was no organized development in the first case, and it was of very limited range in the second. In part this was probably due to the position which my assistant and I held in the Tikopia polity. We were in constant communication with the people, spoke Tikopia freely, disbursed a wealth of goods and information, and, we could say without hesitation, were generally trusted by the people. Our actions and explanations on most matters were usually accepted. Yet despite this the rumours obviously had some considerable circulation before being stopped. In other words, there can be a 'cargo'-cult type of behaviour, without it attaining the organized coherence of a movement or cult development. One important element in such development would seem to be a charismatic leader. He must be more than a catalyst; he must be able to fuse together the various elements available and apply them to the common goal. On the other hand, in so doing he is likely to enter a field of competing status relations. Here an organized chieftainship is likely to inhibit the implementation of his ideas—unless one party already established in the field can use his talents to its advantage.

The simple introduction of improved means of communication is in itself not enough to deal with the effects of such 'cargo' rumours. As with our radio in Tikopia, these means in themselves may even provide the starting point for more elaborate rumours. The only remedy may be to improve communication still further, but by personal and not simply mechanical transmission of information. Moreover, education on the one hand and the provision of avenues of employment and political expression on the other would seem to be important alternatives to cargo-cult development. Again, while it would be incorrect to



say that the Tikopia type of social structure with well developed unilineal descent groups and chieftainship with strong political authority necessarily prevent the development of a cargo cult, they do seem to serve to some extent as inhibiting factors.<sup>5</sup>

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> These movements have been called 'cargo cults' because they usually include the notion that quantities of European goods will arrive as 'cargo' from overseas in ships or aeroplanes, usually by spirit agency, for the benefit of the native people. There is extensive

literature on these cults—see especially Ida Leeson, *Bibliography of Cargo Cults and Other Nativistic Movements in the South Pacific*, South Pacific Commission, Technical Paper No. 30, Sydney, 1952.

<sup>2</sup> 'Social Changes in the Western Pacific,' *J. R. Soc. Arts*, C.11, 1953.

<sup>3</sup> R. M. Berndt, 'A Cargo Movement in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea,' *Oceania*, Vol. XXIII (1952), pp. 40-65, 137-234.

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to my research assistant, J. Spillius, for record of this case.

<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation for a grant-in-aid which has assisted me in the preparation of this and other material on Tikopia for publication.

## DIVINING BOWLS: THEIR USES AND ORIGIN

### SOME AFRICAN EXAMPLES, AND PARALLELS FROM THE ANCIENT WORLD

by

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'To find great Jamshed's world-reflecting bowl  
I compassed sea and land, and viewed the whole;  
But, when I asked the wary sage, I learned  
That bowl was my own body, and my soul!'

Omar Khayyam,  
*quatrain 355*; edited and translated by  
Whinfield, London, 1883.

**143** Divination in one form or another is one of the oldest characteristics of early religion, but its association with bowls in particular is of great interest. In modern times, divining bowls have been found in Africa and in other parts of the world: their predecessors are seen in the civilizations of the Fertile Crescent and the Græco-Roman world.

First there is the bowl used in the oracle of a god. Among the Yoruba of Nigeria, a divining or sacrificing priest, a *babalawo*, takes divination on a broad, circular bowl or tray. This is generally covered with white flour. 'With one of the fingers of the right hand the priest imprints certain signs representing such Ifa representatives as may be left in the palm of his left hand, after he has attempted with one grasp of the palm of his right hand to take up all the 16, where they were all held.'<sup>1</sup> Ifa is a god of the Yoruba and their great oracle. He is represented chiefly by 16 palm nuts. Each is termed an *odu* or divinity. A series of traditional stories which a *babalawo* is expected to know by memory is connected with some particular *odu*. The small imprints that a *babalawo* makes on the bowl follow one another horizontally, and according to their number and respective positions represent one or other of the *odus*. On the appearance of an *odu* on the divining bowl the *babalawo* thinks of some of the stories attached to it, and from any of them that appears to him to suit the case upon which he is consulted, he delivers his oracular response.<sup>2</sup>

In Uganda some diviners 'cast . . . powdered herbs into a pot of water, rock the pot and then scrutinize the arrangement of the particles.'<sup>3</sup> In the Gaboon a black

earthenware pot filled with water is used for crystallo-mancy.<sup>4</sup> A diviner also looked intently into a calabash of whitish 'medicine' in which he described tiny spirits who gave him the guidance he wanted. A person seeking guidance or information may even peer into a pool. He sees the unrevealed past or the secrets of the future.<sup>5</sup> Among the West Sudanese negroes on the Gold Coast, the diviner 'places a brass pan of water between him and his fetishes, and begs them to tell him what he wants to know. On the Bimbia peninsula (north of the Cameroon delta) the diviner consults spirits which appear to him in a bowl of water and look like little fishes.'<sup>6</sup> In Bunyoro the priest poured a few drops of a certain liquid into each of seven pots filled with water rendered muddy by clay. The water began to clear—if the spreading clearness 'was unbroken and assumed a star-like shape the augury was good, if it broke up into irregular clear patches, matters looked threatening.'<sup>7</sup>

Next comes the divining bowl used for the detection of a witch or wizard who has caused a death. This is a more complicated type, occurring among the Bavenda of the northern Transvaal and the Bakaranga of Southern Rhodesia. It varies in size from 12 to about 18 inches in diameter, and is carved from a solid piece of wood to a depth of 1½ to 2 inches with a broad flat border. Designs symbolizing phases of the religious and magical ideas of the Bavenda are engraved round the border and bed of the bowl. 'The *muloi* (witch or wizard) is discovered by the determining of the sibs (group relationships based on kinship) by which he or she is connected . . . the sibs are also represented on the bowl. In the centre there is a small protuberance . . . with a large cowrie shell embedded in it; this is the *mukhombo* (umbilicus) and represents the mother's spirits. There is also an elaborate decorative pattern on the back of the bowl carved round three small legs on which it stands.'<sup>8</sup> To divine the murderer, 'the bowl is filled with water in which from 4 to 6 pipes are



floated. By watching the movements of these pips and noticing the symbols at which they touch as they float around the bowl, the diviner is able to reconstruct the motives and history of the crime and to discover the sib to which the guilty man belongs.<sup>9</sup> A simpler example of this type of detecting bowl is found in the Malay peninsula — 'a thief may be discovered, after appropriate rites, by two people holding a bowl of water between their fingers. The names of suspected persons are presented to it in writing, and at that of the guilty man it twists around and falls.'<sup>10</sup>

Thirdly, there is the bowl used for purely magical purposes. Among the natives of Calabar in West Africa there is evidence of a bowl of this kind. A native 'doctor' undertook, according to Waddell, to determine if a sick native could recover from his illness. 'He placed a basin of water in the open yard, and made every one retire a space, while he watched the playing of the sun's rays, the lights and shadows on its surface. He watched, he said, the shadow of the sick man, but could not charm it to him. It flitted around the basin, but would not enter; and finally flew away to the sun. He concluded therefore that the patient must die, for his soul was already gone.'<sup>11</sup>

The three types of bowls, oracular, detecting and magical, are all based on the same principle. The people that use them hold that the movements are caused by some spirit which controls the instrument. Probably 'before any definitely animistic belief came to prevail, the implement, being by virtue of proper ceremonies made "big medicine," had in itself the power to answer.'<sup>12</sup>

In antiquity, divining bowls were by no means uncommon. The parallel with the oracular bowl used among the Yoruba of Nigeria is found in the bowl used in the oracle of the god Apollo at Delphi in central Greece in classical times. On vases, either Apollo or his priestess, the Pythia, are shown at times seated on the mantic three-legged stool (tripod) with the bowl (*phiale*) in one hand.<sup>13</sup> It seems as though divination was made with the aid of some liquid in the bowl. And, just as Ifa, the god of the Yoruba, delivers his oracular responses, through the medium of a *babalawo*, in parables, so Apollo, the god of the Greeks, delivers his, through the medium of his Pythia, in ambiguous indications. Furthermore, the Pythia sitting on her stool and looking into her bowl reminds one of the *babalawo* who sits over his Ifa tray and peers into it. Both do this in order to consult the god and divine for an applicant who desires to know whether a business which he thinks of embarking on will prosper. The *babalawo* also prescribes, as was the case at Delphi, the sacrifices that are acceptable to the god of the oracle.<sup>14</sup>

In the Old Testament, divination by means of the cup, or rather bowl, is found in the story of Joseph.<sup>15</sup> Gaster says that judging from later parallels, the practice consisted in filling a cup with water or wine, and gazing intently at the surface till the beholder saw all kinds of images. Among the Jews, 'traces of divination by the cup . . . have been preserved . . . in the ceremonies connected with the cup of wine and the lighted candle used at the outgoing of the Sabbath at the service called *Habdalah*, or the division

between the Sabbath and the weekday, the beginning of the week being considered as a very propitious time . . . The man performing the ceremony at a certain moment shades the cup and looks into the wine.' To find out whether a man would survive the year water was taken from a well on the eve of *Hasha'anah Rabba* and poured into a clear glass vessel. It is then put into the middle of a room. If one sees in it a face with the mouth open, he will live, but if the mouth is closed he will die.<sup>16</sup>

The divining bowl used for detecting a witch, wizard or wrongdoer has also its counterpart in ancient times. In Babylon the person who wanted to detect a crime looked into a bowl 'filled with water or oil and divined from it, or the suspected person drank the contents, and according to the result was found innocent or guilty.'

A good example of the detecting bowl is mentioned in the Old Testament. If a woman was suspected of adultery a priest took holy water in an earthen vessel and put dust from the floor of the tabernacle in it.<sup>17</sup> The guilt of the woman was to be detected by a written inscription containing curses which were blotted out in the 'water of bitterness.' The woman drank the water and if she was guilty, the curse became effective.<sup>18</sup> The Babylonian bowls of the same type, however, had the addition of the names of demons or heathen gods.<sup>19</sup>

According to Gaster, throwing metal pieces into cups and watching the movements of the water, or divination by means of molten wax or lead poured into a cup filled with water, in order to find out from the shape assumed by the wax or lead the cause of an illness, was a universal practice among the nations of the Near East, Jews and non-Jews alike.<sup>20</sup>

A parallel with the purely magical bowl is to be found in the Alexander legend of Pseudo-Callisthenes.<sup>21</sup> This writer mentions<sup>22</sup> a bowl used by Nectanebo, a princeling of the Delta who sought to throw off the Persian yoke over his country in the fourth century B.C. Nectanebo

'wrought magic by means of a bowl of water, some waxen figures, and an ebony rod. The waxen figures were made in the forms of the soldiers of the enemy who were coming against him by sea or by land, and were placed upon the water in the basin by him. Nectanebo then arrayed himself in suitable apparel, and, having taken the rod in his hand, began to recite certain formulae and the names of divine powers known unto him, whereupon the waxen figures became animated and straightway sank to the bottom of the bowl; at the same moment the hosts of the enemy were destroyed. If the foe was coming by sea he placed the waxen soldiers in waxen ships, and at the sound of the words of power both ships and men sank to the bottom of the bowl.'

Magic played a very important part in the social and religious life of the Egyptians. Magical formulae were thought to be able to effect results usually beyond the power of man. Such formulae were accompanied by the performance of certain ceremonies. 'The two essential parts of the magician's art have been aptly defined by Dr. Alan Gardiner as the *oral rite* and the *manual rite* respectively . . . The manual rite often took the form of reciting the words over an image of wood or clay, a string of beads, a knotted cord, a piece of inscribed linen,



an amulet, a stone, or some other object.<sup>23</sup> The parallel with the African witch-doctor is unmistakable. Like the Egyptian magician he operated not only by word of mouth 'but in most spells by a ritual—by the use of amulets and other objects.'<sup>24</sup> One of these objects was the divining bowl, its pips and sib symbols. The African diviner among the Bavenda sniffs a pellet up his nose and begins to whistle, exhorting the pips floating in the bowl. He calls out the names of all the sibs and ends by saying: 'Here are people who are in trouble and want to know who has caused the death of one of their relatives. I want you to tell them clearly whether it is a *muloi* of the mother's spirits or the father's. Show me carefully. Show me the road.'<sup>25</sup>

The waxen figures in the bowl of Nectanebo remind one strongly of the pips floating around in the Bavenda bowl, and the formulæ and names of the divine powers recited by Nectanebo of the African magician's exhortation to the floating pips and his calling out the names of all the sibs.<sup>26</sup>

'The Egyptians believed that every word spoken under certain circumstances must be followed by some effect, good or bad; a prayer uttered by a properly qualified person, or by a man ceremonially pure, in the proper place, and in the proper manner, must necessarily be answered favourably; and similarly the curses which were pronounced upon a man, or beast, or thing, in the name of a hostile supernatural being were bound to result in harm to the object cursed.'<sup>27</sup> It is a far cry from ancient Egypt to the native tribes of Africa, yet the connexion is clear.

According to Foucart, the use of the divinatory vase in Egypt was unknown to the priests of the official cults, and the so-called magic consultation of Nectanebo is a legend of Greek origin. 'The divinatory vase certainly existed in Egypt in the last centuries of its history, and the demotic texts agree on this point with the Græco-Roman evidences; but it is very probable that this practice was imported from Persia, and in any case it was never employed by the court priests, but only by magicians.' The divining cup of Joseph, he also holds, may be a non-Egyptian adaptation.<sup>28</sup> Thus he would attribute the origin of the divining bowl to the Chaldæo-Assyrian world. It is true that the divining bowl occurs among the earlier Sumerian inhabitants of Babylonia whom the Semites eventually conquered, and whose cults and practices they absorbed into their own religion. Already in the reign of Urukagina, king of Lagash (c. 2,800 B.C.), there is evidence of the widespread practice of divination by oil. 'In this particular form of divination the procedure consisted in pouring out oil upon the surface of water, the different forms taken by the oil on striking the water indicating the course which events would take.'<sup>29</sup> A professional diviner was naturally required to carry out the accompanying ritual and to interpret correctly the message of the oil.<sup>30</sup>

It is quite probable, from what we know of Egyptian magic and the curiously similar rites among the African tribes shown in the case of the Bavenda, for example, that Foucart is wrong and that the magic consultation of

Nectanebo is Egyptian, and so too the divining cup of Joseph. The divining cup was a part of the cult of Anubis in particular; the god was invoked by means of a vase full of liquid or a flame; and the reading of the divinatory signs or images was performed through the medium of a child, on whom the priests worked by incantations and the laying-on of hands.<sup>31</sup>

According to the Bible the silver cup from which Joseph drank was one by which he divined. On his own instructions it had been deposited in the sack of Benjamin, his youngest brother, hence his assumed indignation. 'Is not this it in which my Lord drinketh,' says Joseph's steward, 'and whereby indeed he divineth? Ye have done evil in so doing.'<sup>32</sup> Is this method of divining Egyptian or Babylonian, or does it belong to a widespread custom common to both countries? At any rate, at the time of Joseph divining by means of a bowl was known in Egypt, as we can infer from Joseph's own life. As Joseph was taken down to Egypt in his youth, it seems unlikely that he had been in contact with a Babylonian means of divination, but rather that he adopted a similar practice which was common in the Fertile Crescent and was to be found at Pharaoh's court. For had he not been appointed Vizier of Egypt? 'And Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphnath-paaneah: and he gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of Poti-pherah priest of On [Heliopolis].'<sup>33</sup> Joseph had taken over Egyptian culture; his Egyptian name and his marriage connexion with the priest of On, apart from his position as viceroy, bear this out. Thus the correct medium for him to divine by would be Hapi, the Nile water, who was represented as a serpent.<sup>34</sup>

It is interesting to notice that for 'divine' in the story of Joseph's cup and even elsewhere the Hebrew uses the verb *nachesh*<sup>35</sup> which has the same consonantal roots as *nachash*, 'snake,' thus indicating that divination by means of a bowl was a 'snakecraft.' Was it a means of divination that called upon the aid of a water spirit or god in the form of a snake? Such an assumption seems fully warranted, for Hapi the Nile god is sometimes thus represented.<sup>36</sup>

The Divining Bowl among the native tribes of modern Africa is an inheritance if not from Egypt, with which the natives have indisputable contacts going back to a remote antiquity,<sup>37</sup> then at any rate from a wider background of which it formed a part, the Fertile Crescent. This area seems also to have influenced Minoan Crete and early Greece.<sup>38</sup>

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, London (Macmillan), 1906, appendix, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 246f.

<sup>3</sup> W. C. Willoughby, *The Soul of the Bantu*, New York, 1928, p. 138.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>8</sup> H. A. Stayt, *The Bavenda*, Oxford, 1931, p. 291.

<sup>9</sup> G. Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, Oxford, 1931, Appendix IV, by H. A. Stayt, p. 255.

<sup>10</sup> Hastings, *Enc. Rel. and Eth.*, Vol. IV, s.v. 'Divination,' p. 779.



<sup>11</sup> Revd. H. M. Waddell, *Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa*, London (Nelson), 1863, p. 548.

<sup>12</sup> Hastings, *loc. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> See the illustrations in Cook, *Zeus*, Vol. II, pp. 202f., 207, viz. figs. 142, 143, 145.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis*, III, ch. 1, 4-7, where Xenophon consults the oracle of Apollo, on his joining the Expedition of the 10,000, and is told to which gods he should sacrifice to ensure success.

<sup>15</sup> *Genesis*, XLIV, 5.

<sup>16</sup> Hastings, Vol. IV, s.v. 'Divination,' p. 807.

<sup>17</sup> *Numbers*, V, 17.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 23ff.

<sup>19</sup> Hastings, Vol. V, p. 807.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Pseudo-Callisthenes, ed. Müller, *lib. I*, cap. i ff.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, London (Routledge & Kegan-Paul), 1949, Introduction, p. lxxvi f.

<sup>23</sup> *The Legacy of Egypt*, ed. S. R. K. Glanville, Oxford, 1947, p. 185.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Stoyt, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

<sup>26</sup> The sibs are represented on the bowl. 'The Egyptians believed that the qualities . . . of a living original could be transferred to an image thereof by means of the repetition over it of certain formulae' (Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, Introduction, p. lxxvi). The sibs on the African bowls, however, are not images but symbolic of group relationships based on kinship, yet the idea is the same.

<sup>27</sup> Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, p. lxxv.

<sup>28</sup> Hastings, Vol. IV, p. 702.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 783. See *Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum*, III, Plates II ff.; V, Plates IV ff., and cf. Hunger, 'Becherwahrung bei den Babyloniern,' in *Leipzig. Semit. Stud.*, Vol. I (1903), Part 1.

<sup>30</sup> See King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, London, 1910, p. 183.

<sup>31</sup> Pliny, XXXIII, 46; Plutarch, *de Iside*, LXI, LXIV; Horapollo, I, 39.

<sup>32</sup> *Genesis*, XLIV, 5.

<sup>33</sup> *Genesis*, XII, 45.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Wallis Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions* (O.U.P.), 1930, pp. 444f. Hapi the Nile god was the Egyptian equivalent of Ea the Babylonian water god. Cf. *Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum*, London, 1930, pp. 8f. and fig. 3. Hapi was regarded as a serpent.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Gesenius, *Hebrew Lexicon*, XV. Examples are found in *Genesis*, XXX, 27; XLIV, 15; *Leviticus*, XIX, 26; *Deuteronomy*, XVIII, 10; 2 *Kings*, XVII, 17; XXI, 6.

<sup>36</sup> Ea, the Babylonian water god, also had the serpent as a symbol and was called 'god of the river of the great snake,' i.e. the deep or the Euphrates.

<sup>37</sup> C. K. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, London (Kegan Paul), 1931, draws many parallels between the religious conceptions of the Jukun of Nigeria and those of the Ancient Egyptians. He states *inter alia*, pp. xi f., that the Jukun burial rite known as 'the releasing of the mouth-cloth' is a survival of Egyptian mummification practice and that the Jukun King, like Pharaoh, is a divine corn king. Cf. *ibid.*, Chaps. III and IV, pp. 120-216. The releasing of the mouth-cloth among the Jukun is the analogue of the opening-of-the-mouth ceremony among the ancient Egyptians.

P. A. Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, vol. 1, London (Humphrey Milford), 1926, p. 21, states: 'The principal foreign influence . . . was that of Egypt, which country furnished West Africa with all its earliest domestic animals and cultivated plants.' Cf. *ibid.*, p. 22: 'the customs of mummification, circumcision, incision, tattooing, artificial deformation, the boomerang, the couvade, irrigation systems, the deluge myth and serpent worship, started out from Egypt in connexion with trading expeditions. All these, save true mummification, have long existed in Nigeria.'

C. G. Seligman, in *Studies Presented to F. L. Griffiths*, Oxford, 1932, p. 458, says, 'Coffin burial is sufficiently rare in Central Africa to be notable in itself, but when the coffins are such remarkable anthropoid structures as those represented in Plate 73, there can, I think, be very little doubt of their foreign, i.e. Egyptian, origin . . . ' Another group of burial customs seems equally to point back to Egypt and the idea of mummification, viz. the inhumation of the body in innumerable wrappings of native cloth.' Sir H. H. Johnston, *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, Oxford, 1919, pp. 22f., holds that the early Bantu, who were once settled about the third or fourth century B.C. in the Nile Valley, north of the Albert Nyanza, in countries long since colonized by Nilotics or Sudanese, received at that time the domestic fowl from Egypt or Abyssinia; that there is a suggestion of Egyptian influence in the domestic animals and plants of Bantu Africa; that this influence was wrought indirectly through Hamitic peoples influenced by Egyptian civilization of an early type, that long-horned cattle (which were actually found in ancient Egypt), iron weapons, religious theories and the elements of civilization generally, are attributed in Bantu legends to incoming strangers of remote antiquity.

C. G. Seligman, *Egypt and Negro Africa*, London, 1934, p. 3, states, 'Egyptian influence did in fact penetrate to the very heart of Negro Africa.'

Cf. M. W. D. Jeffreys, 'Winged Solar Disc,' in *Africa*, March, 1951, and W. D. Hamblly, *Source Book for African Anthropology*, Part 1, pp. 75-78.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. S. Davis, 'The Snake Cult in Greece and the Oracle of Apollo,' in *Scientia, Revue Internationale de Synthèse Scientifique*, Como, Italy, March, 1953.

## SHORTER NOTES

### 'Slash-and-Burn' Cultivation: A Contribution to Anthropological Terminology. By Professor Eilert Ekvall, University of Lund

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#### HON. EDITOR'S NOTE

Anthropologists have for some decades, and perhaps never more than today, seemed somewhat ill at ease when describing and discussing that widespread practice of primitive agriculturalists in many parts of the world which consists in the burning of the bush, or other land overgrown with vegetable life, in order to create an open—and incidentally well fertilized—clearing in which to raise their crops. It would seem to be the general feeling that 'slash-and-burn' is a somewhat awkward makeshift; Professor Hutton's use of the Indian word *jhum* as a quasi-English noun, adjective and verb is convenient in many ways, but the spelling hardly permits of full anglicization and serious orthographical difficulties are met with in the inflections of the

verb; many other terms and circumlocutions are in use for the same phenomenon, and it would probably be widely agreed that the discovery of a generally acceptable term would be a valuable contribution to anthropological communication.

In the article which follows, Professor Ekvall, the eminent Swedish authority on the English language, and compiler of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names*, offers a term which may be thought to meet the need excellently. The word, in the form 'swidden,' has in fact already been used by Dr. K. G. Izikowitz in his work *Lamet: Hill Peasants in French Indo-China* (Etнолог. Stud. 17, Göteborg, 1951). In these days, when scientific terminology is constantly being 'enriched' by etymologically false or mixed neologisms and other solecisms, it is a pleasure to be offered a term so thoroughly documented; and it may be that we should look more often (under expert guidance) into the byways of the English tongue for new terms before resorting to dog Latin or worse.



Since literary and scientific English is (for better or for worse) so Londiniocentric in character, the Hon. Editor wonders (with all deference to Professor Ekwall's opinion, as expressed in his final paragraph) whether the euphonious 'swithen' might not stand a better chance of acceptance than the more rebarbative and aggressively dialectal form 'swidden.' In any case, the opinions of readers will be welcome.—ED.

'SWIDDEN'—LAND CLEARED BY BURNING

Dialectal English *swidden* is explained in Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* as 'a place on a moor which has been cleared by burning, or which still shows signs of burning.' There is also a variant form *swiwen*, which is clearly developed from earlier *swithen*, the base also of *swidden*. The word is recorded from North Yorkshire, more especially the Cleveland district, and the earliest source in which it is mentioned is Atkinson's *Glossary of the Cleveland Dialect* (1868).

*Swidden* is more often evidenced as a verb, and there are also the variant forms *swithen* and *swizzen*. Its meanings according to the *Dialect Dictionary* are 'to burn superficially, as heather, wool, etc.; to singe, scorch,' also 'to shrivel up'; according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'to burn, scorch, singe,' also intransitively 'to be singed.' The verb is used in the North Country, especially Yorkshire, but also in North Lancashire and the Lake District, in the sense 'to shrivel up' also in Leicestershire. It is recorded from 1600 on in the form *swithen*, from 1691 as *swizzen*, from 1788 as *swidden*.

The noun *swidden* (*swithen*) has not been found in early English literature, but a well evidenced place-name element *swithen* must at least partially be identical with it. The meaning of *swithen* in early place names cannot of course be definitely established, but the only suggestion that can be offered for the element is that it is an early form of *swidden* or a word nearly related to it. And a strong indication that the meaning was 'a clearing' is a reference of 1220-35 in *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles*, I (Lincoln Record Society), where some assarts in Whitwick in Leicestershire called *Swiyenes* (evidently for *Swipenes*, *Swithenes*) are mentioned. An assart was a forest clearing, and Whitwick is near the ancient Charnwood Forest. Several places called *Swithen* or with names containing the word are (or were) situated in moorland or forest areas. Other early instances of the noun *swithen* are *Swythenes* 1232 in North Yorkshire (*Place-Names of the North Riding*, p. 330), *le Swythene* 1275, the present Sweden in Westmorland (*Place-Names of Cumberland*, p. 371), *le Swythen* 1318 at Bramley near Rotherham, West Yorkshire (Goodall, *Place-Names of South-West Yorkshire*), *Swithen* 1425 in Rothwell near Leeds (Thoresby Society, XXIV, p. 290). Goodall in the work quoted also mentions *Swithen*, a hamlet in Darton, and *Swithens* in Sowerby, both in West Yorkshire. These two names have not been found in early sources, but doubtless contain *swithen* 'a clearing.'

*Swithen* forms the second element of at least two place names. *Swinsow*, the name of a small place in Moorsholm (in Skelton in the Cleveland district of North Yorkshire), is *Swine-*, *Swini-swithne* in thirteenth-century charters (*Place-Names of the North Riding*, p. 145); the name seems to mean 'clearing where pigs are turned out to forage.' *Estmsithen* in a twelfth-century text (*op. cit.*, p. 330) is no doubt misread or miswritten for *Estswithen* and means 'eastern clearing'; it is the earliest instance of *swithen* found hitherto.

Less easy to judge are names in which *swithen* occurs as a first element. Here the participle *swithen*, 'burnt,' on which more below, is sometimes a possible alternative. But *Swythengate* in a Yorkshire final concord of 1246 (*Feet of Fines for Yorkshire*), probably the name of a road in Clifford near Tadcaster in West Yorkshire, may well mean 'the road leading to the swidden'

(-gate from Old Scandinavian *gata* 'road'). *Swithenthate*, the lost name of a place in Cumberland found in 1578, is held in the *Place-Names of Cumberland*, p. 371, to have as first element the word for a clearing, but *swithen*, 'burnt,' is equally possible. The second element is *thwaite*, 'a forest clearing.' *Swythenknoll* 1404, *Yorkshire Deeds*, IV, 90 (in Old Lindley in Stainland in West Yorkshire), is perhaps 'the burnt knoll.' *Swithland* in Leicestershire (*Swithellund* 1209-19, *Swithelunde* 1224 in *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles*, I, II) does not mean 'the burnt land' or 'land cleared by burning.' Its second element is Old Norse *lundr*, Danish *lund*, 'a grove,' but its first element is possibly the noun *swithen*, so that the name means 'the grove with or by the swidden.' 'Burnt grove,' however, is a possible alternative. It is worthy of notice that *Swithland* is near Charnwood Forest not far from Whitwick.

The words discussed here are ultimately Scandinavian and connected with a group of words widely distributed in Scandinavian countries. There is first a verb meaning 'to burn, singe' and the like, found as Old Norse *sviða*, Old Swedish *sviþa*, Danish *svide*. The past participle of the verb was Old Norse *sviðinn*, 'burnt,' and Modern Icelandic *sviðinn* *land* means 'land cleared by burning.' The verb was introduced into English, and *swithe* is recorded from about 1220 on in senses such as 'burn, scorch, singe' in texts from districts where Scandinavian influence is prominent. Its past participle was Middle English *swithen*, 'burnt.' From *sviða* are derived various Scandinavian words for 'burning' or 'land cleared by burning,' in the latter sense for instance Old Swedish *sviþ*, Swedish *sved*, Norwegian *svid*, Old Swedish *sviþja*, Swedish *svedja*, Old Norse *sviðningr* (all often in place names).

A Scandinavian word directly corresponding to the Middle English noun *swithen* is not known, but there is an Old Norse *sviðna*, 'to get burnt,' from which *swidden* (*swithen*) the verb is derived. *Swithen*, 'a clearing,' may have been formed from the verb in the same way as Old Norse *brenna*, Old Swedish *brænna*, 'burning; land cleared by burning' from Old Norse *brenna*, Old Swedish *brænna*, 'to burn.' Alternatively the noun *swithen* may be a derivative of the adjective (participle) *swithen*, 'burnt,' the original meaning being 'burnt land.' Goodall in the work just quoted identifies *swithen* with Old Norse *sviðinn*, the source of Norwegian *sveen*, which is found in many place names. But this *sveen* goes back to Old Norse *sviðin*, a form of Old Norse *svið* with the suffixed definite article, meaning 'the clearing.' It is not probable that this is the right solution, since there are no other safe instances of the Scandinavian suffixed article in England.

The form *swidden* may be preferable to *swithen* as a term for 'land cleared by burning,' since it is the form now in use. The word *swidden* as a technical term has the advantage that related words with the same meaning are in living use in Scandinavian countries, where the custom of clearing land by burning was very common till fairly recent times. Swedish *svedja* is used both as a verb and as a noun and it enters into various compound words, such as *svedjebbruk*, 'swidden cultivation,' *svedjeland*, 'land cleared by burning.'

**New Stone Age Sites in the Arabian Peninsula.** By Henry Field, D.Sc. (Oxon.). With a text figure

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In view of Professor F. E. Zeuner's article<sup>1</sup> on the recent location of 'neolithic' sites on the south-western fringe of the Rub' al-Khali<sup>2</sup> by D. G. Bunker<sup>3</sup> and G. Popov of the Desert Locust Survey,<sup>4</sup> the discovery of additional sites to the east and north adds links to the chain of Stone Age sites<sup>5</sup> in this little-known region.

During the spring of 1955 Mr. Z. R. Beydoun, geologist for Petroleum Concessions, Limited,<sup>6</sup> reported to Mr. F. E. Wellings,



I.P.C. Chief Geologist, that a new archaeological site had been found<sup>7</sup> in the northern Hadhramaut,<sup>8</sup> where prehistoric sites appear to be rare since only one presumably definite site was found during the season's work.

This is the Nahrit site, in the territory of the Bait Azab Section of the Bait Sumeida (Mahra) tribe, just west of the main drainage area of Wadi Nahrit in an open and flat space. The Wadi flows north-westward from the Jebel Mahrat escarpment a little to the south into the Wadi Armah basin just to the north. The exact position of the site is longitude  $50^{\circ} 40' E.$  and latitude  $17^{\circ} 01' N.$

The accompanying photograph (fig. 1) shows the site as being



FIG. 1. STONE AGE SITE AT NAHRIT, NORTH HADHRAMAUT

on a low mound with an outer rim covered with loose chert and flint fragments from which two implements were collected. Within this outer rim of chert there is a circular pattern of upright slabs of rock up to 5 feet 6 inches in height, and the diameter of this circle is 14 metres. The central part of the circle is composed of gravel and top soil together with a few lumps of gypseous rock. Behind this site there is a longitudinal mound of scree which contains chert, some of which appears worked.

Three examples were forwarded to me for study:

(a) The largest ( $9.0 \times 7.5 \times 6.0$  centimetres) is a refractory nucleus of deeply patinated chert with a pitted surface and some evidence of desert varnish. An ancient flint-knapper attempted to remove three flakes from the natural flat striking platform. The poor quality of the chert rendered success impossible.

(b) The second ( $7.0 \times 4.2 \times 2.0$  centimetres) is leaf-shaped with a light pinkish-white, striated lower side which lay protected on the sand. The upper and exposed surface ranges from dark brown to a light reddish brown. A 'bulb of percussion' on the flat striking platform indicates the hallmark of human workmanship. The cutting edge shows wear, being shiny as seen on flint sickle blades excavated at Kish and other sites in Mesopotamia (now Iraq). It is also observed that this blade appears to fit more naturally into the left hand, perhaps one of the earlier evidences for the right hand being less skilful than the left.

(c) The third specimen bore no traces of human flaking.

As to the age of these specimens, the sole evidence rests with patination. However, in view of T. E. Lawrence's<sup>9</sup> researches in northern Sinai during 1913-1914 and my own observations in Sinai,<sup>10</sup> Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Iran, northern Saudi Arabia and from Al Kuwait to the Trucial Oman Coast from 1925 to 1955, it is clear that patina on flint or chert may be acquired within a few generations depending on the intensity of the action and reaction of geological agents. However, I have found similar worked examples in quantity at certain localities<sup>11</sup> of South-Western Asia.

Typologically, these two specimens should be assigned to the Palaeolithic, but they may well be of neolithic date. Until a stratified deposit has been excavated within the confines of the Arabian-Peninsula south of latitude  $26^{\circ} N.$ , all surface finds cannot be assigned to periods comparable to those excavated in the Nile Valley, Israel, Lebanon, north-eastern Iraq and northern Iran.

Another site described by Mr. Beydoun lay to the north of the Habshiya escarpment and of similar nature to the Nahrit site. This is, however, smaller and the circular wall is not higher than 2 feet; the diameter is about 5 metres. No implements were seen in the vicinity. The site is located in a wadi bed at about latitude  $17^{\circ} 00' N.$  and longitude  $49^{\circ} 55' E.$  A slab of rock with inscriptions, supposedly of Himyaritic type, is reputed to exist near the above site but was never found.

Many triliths, as described by Wilfred Thesiger, were recorded; these were usually found aligned beside the main camel tracks and near disused wells, but are limited to the area east of longitude  $49^{\circ} E.$  West of this delimitation, a number of rock mound alignments, similar to triliths, were found in abundance. However, these differ from triliths in that instead of consisting of three upright slabs of rock per mound, they are made up of a conical pile of small rocks and boulders generally situated on the ridges of a range of hills and usually in a line along the skyline. At one or both ends of these lines, a flat-topped, circular mound of rocks, often 6 to 8 feet in diameter and 3 to 4 feet in height, is invariably found. These aligned mounds are common in the Al Abar area in the western plain (Jau Mulais) and on the northern Jol north of Wadi Hadhramaut, but can be occasionally found east of longitude  $49^{\circ} E.$  No implements were noticed near such sites; however, no thorough search was made.

During February, 1955, while en route to West Pakistan to make a reconnaissance survey across former Baluchistan from Pasni to Quetta on behalf of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, my wife and I stopped at Dhahran.<sup>12</sup> Here I was given an opportunity to examine some of the important surface finds made recently by the Arameo staff from the following localities:

(a) 30 kilometres west of Dhahran, Don Holm collected rolled and worn, dehydrated, white chert tools.

(b) 70 kilometres north-north-west of Rafha near Jebel Umm el-Rijm, Charles Rock found several heavily patinated dark brown scrapers.<sup>13</sup>

(c) On Armah Plateau ( $49^{\circ} 10' E.$  and  $25^{\circ} 00' N.$ ) north-east of Riyadh about 40 miles south-west of Ruma,<sup>14</sup> a square kilometre is covered with chert nodules (up to 0.5 metre in diameter) with many flaked by human hands.

(d) Jafurah el-Jiban ( $50^{\circ} 10' E.$  and  $24^{\circ} 20' N.$ ) with quartzite bifaces from gravels 10 to 20 metres above plain level.

(e) Jal as-Sahban ( $50^{\circ} 15' E.$  and  $24^{\circ} N.$ ) south-east of Selwa and just north of the old Wadi Sahaba which with (d) lies about 60 miles across *sabkha*; a finely grained, buff-coloured quartzite with rolled and worn *arêtes* was found.

(f) Es Shalfah ( $49^{\circ} 42' E.$  and  $21^{\circ} 50' N.$ ).

(g) Jiladah ( $46^{\circ} 18' E.$  and  $18^{\circ} 48' N.$ ).

(h) Arameo camp (no name) at  $48^{\circ} E.$  and  $18^{\circ} N.$

(i) Arameo camp, known as G-2554 ( $49^{\circ} 46' E.$  and  $18^{\circ} 18' N.$ ), where 19 blades of 'Solutrian' type lay arranged in a circle 1.0 metre in diameter. The largest specimen, with the finest pressure-flaking technique, measured  $13.5 \times 4.25 \times 0.75$  centimetres; the next in size being  $12.0 \times 5.0 \times 0.5$  centimetres. This excellent-quality flint is laminated with marked concentric circles. Several of these specimens would pass for the finest Solutrian *euilles-de-laurier*, almost matching in skill of craftsmanship the work of the finest Solutrian, Dynastic Egyptian or Danish flint-knappers, with the exception of certain ceremonial Egyptian knives, the hafted blade from Solutré<sup>15</sup> and the Fünen dagger.<sup>16</sup>



The wealth of surface material, especially from the sites known as Jiladah (46° 18' E. and 18° 48' N.) extending to G-2554 about 300 miles to the east, make it more desirable than ever to find a stratified site in order to determine the relative chronology.

It now seems probable that these were camp sites used by the ancient hunters, who brought their flint weapons, tools and arrowheads with them, for there is as yet no direct evidence of local sources of flint or of flint-working in this southern land along the northern border of the great sands.

To the north-east of the Rub' al-Khali rises the mountain chain of eastern Oman and the Peninsula overlooking the Strait of Hormuz. Mr. D. M. Morton, area geologist of the Qatar Petroleum Company,<sup>17</sup> sent the following information:

'Prehistoric sites in Oman appear to be rare; we are continually on the look-out for any indications. At the end of March, 1955, one worked flint blade on the southern flank of Fahud, 4 kilometres north-east of camp. Another implement was found during April at Ras al-Gala'a at the east end of Natih. Triliths are known from Boy and Nafun. Of unknown significance and date, 2 large stone cairns<sup>18</sup> (3.0 metres in diameter and 1.0 metre high) have been noted at the east end of Fahud and 5 or 6 at the north flank of Natih, and several in the Wadi Amairi near Awaifa.'

Thus, with these new surface sites, widely scattered over this vast Arabian Peninsula, we see the emergence of a cultural sequence. It remains to determine their age by geological association and stratigraphy and then to relate these cultures to those of the Horn of Africa across the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb, across Sinai into the Nile Valley, into Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and northward into the Caucasus, north-east into Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan and south-east into the Indus Valley.

In conclusion, the physical characters of ancestors of the modern dwellers in South-Western Asia, ranging from the Proto-Mediterraneans and their contemporaries back through the local facies of the Upper, Middle and Lower Palaeolithic will be determined.

Thus, the racial and cultural development in South-Western Asia, crossroads of three continents, will become finally clarified.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> '“Neolithic” sites from the Rub' al-Khali, southern Arabia,' *MAN*, 1954, 209.

<sup>2</sup> Position 17° 12.0' N. and 45° 55.2' E.

<sup>3</sup> D. G. Bunker, 'The South-West Borderlands of the Rub' al-Khali,' *Geog. J.*, Vol. CXIX, pp. 420-30, London, 1953.

<sup>4</sup> Under the general direction of Dr. B. P. Uvarov, British Museum (Natural History).

<sup>5</sup> See Henry Field, 'Early Man in North Arabia,' *Natural History*, pp. 33-44, 1929; 'The Antiquity of Man in South-Western Asia,' *Amer. Anthropol.*, Vol. XXXV (1933), pp. 51-62; 'Sulle caratteristiche geografiche dell' Arabia settentrionale,' *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana*, Vol. XI, pp. 3-13, Rome, 1934; and 'Reconnaissance in Saudi Arabia,' *J. R. Centr. Asian Soc.*, Vol. XXXVIII (1951), pp. 185-97.

<sup>6</sup> A subsidiary of Iraq Petroleum Company, Limited.

<sup>7</sup> This information was generously supplied by Chief Geologist Wellings following my request for data obtained by I.P.C. geological field parties in the area from Cape Bab el-Mandeb to Ras Musandam.

<sup>8</sup> See G. Caton-Thompson, 'Some Palaeoliths from Saudi Arabia,' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, Vol. XIX (1953), pt. 2, pp. 189-218; also G. Caton-Thompson and Elinor W. Gardner, 'Climate, Irrigation and Early Man in the Hadhramaut,' *Geog. J.*, Vol. XCII, No. 1 (January, 1939).

<sup>9</sup> In C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence, *The Wilderness of Zin*, Pal. Expl. Fund, 1914-1915, London.

<sup>10</sup> See Henry Field, *Contributions to the Anthropology of the Faiyum, Sinai, Sudan and Kenya*, pp. 81-91, University of California Press, 1952.

<sup>11</sup> Near Jebel Thlathakhwat in south-eastern Jordan; on Tell Hibr in north-western Saudi Arabia near the frontier with Jordan; on Jebel Enaze (Anaiza), the trifocal boundary between Jordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia; near Rutba Wells in western Iraq; and on Tell Marmar overlooking the Wadi ar-Ratga in south-eastern Syria.

<sup>12</sup> For three days as guests of the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO). With Mr. Don Holm, Aramco geologist, as our guide and accompanied by Mr. H. St. J. Philby, we drove to Al Uqair about 40 miles south of Dhahran on the Persian Gulf south-west of Bahrain Island. Amid these well-known ruins, we collected some flint blades and a representative series of sherds. This note is included to show the range of the use of stone implements into the historical period. The Beduins still use flint strike-a-lights.

<sup>13</sup> Similar in type and patina to those from certain localities in north-western Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iraq and Syria. See note 11.

<sup>14</sup> See Rumhiyan Wells on Raisz's *Landforms of Arabia*.

<sup>15</sup> In Chicago Natural History Museum. See *MAN*, 1933, 82.

<sup>16</sup> In the National Museum, Copenhagen.

<sup>17</sup> Formerly Petroleum Development Qatar (P.D.Q.), also a subsidiary of Iraq Petroleum Company.

<sup>18</sup> There are many ancient and modern cairns in the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula, particularly in the Harrat ar-Rajil of eastern Jordan. A megalithic monument stands near El Jidd in western Iraq. Dolmens occur in southern Jordan, especially in the Shobek area.

## REVIEWS

### AFRICA

**Double Descent Among the Fanti.** By James Boyd Christensen. *Behavioral Science Monographs, Human Relations Area Files. New Haven, Conn., 1954. Pp. xiii, 145.*

Mr. Christensen starts his monograph on the Gold Coast Fanti in the best scientific tradition. That is, he states his biases so that the reader may make the necessary allowances in assessing what follows. It is well that he does so, for the resulting monograph is heavily influenced by them.

To begin with, the author explains that: 'It is essentially to the sanctions and attitudes as they find expression in the belief system of the Fanti that one must go to understand the paternal line. . . . In addition to consideration of the formal structural aspects of a given society, attention to its qualitative or psychological phases is essential for any comprehension of the integrated whole' (p. 3). Leaving aside (as does the author) the question of what the connexion

is between 'sanctions' and 'attitudes' and the notion of the 'qualitative' or 'psychological' phases of society we are left with the problem of how any structural analysis could proceed without taking into account the sanctions involved in maintaining a given pattern of behaviour and the attitudes towards such patterns. Neither here nor during the course of his exposition does the author help us to understand what different procedures or data are to be used when considering the 'belief system.'

The 'qualitative' or 'psychological' emphasis does have a marked effect, however, in the manner in which Christensen chooses to conceptualize his central problem. His stated purpose is to demonstrate that the Fanti, who have by previous writers been considered to have a matrilineal descent system, in fact instance a system of double descent. This is defined as 'a system in which the individual is simultaneously a member of two exogamous lineages.' Almost



none of the discussion, however, shows an understanding of the importance of establishing the existence of *exogamous* patrilineal descent groups, or of the necessity for demonstrating that such groups are of lineage type. The author says, rather, that 'The purpose is to show that its [the paternal line's] function is such that the Fanti are a people exhibiting a system of double descent.' Unfortunately, he fails to set up any criteria by which we may judge the type or proportion of function necessary to establish the existence of a double descent system.

In going on to describe the various functions of the 'paternal line,' Christensen makes one error which has far wider implications than the type of descent system to be assigned to the Fanti. This is his failure to distinguish between 'paternal' and 'patrilineal.' I would take the first to apply specifically to 'fatherhood' and the 'father-child relationship,' while the second pertains to the agnatic descent group or lineage. For Christensen the two are apparently identical. Thus we are told, 'Published reports indicate that the agnatic ties are legally weak... [yet] the psychological bonds between father and his children are close and strong, for the father has a moral obligation to care for and train his child in a way that will be a credit to him' (p. 1). Are we to take the strength of psychological bonds between father and child as evidence of patrilineal descent groups? It has in fact been alleged, by Malinowski and others, that lack of such groups would tend to make for a closer, i.e. less ambivalent, relationship between father and son.

In several further instances similar 'evidence' is put forward in the form of proverbs ('He who has brought forth a child is not as tired as he who has brought up a child'); instances where paternal kin are more familiar than or preferred to maternal kin, etc.

Indeed, if we examine the various situations where the 'paternal line' is said to function we find that Christensen is often describing an aspect of the relationship, not even between father and child, but between father and son. While this is true with respect to 'inheritance' of cleared land and recruitment to the *asafu*, or military company, it is overwhelmingly so in the section entitled 'Paternal Rights and Obligations.' My point is that we are dealing here rather with a choice of male role model operative in the socialization process. The Fanti, in common with all other societies, teach different skills and different roles to males and females. Such learning requires as teachers models whose behaviour can be imitated. Christensen shows us in detail that in matters of economics and etiquette the Fanti boy is taught by his father, while the girl emulates her mother. Whether this constitutes an 'emphasis on paternity' is a moot point. But its importance for the author may be seen from the following quotation from the section entitled, 'Mother-Child Relationship' (here, as might be expected, there is virtually no mention of the son): 'The importance the Fanti place on *maternity* is indicated in their social organization by the presence of the *matrilateral* system of descent' (p. 48, *italics mine*). And we have made the jump from parenthood *via* socialization to lineage organization. We are forced to conclude that among the Fanti fathers and paternity are important, but I cannot say, as Christensen seems quite willing to, that this is indicative of a system of patrilineal descent.

Other 'functions of the paternal line' are as follows: (1) The provision of the child's 'blood' or *bogya* and 'soul' or *kra*. (2) The right to continue to farm land jointly farmed with the father before his death; the land remains the actual property of the maternal *abusua* and does not pass into the agnatic line or to the *abusua* of the father. (3) The right to membership in the military company of the father; the company as a whole, however, comprises a number of unrelated 'paternal lines.' And (4), the passing on of the *egyabosom* or 'father's deity.'

This last instance gives rise to a 'paternal line' within which intermarriage is not permitted for 'three or four generations,' the greatest depth of any of the reckonings of paternal kin which Christensen cites. Yet even here we are not told whether the count is of the deceased patrilineal kin, or whether it includes those currently living and in which living generation ego is placed.

Considering all of the 'functions' listed there appears to be exactly one occasion each year when all the members of the 'patrilineage' and only these members meet as a group. This is the annual 'washing' of the *egyabosom*. So that, even if we accept the challenge and attempt to define 'lineage' by the performance of an unspecified function, the evidence is hardly conclusive. On examination we find that what is 'functioning' varies with the situation considered. In one instance it is a filial relationship, in another a tradition of membership in one's father's military company, or again it is a loose association of several three- or four-generation 'paternal lines' which do not even claim to have a common ancestor, but only to wash the same *obosom*—to share in the spirit of the same deity.

Such are the orientations of Mr. Christensen to his analysis. If the reader feels capable of juggling highly volatile definitions together with a rather haphazard organization, however, he will find the author gratifyingly familiar with the literature, which he quotes most adroitly, and in possession of some interesting data on Fanti military organizations.

ESTHER NEWCOMB

**The Family Herds: A Study of Two Pastoral Tribes in East Africa, the Jie and Turkana.** By P. H. Gulliver. London (Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1955. Pp. xv, 271, illus., maps. Price £1 5s.

This is an account of certain aspects of life among the Jie of Uganda and the Turkana of Kenya, based on fieldwork of 25 months between the years 1948 and 1951. The peoples described are both primitive pastoralists, whose isolation and hard countries have prevented advancement towards the more 'civilized' state of some of their neighbours. Of the two areas, Turkana is by far the worst from the European point of view. The Jie practise transhumance; the Turkana are described as nomadic, and much of their land is semi-desert with thorn scrub. The book begins with a useful ecological survey, and goes on to deal with family and property. Among the Jie, the house, *ekal*, with the enclosed yard belonging to each wife is the basis of social organization, and within the house each wife has stock allotted to her; the house is regarded by the Jie as the stock-owning unit. Among the Turkana the basic unit is what Gulliver calls the nuclear family, i.e. a man, his wives and children. An important part of the book is chap. 7, called 'Stock-associates,' which deals with the range of association between people through their livestock. This is followed by a chapter on 'Marriage and Bridewealth'; although it is said that a man may not marry a girl 'with whom he can trace a blood (cognatic) link,' the extent of this restriction is not stated. Figures for the composition and distribution of the stock comprising bridewealth are given for both tribes; and there are some interesting figures of the incidence of polygyny. The maps are inadequate, and a general map showing the position of the two tribes in relation to each other and to other tribes would have been an advantage.

This is a good book, dealing with two interesting tribes. It is well produced, and forms a useful addition to the literature on the Central Nilo-Hamites, much of which has in fact been written by Dr. Gulliver.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

## AMERICA

**New Interpretations of Aboriginal American Culture History.** Washington, D.C. (Anthrop. Soc. of Washington, Smithsonian Inst.), 1955. Pp. 135. Price \$1.25

**I48** This volume, containing papers by many of the leading archaeologists of the younger generation, deals with a number of the burning questions in the subject, and has an importance quite out of proportion to its size and format. It touches on

many topics, but if it is permissible to single out one impression, it is that of the increasing recognition of the part played by rapid diffusion in the formation of the culture patterns which we know.

The volume opens with an extremely stimulating article by Loren C. Eiseley on 'The Paleo Indians: Their Survival and Diffusion,' in which, after some preliminary remarks on the emergence and survival of man in spite of great physical disadvantages, he



shows how his extremely rapid spread through the New World must have been due to the fact that he lived by hunting the great mammals, who made trails through the widespread grasslands of the time. He also argues for the telescoping of Upper Palaeolithic time which radiocarbon dates are beginning to indicate, suggesting that the development of elaborate hunting techniques constituted an economic revolution as far-reaching as Childe's neolithic one.

A discussion of 'Prehistoric Cultural Development in the Eastern United States' by Albert E. Spaulding follows. He illustrates his theme by four types of Archaic Culture, followed by the Adena, the Hopewell and the Middle Mississippi, and faces squarely the difficulty caused by the radiocarbon dates, which show Hopewell to be contemporary with much of Adena, although it seems to have started later. His main conclusion is that the Eastern United States was a stable cultural area from Archaic times to the European contact, with more or less defined sub-areas, each of which developed a tradition. Developments were greatly affected by outside influences from Mexico on one side and the boreal forest region on the other, but little, with one exception, by movements of population, and each sub-area preserved its identity to a great extent. This article is a useful contribution to the study of an area where it is hard to see the wood for the trees.

In 'The Interrelated Rise of the Native Cultures of Middle and South America,' Gordon R. Willey surveys the evidence for diffusion between the two areas. He begins with general remarks about pressure flaking and grinding of stone in North and South America before going into more specific traits in the nuclear areas. He then discusses maize, rocker stamping on pottery, platform mounds, negative painting, mould-made figurines, tall tripod pots and metallurgy, and concludes that all, except for metallurgy and possibly negative painting, diffused southwards. The particularly interesting case of the connexion of Chavín in Peru with Tlatilco in Central Mexico, shows that the process could take place very quickly since many striking traits appeared in both areas at nearly the same time. In view of this it is surprising that the high cultures in both areas were not more alike in later times.

'Trends in Southwestern Archeology' are dealt with by Erik K. Reed. He shows how the detailed intensive study of small areas is now giving place to broad generalizations, resulting in the definition of stages of development covering the whole. This trend, which the detailed work made possible, is on the lines of what has been done in recent years in Peru and Mexico, and some archaeologists are using the same terms—Formative, Classic and so on—but I am still not sure that it is sound to do so, or that there is much meaning in trying to group such diverse cultures as Hohokam and Anasazi together in one scheme. Other recent work has been devoted to tracing the connexions between modern peoples and ancient cultures, and it is shown that a large measure of success has been achieved.

In 'Sources of Northwest Coast Culture,' Philip Drucker tries to show, from ethnological comparisons, that the origin of the basic culture pattern is to be sought in the Eskimo-Aleut culture. The validity of the argument is difficult to judge, but an important piece of evidence in its favour is the recent excavation of a site of Eskimo type, with a radiocarbon date of about 300 B.C., in the Lower Fraser region.

Clifford Evans and his wife, Betty Meggers, have, with commendable fortitude, devoted much of their effort to the study of one of the most difficult parts of South America, from the Guianas to the mouth of the Amazon, and Evans sets out some of their conclusions in 'New Archeological Interpretations in Northeastern South America.' It will suffice here to say that they have, finally I hope, scotched the theory that high cultures took their origin in the tropical forests, which are, rather, refuge areas. A case in point is the spectacular Marajoara Culture of Marajó Island, which, so far from developing and being dispersed from there, arrived there in full flower and at once began to degenerate. The process of populating much of the Guianas seems to have been very recent, and to be due very largely to an influx of tribes fleeing from Europeans.

In a paper called 'The New Orientation toward Problems of Asiatic-American Relationships,' Gordon F. Ekholm, whose

advocacy of trans-Pacific relations is well known, makes a very moderate and reasonable plea for a re-examination of the evidence. There is no space to review the various aspects he touches on, and it must suffice to say that he suggests many interesting parallels.

George L. Trager's paper on 'Linguistics and the Reconstruction of Culture History' is not easy to follow, but the main point seems to be a warning about glottochronology, the process of dating the separation of two peoples with a common ancestor, by comparing their vocabularies. Even if this gives a valid date, he asks what it means in terms of the total culture of the peoples involved, implying that it does not mean much, even in terms of their languages.

The final paper 'The Coming of Age of American Archeology,' by Betty J. Meggers, is a very stimulating summing-up of the volume. She presses the view that basic cultural principles, such as those assumed by many of the authors of the papers (e.g. that rapid movements of whole complexes imply migrations of peoples), are analogous to the 'laws' of modern physics, so that modern archaeologists are essentially scientific in their outlook. She ends by pointing to the increasingly prominent part which archaeologists are coming to play in the broad field of American anthropology, and makes the extremely provocative observation that there is considerable advantage in being forced to deal with culture separated from human beings, because 'shorn of the complicating and confusing psychological reactions of numbers of unique human personalities, cultural processes emerge in a stark and clear light.'

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

**Folklore Mexicano: 100 Fotografías de Luis Marquéz.** Text by Justino Fernández. Mexico D.F. (Fischgrund), 1955. Pp. xi, 100 plates

Admirable pictures of the athletic forms and sumptuous dance costumes of Mexican Indians (whose use of feathered and flowered headdresses, in particular, is surely unrivalled) are prefaced by brief comments on the tribes represented. Some costumes and masks reflect Spanish traditions—the Pilates, the Herods, the Roman Soldiers, the Deaths, the Moorish King and Queen of the Gigantes, Santiago with his white horse in miniature (39, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 79, 44). An Oriental headdress and mask is extraordinarily faithful to its model. There are realistic character masks, as of an old man (20), a Negro (22, 65), a French Zouave (56, 58) with a stylized adaptation (57): these have their near parallels in some masks of the Hopi Powamu. Others are grotesque and diabolical. Archaic European dress appears in No. 17; hunters or dancers wearing artificial animal heads in Nos. 1 and 2. The photographs show six modes of carrying vessels (3, 28, 84, 86, 89) and burdens (30); rather surprisingly, the brow band does not occur, in these or in the carrying of infants (67, 74, 95, 100).

BARBARA AITKEN

**Studies of California Indians.** By C. Hart Merriam, edited by the Staff of the Dept. of Anthrop., U. of Calif. (U. of Calif. P.), Berkeley and Los Angeles (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1955. Pp. xviii, 233, 48 plates, map. Price £1 8s.

Within the last 50 years anthropology has become a profession and an academic discipline; and the generation of anthropologists who came to it after training and experience in other sciences and arts—biology, philosophy, medicine, colonial administration—is now almost extinct. C. Hart Merriam (1855-1942) belonged to that group. 'He was one of the great naturalists of his generation' (writes Kroeber in the introduction to this volume of essays), distinguished among other works by his monumental *Mammals of the Adirondack Region*. Set free in 1910 to follow his own interests, he devoted himself for 30 years to a detailed and most sympathetic study of the surviving California Indians. On this, Kroeber points out, he brought to bear the interests and attitudes of a naturalist: the distribution of the phenomena dealt with was in the foreground of his attention... the exact location of languages, tribes, villages and customs... 'What he valued was the primary and original data as he secured them in the field: classification and generalization would come later.'

The 20 articles in this book (which is published with the help of the E. H. Harriman Fund) represent what Merriam had most



nearly completed for publication. Six of them describe ceremonies now irrecoverable, of which Merriam recorded the details with full appreciation of their beauty. Five deal with material culture, the rest with tribal names and boundaries, vocabularies and mission records. Among many other interesting topics may be noted Californian warfare and pacificism; the rise and fall of a sort of petty Chaka (12-21); preoccupation with death and mourning (40, 49-65, 77-86); kiva-like dance houses and sweat houses (30-32, 40-42) and dual grouping of men (42); Ghost Dance intrusion (40); use of flowers and feathers (*passim*); food and cooking (67-69, 75-89); basketry 79, 89, 110-124 *et passim*; Indian connoisseurship and collecting (107-109); 'doctors' (69, 70).

Forty-eight fine photographs illustrate ceremonies and costume, house-building, ceremonial structures and baskets.

BARBARA AITKEN

**The Gros Ventres of Montana: Part I, Social Life.** By Regina Flannery. Catholic Univ. of Amer., Anthropological Series, No. 15. Washington D.C., 1953. Pp. xiv, 221, map, 3 plates. Price \$2.75

Never in major conflict with the white Americans, the Gros Ventres were able to preserve their culture virtually intact until the disappearance of the buffalo about 1884. Mrs. Flannery began her field work among them some 56 years later, but was fortunate in having as her senior informants two nonagenarian ladies who had reached maturity under the old conditions. They in turn, like the somewhat younger male informants, recalled much of the teaching of their elders. The present study, then, can fairly claim to reflect

the life of a northern Plains tribe in its most intensive and mobile phase.

The record is a valuable supplement to Kroeber's *Gros Ventre Ethnology* (1908), which was mainly concerned with material culture. Material aspects do indeed receive some attention here, in the chapters on day-to-day activities and the tribal economy, but with the emphasis on function and the responsibility for preparation or supply. In this connexion useful notes are given on the relative values attached to items of property for purposes of exchange and ceremonial present-giving.

A chapter is devoted to War and Prestige. 'Prestige' in this context means war honours, but the many ways of enhancing, or losing, status are a recurrent theme throughout the book. Kinship behaviour is succinctly treated, and against this background the cycle of life from birth to burial. Although conforming in general with the northern Plains pattern it is evident that the social life of the Gros Ventres differed in some details from that of their near neighbours, the Piegan on the one side and the Crow on the other. There is, for instance, no mention of the transvestitism reputedly common among the latter.

While masculine rights and obligations are fully described, Mrs. Flannery's account is on the whole of the business of living as seen through the women's eyes—and is none the worse for that. Her constant use of anecdotal illustrations, of both required behaviour and occasional departures therefrom, brings the culture vividly to life. One awaits with interest the publication of Part 2, the study of Gros Ventre religion completed by Dr. John M. Cooper shortly before his untimely death.

GEOFFREY TURNER

## EUROPE

**Die Federmesser-Gruppen des nordwesteuropäischen Flachlandes: Zur Ausbreitung des Spät-Magdaleniens.** By Herman Schwabedissen. Vor- und frühgeschichtl. Untersuch. a.d. Schleswig-Holstein. Landesmuseum Schleswig und d. Inst. f. Ur- und Frühgeschichte d. Univ. Kiel, New Ser. No. 9. Neumünster (Wachholz), 1954. Pp. 104, 106 plates. Price DM 23

In this fully illustrated monograph Dr. H. Schwabedissen offers a comparative study of assemblages of flint implements from open stations on the north European plain, characterized by penknife blades (*Federmesser*), Gravette points and backed blades, all shaped by steep, blunting retouch, and accompanied by scrapers and burins. Three regional groups are distinguished, based on variations in the proportionate occurrence, size and formal characteristics of the flint types, *viz.* the Tjonger group of N. Belgium and Holland; the Rissen group of North-west Holland and North-west Germany; and the Wehlen group centering on Lower Saxony and south Schleswig-Holstein. Schwabedissen would derive these industries from Late Magdalenian sources, and considers that along with the Ahrensburgian and the Bromme-Lyngby cultures of the final Pleistocene they contributed to the genesis of the Post-Glacial mesolithic forest cultures of northern Europe.

Schwabedissen has made a useful and well illustrated contribution to European prehistory, but his material is open to serious objection

on two counts, both due to the nature of the sites from which it is derived. To begin with it consists only of the flint component of the cultures involved, and nobody familiar with the cave Magdalenian need be reminded of the risks of using the flint components out of relation to antler and bone types as a basis of comparison. Then, in all but a very few sites, there is no evidence for dating the flint assemblages other than by analogy: only at Rissen 14 near Hamburg, where the industry underlay an Ahrensburgian level, and at Usselo in Holland, where pollen-analysis suggests an Alleröd date, has the final Pleistocene age been established. Even so, Schwabedissen has established the existence of a coherent group of flint industries, hitherto unrecognized and probably of final Pleistocene Age, and in so doing has provided a new clue to solving the problem of the genesis of the northern mesolithic forest cultures of Post-Glacial age. The suggestion prompted by the excavations at Star Carr that the Maglemosian may first have developed in the area now submerged under the southern part of the North Sea finds some support in Schwabedissen's maps (Plates CI, CIII), but it should be emphasized that so far as Britain is concerned, the arrows which purport to explain the dynamics of cultural development at the close of Upper Paleolithic times are purely hypothetical and find no real support in existing data.

J. G. D. CLARK

## OCEANIA

**In Search of Wealth:** By Cyril S. Belshaw. Mem. Amer. Anthropol. Assoc. Menasha, Wis., 1955. Pp. ix, 84, 2 plates, 2 maps. Price \$2

Mr. Belshaw's subtitle is 'a study of the emergence of commercial operations in the Melanesian society of south-eastern Papua,' which accurately describes the book's scope. He studies the development, mostly since the war, of individual and co-operative enterprises in primary production and in trade, showing the degree to which they conflict with, or grow naturally from, the traditional patterns of gift-exchange, kinship obligations, and so forth. His discussion centres mainly on Wagawaga in Milne Bay and on the island of Ware, but covers also a wider area of the southern Massim district. It is supported by a large body of precise figures.

Books of this sort have an obvious and immediate value for the local administration. This one also makes very interesting reading in conjunction with such classic works of anthropology as those of Seligman and Malinowski. There is a bibliography, including some out-of-the-way works which could easily be overlooked.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

**Fijian Way of Life.** By G. K. Roth. Melbourne and London (O.U.P.), 1953. Pp. xvi, 176. Price £1 1s.

Fiji has attracted less attention from anthropologists than it deserves in view of the size of the area, the theoretical interest of the culture and the degree to which this culture has preserved many of its traditional aspects. Published studies have been comparatively few. From the author's select



bibliography one might conclude that there had been none at all since the turn of the century. This is not so, of course. But, with due deference to the descriptions of particular, and rather atypical, communities published by Laura Thompson, Buell Quain and others, there does remain a need for an adequate study on a broad basis of Fijian social structure and culture. The present work does not quite provide it, if only because its scope is too wide for this particular purpose to be fully accomplished within the narrow limits of its pages. It is a valuable book, nevertheless. For the anthropologist, it provides an excellent introduction; for the reader whose interest is more general, it is by far the best all-round account of Fijian life, past and present, which has appeared. It also makes a direct and important contribution to the specialist study of Colonial administration.

Any total account of the way of life of a people, especially when briefly written, cannot rest on facts alone. What quickly convinces the reader of the intuitive worth of this book is the author's obvious integrity and his sympathy with the people of whom he writes. The integrity might be expected from the fact that he has now reached the highest position in the Fijian Administration, and the sympathy from the fact of the inspired influence which he has exercised for very many years on Fijian social policy. One could also add that such qualities might at least have been hoped for in a scholar fathered by a distinguished anthropologist in the person of H. Ling Roth.

The two virtues do, it is true, have some negative aspects. The integrity is manifested also by a lack of real criticism at any point of Government attitudes. The sympathy occasionally shows itself as a parental censoriousness, for instance when, on p. 82, he quotes with approval a shallow judgement of a sociologically naive writer concerning Fijian work habits, or when, on p. 73, he says quite unfairly that 'illegitimate children . . . have become a considerable section of the Fijian population.' If the meaning likely to be carried for the ordinary reader by this statement were true, it would go far to invalidate the picture of general social health which the author paints so carefully. Happily, it is one of his very few immoderate statements.

The book comprises four chapters. The first—The Physical Background of Village Life—gives a very good brief account of the everyday living of Fijians in both earlier and modern conditions. The second chapter—Land Custom and the Structure of Society—is the least satisfactory in the book. Too much time is spent on speculations regarding the origins of Fijian social structure and on linguistic derivations, some of which are not entirely convincing, at the expense of an attempt to clarify the structure as it has existed in recorded times. Admittedly the nature and relationships of *yavusa*, *mataqali* and *i tokotoka* are difficult to define, but a clearer presentation might have been possible. One reason why it fails to emerge is that the author draws his illustrative material without sufficient system from many areas differing considerably in overall structure. In so doing, however, he does provide much useful new information. On only one particular point does it seem possible to fault the author. Referring to the courtesy title of *ratu* accorded to members of chiefly families, he says: '... this prefix is used in referring to the senior chief of the leading family group. . . . Other members of that family group are entitled to use it but do not do so in practice as long as the senior male is alive' (p. 70). Whether or not the other members of the family group use it themselves, it is certainly freely applied to them by the generality of Fijians.

The third chapter—The Principal Customary Ceremonies—provides a great deal of valuable ethnographic data on *yaqona* (kava)-drinking, *tabua* (whales' teeth) exchanges, dancing and other aspects of ceremonial life. The final chapter—The Fijian Administration—is of high quality and much the best of the four. Factually, it is excellently informative. Critically, it leaves something to be desired, for it is written from a single point of view—from the point of view of administrator, clear in his opinions and expressing them for others to judge on their merits. This is the same characteristic as marked the author's earlier paper on the same subject published by the Royal Anthropological Institute. What is provided is less of a critique than an apologia. The procedure is an honest one, and to have such an account of policy, written from the inside, is in-

valuable. It cannot be called a defect of the book. It is, however, a limitation. It does seem, too, to be a limitation which is not entirely due to the restricted scope of the book or to the necessity for the author as an administrator to make up his mind. In part it is due to his occasional lack of recognition of incompatibilities between features of the traditional social organization, which he wishes to preserve, and new activity patterns, which he believes that the Government should foster. He dislikes individualism and wishes the village with the social security which it gives its members through its close kinship bonds to remain the basis of Fijian life. Yet he also hopes to have the Fijians milking cows 'twice daily, high days and holidays not excepted' (p. 82), and explains their often poor performance at this quite novel task as due to a decline in the authority of the chiefs. He disapproves of the practice of *kerekere*, a main traditional mechanism of the social security, which he translates as 'customary begging' (p. 49). He looks forward to the development of the co-operative movement upon the grounds that it is similar in its principles to the traditional organization (p. 92), whereas in fact it is a creation of an individualist society. Surely the truth of the matter is that, while certain adaptations may secure for Fijians benefits from both worlds, in many situations they face a choice, and that the inevitability of this choice should be recognized. The choice need not be the same for all Fijians, because it will be conditioned by where they live and what they want most.

A first-rate book should present an accurate picture and provoke thought. On both counts the author succeeds admirably. A preface has been contributed by the present Governor of Fiji, Sir Ronald Garvey, who himself studied under Haddon. Surely Fiji must be unique in the status it has given in its administration to anthropologists. The book is finely illustrated with 30 well chosen photographs. A majority of these are by Mr. R. R. Wright, the Government photographer. The rest are by Mr. Roth himself. Although technically less perfect, they are at least equally interesting.

W. R. GEDDES

**Australia: Aboriginal Paintings—Arnhem Land.** New York Graphic Society, by arrangement with U.N.E.S.C.O., 1954.

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Pp. 14, 32 plates

U.N.E.S.C.O. has put us in its debt for having arranged the publication of this magnificent volume of colour plates. The finest techniques of Milanese colour reproduction which Hoepli and others have developed for classical European art are here applied to aboriginal art. Sixteen of the 32 photographs are of rock paintings, the rest of bark paintings (*plus* five black-and-white photographs of aborigines). They are fruits of the 1949 Arnhem Land Expedition led by Mr. C. P. Mountford, and include superb examples of X-ray art, *mimi* paintings and the cross-hatched paintings of north-east Arnhem Land.

In a volume for the art-lover rather than the ethnographer, we cannot perhaps quibble about such matters as lack of scale, the loss of the irregularity of the rock surfaces and of the different planes, which are secondary matters compared to excellent reproduction of the paintings themselves (except in Plate IV where there is marked foreshortening), but it is a pity that nearly all the rock paintings are of human figures.

The brief introduction by Sir Herbert Read, with its talk of 'climatic' influences upon art, the 'ritual' use of deep 'womb-like' caverns, etc., is unfortunate. His suggestion that this art 're-creates tremors' of 'primeval terror' in our 'collective unconscious' is a type of mysticism which seems particularly objectionable in a volume supported by U.N.E.S.C.O.

The preface by Mr. Mountford, whom we must thank, contains minor errors: *wondjina* paintings are from north-west, not north-east, Australia; 'plane' (p. 12) should read 'plain.' His division of the paintings into static-X-ray-polychrome-animal and vital-line-monochrome-human ignores the many vivid animal paintings which are neither line paintings nor X-ray (e.g. Plate IV). And why such Warnerian spellings as Djunkgea, Narra and Unwala in 1955? Mountford's assertion that many of the paintings are produced for the 'pure pleasure of creative effort' is an improvement on the word-spinning of the introduction, but the significance of the subject matter of the bulk of this art—animal and other resources—



to hunters and collectors should have received some mention (e.g. the fat portions marked in the X-ray art; the water and clan wells shown as hatching).

It is a great defect that the names of the aboriginal artists, where known (e.g. Gulbidja, who painted the crabs, Plate XXX), are not given; but, in all, this is a fine volume.

PETER M. WORSLEY

**Arioi und Mamaia: Eine ethnologische, religionssoziologische und historische Studie über polynesische Kultbünde.** By Wilhelm Emil Mühlmann. *Studien zur Kulturkunde*, Vol. XIV. Wiesbaden (Steiner), 1955. Pp. x, 269. Price DM 19.80

The Arioi order, a secret society in Tahiti and neighbouring islands, first became known to the scientific world through the reports of James Cook, the Forsters and other travellers; and a little later it was described and severely condemned by William Ellis and other Protestant missionaries. The puritanical spirit of the British missionaries made them the relentless foes of the Arioi; and the society was virtually extirpated by the missionaries during the years around 1820. A realistic understanding of the Arioi society and its functions was impeded by the missionary point of view. On the other hand, the conflict augmented the interest which the Arioi evoked. A large material exists in the accounts of travellers, missionaries and others. The utilization of this material from an objective ethnological and sociological point of view is a tremendous task, which Mühlmann has undertaken. Already in his work 'Die geheime Gesellschaft der Arioi' (*Int. Arch. f. Ethnogr.*, Leiden, Vol. XXXII, 1932) he made an essential contribution to the Arioi problem. He touched upon the subject in several following papers. And he has taken it up again in its full extent in his new book.

The Arioi society was recruited from all layers of the population: from the nobility, the free farmers and the serfs. It comprised about a fifth of the population, men and women. Personal qualities decided who could be elected for membership. The Arioi were an *élite*, physically and mentally. Among the required qualifications was the ability to go into religious ecstasy; the god Oro would possess the new disciple. The members were arranged in a succession of eight grades of ascending dignity. It was possible for a person of low origin to rise within the Arioi society by personal ability, e.g. as speaker, singer or poet. So it may be said that the Arioi institution acted as a sort of corrective to the theoretically

immobile caste system of the Polynesian world. It should however be added that the noble families had essential influence in Arioi affairs. The Arioi order did not stand apart from the caste system, it was entangled, personally and politically, with the reigning nobility.

The Arioi order had the important function of keeping and perpetuating the spiritual culture of the people. No kind of writing being known, myths and rites were remembered and reiterated. The Arioi spent much of their time travelling in large groups, visiting their friends and members of their order, feasting and giving artistic performances with dancing, singing, reciting, playing and acting. Their performances were often satiric and obscene, and very much enjoyed by the native public. In return, the common people provided them richly with the necessities of life.

Among the obligations and privileges of the Arioi was childlessness. This meant that they killed their newborn children by suffocating them. Nothing contributed more to the ill will of the missionaries. The practice of infanticide, very common in Oceania, had several motives, of which the most important was a fear of over-population. In former times, the leading families could send their younger sons out, colonizing other islands. However, when this possibility ceased to exist, the home soil had to be divided more and more. The Arioi system was a way of easing this pressure. The vigour of the juniors was absorbed in religious, artistic and sport activities, and childlessness was made fashionable.

The travelling of the Arioi and their extensive hospitality had political importance, softening the relations between the many small states.

Societies reminiscent of the Arioi were found elsewhere in the Polynesian world. It seems, however, that the cults of the secret societies in the Marquesas Islands, the Hawaiian Islands and New Zealand were of an older stamp, combined with Old Polynesian agricultural religion, while the Oro cult of the Arioi belongs to a younger culture phase. Certain elements of the Arioi organizations, rites, and myths seem to indicate influences of some kind from Buddhism. E.g. the hierarchy of the Arioi order recalls that of the monks of Tibetan and Japanese monasteries. Mühlmann suspects that the Polynesian princes who—according to tradition—organized the Arioi order between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries were influenced by Buddhist and Hinduistic ideas. The god Oro seems to be related to the Hindu god Shiva, dancer, procreator and destroyer god in one.

GUDMUND HATT

## CORRESPONDENCE

**Central African Chronology.** Cf. MAN, 1955, 30

**157** Sir,—I should like to question an assumption about Central African chronology made in James Walton's article 'Iron Gongs from the Congo and Southern Rhodesia.' The author mentions their presence, attested by Sharpe, at Kazembe, south of Lake Meruoe.<sup>1</sup> This refers to the Kazembe, the hereditary chief of the Lunda of the Luapula Valley, south of Lake Mweru. Walton states that the stratigraphy shows that the gongs arrived in Southern Rhodesia after the foundation of the Monomatapa empire; that the distribution pattern suggests that they spread from the Congo along the Kasai to Kazembe and thence southwards to Zimbabwe; and that the Kazembe peoples, according to their own tradition, migrated from Mwata Yamvwa on the Kasai to Kazembe. He points to the statement of Hall and Neal: 'There appear to have been two races of conquerors styled Abalosi. One of these, it is believed, was the Cazembe of the present Northern Rhodesia, who, according to Diego do Conto, devastated the country of Sofala, and, entering into Monomatapa, entrenched themselves and conquered the country.'<sup>2</sup> Walton then says: 'This must have taken place about the middle of the sixteenth century, or a little earlier, a date which agrees with the stratigraphical evidence and supports the suggestion that the people of Kazembe carried the gongs southwards to Zimbabwe.'

It is hard to accept the view that Kazembe's people took the gongs to Zimbabwe, and especially that they did so at that early date. Kazembe's tradition<sup>3</sup> states that his ancestor was despatched with

his Lunda tribesmen from the capital of Mwata Yamvwa (the founder of the Lunda empire in the west) in the third reign of the Mwata Yamvwa dynasty. This has rough confirmation in the traditions from Mwata Yamvwa, which state it was in the second reign.<sup>4</sup> Verhulpen's monumental chronological essay, following Dias de Carvalho and Planquaert, puts the start of this dynasty early in the seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup> The argument has recently been presented by Turner,<sup>6</sup> so I do not repeat it here. It depends initially on the identification of a Portuguese Governor of Angola who received a Lunda of the same generation as the first Mwata Yamvwa's father. Taken by itself this is hardly convincing, but there is circumstantial support for the rough date. In the first place the admitted genealogies of the Kazembes and Mwata Yamvwas are of a length which would make such a date possible; and in the case of the Kazembes, the graves exist as memorials to the number of chiefs that there have been. But much more important is the statement by Father Pinto, who took over Lacerda's expedition when the latter died near Kazembe in 1798, that the Lunda 'say that 60 years ago they came from western regions and established themselves.'<sup>7</sup>

Even if this were proved wrong, and if Kazembe arrived from the west well before 1740, one still has to reckon with Kazembe's historical traditions. These state that he did not wander far. He came directly from Mwata Yamvwa, turning back on the path three times with conquered people, until he finally received a charter from Mwata Yamvwa to set up an empire to be the equal



of his, but east of the Lualaba. It was only after he established himself near Lake Mweru, and, according to tradition, in the reign of the Kazembe whom Pinto found in 1798 and in the preceding reign, that he went farther. But even then he extended only as far as the south end of Lake Tanganyika, the north end of Lake Nyasa, and Bisa country near Lake Bangweulu. As for trade, objects from Kazembe were sent through Bisa middlemen to the Yao, and it was not until 1793 that he opened trade south to the Zambezi.<sup>8</sup>

It is said that the Kazembe who reached the Luapula was the last of a number of chiefs called Kazembe who had preceded him from the western Lunda centre, going south-east.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless it is equally clear from tradition that they too left at about the start of the Mwata Yamvwa dynasty.

Far from offering a suggestion about how the gongs reached Zimbabwe, I want simply to point out here that Mr. Walton's time scheme runs against such data on the Lunda expansion as we have at present. Although I have found that for Kazembe's Lunda the genealogies of clans and their sections are much telescoped and that clan histories take little account of the passage of time,<sup>10</sup> yet the available material on the kingship suggests that its genealogy is not so telescoped, while its history is of a different nature from the traditions of the clan sections.<sup>11</sup> I should welcome convincing evidence which would put the Lunda expansion back a century or more; but lacking such evidence, is one not entitled to consider the local traditions to have a basis of truth until they are shown to be false?

IAN CUNNISON

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#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Sir A. Sharpe in MAN, 1901, 39.

<sup>2</sup> R. N. Hall and W. G. Neal, *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia*, 1902, p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> Mwata Kazembe XIV, *Ifikolwe Fyandi na Bantu Bandi*, 1951, pp. 16, 30.

<sup>4</sup> E. Verhulpen, *Baluba et Bahubaisés du Katanga*, 1936, p. 146, after Duysters—reckoning in both cases the son of Chibinda Ilunga to have been the first Mwata Yamvwa.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>6</sup> V. W. Turner (ed.), 'A Lunda Love Story and its Consequences,' *Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. J.*, Vol. XIX (1955), pp. 15f.

<sup>7</sup> Burton, *Lands of Cazembe*, 1873, p. 126.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>9</sup> Verhulpen, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

<sup>10</sup> In *History on the Luapula*, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Paper 21, 1950.

<sup>11</sup> Mwata Kazembe, *op. cit.*; Verhulpen, *op. cit.*, pp. 145ff., gives also events for the reign of each Mwata Yamvwa.

**Polynesian Oil Lamps.** Cf. MAN, 1954, 290. With two text figures  
158 Sir,—With reference to the article on an oil lamp attributed to Rurutu, here are two wood engravings showing forms of lighting used on Mangaia in the Cook Islands in 1946.

Fig. 1 represents candle nuts threaded on the midrib of a coconut



FIG. 1. LAMP OF THREADED CANDLE NUTS



FIG. 2. LAMP OF A HALF COCONUT WITH OIL

frondlet and resting on a broken coconut shell—the shell is quite arbitrary, and an empty tin would serve equally well as a support. The suggestion in your note that candle nuts might be burned in small heaps would not, in my opinion, be a practical one as all would blaze up together and quickly burn out. Threaded on the skewer, the flame moves slowly from one to the other, the means of support being altered as necessity arises. I was told that 15 nuts last 'long enough for one Bible reading.'

When I complained of the oily smell from the burning nuts, the old native woman, my caretaker, brought me the other form of lamp (fig. 2), a half coconut with the flesh left in it and partly filled with coconut oil. Through the oil and into the flesh of the bottom of the nut a small twig is stuck with a scrap of kapok twisted around it as wick. This burns with a clear and almost odourless flame and was my standard form of lighting during six weeks' stay on the island.

London, S.W.5

ROBERT GIBBINGS

**Webs of Fantasy.** Cf. MAN, 1953, 152, 229, 281, 304; 1954, 19, 42, 74, 98, 124; 1955, 59, 60, 99, 100

159 Sir,—'A woman is as old as she looks,' but she may have other attributes; does Dr. Mair find this hard to understand?

I am interested to learn that she finds anachronisms in savage cultures, and should welcome references to show that Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown did the same.

Finally, I have never complained of what the social anthropologists are trying to do; on the contrary, I think it well worth doing. My point has been that they would do it better if their outlook were wider; that their fantasies are due largely to ignorance of history and archaeology. I often wished that Malinowski could have been made to read through the *Decline and Fall*.

Usk, Monmouthshire

RAGLAN

**Cart and Wagon Decorations.** Cf. MAN, 1955, 126

160 Sir,—Since I wrote my article 'Some Cart and Wagon Decorations of the British Isles and Eire,' Professor Estyn Evans has told me that he has seen 'spectacles' on carts in Iona coloured red on green. In the Glens of Antrim a wheelwright told him that in making scotch carts a wide notch was cut into the middle of the top cornice of the front to give room for the horse's tail. This, he says, seems to confirm his suggestion that the design originated in copying the marks left by the horse's rear, showing the tail between the rumps.

St. Neots, Hunts.

C. F. TEBBUTT







(a, b, c)



(d, e, f)



(g, h, i)



**SOME PHYSICAL TYPES AMONG THE KADAR**

(a) Kanakuthy, chief of the Charpa group; (f) A small girl; (h) Mother carrying child in the old fashion;  
(i) Mother carrying child in the Hindi fashion



# CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF KADAN RELIGION\*

by

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## Introductory Note

**161** The Kadar are a food-gathering tribe roaming in the dense forest of the eastern part of the Chittur Taluk in Cochin (South India) and the adjoining forests of Travancore and Coimbatore. Ehrenfels draws a picture of these primitive tribes (U. R. Ehrenfels, *Kadar of Cochin*, Madras, 1952; quoted as E.1); in chapters VII and VIII he deals with the religious conceptions, as also in 'A Kadan Creation Myth' (*Anthropos*, Vol. XLV (1950), pp. 165-176; quoted as E.2). He carried out his research near Parambikulam (E.1, p. 3). Since the beginning of this century this place has been connected with the plains by a small-gauge tramline for timber transport. Contact with timber coolies and the contractors who exploit 'the Minor Forest Products' (honey, wax, cardamom, certain medical roots) 'has changed the entire pattern of Kadan life and economy' (*op. cit.*, p. 14). The Kadar of Parambikulam have settled down to 'more or less a three-quarter aboriginal type of life' (*op. cit.*, p. 14). They build rectangular houses and even put up a cowshed (*op. cit.*, p. 18). Evidently this group is strongly influenced, while others, more isolated, have preserved more of their original culture.

In April, 1953, I visited some Kadan camps in the border district of Travancore-Cochin. One group of 18 families was camping near the Charpa Forest Bungalow on the bank of the river bordering the Travancore territory. I found another camp, the Ambula group, of eight families, north-east of Poringalkuthu. To the north, near Chantan Thodu, were two small camps by the roadside consisting of two families from Parambikulam and three from Coimbatore district. These five families have started tapioca-planting. Two miles away camped three families from Coimbatore and three from Parambikulam. Valakayan's family was sheltering far away from the Ambula group; his hunting ground was near Kuryarkuthy; but as his wife belongs to the Adropoly group (which I was unable to contact), he had been staying on with them for a year.

I was able to get my information from different groups each in a different stage of acculturation. The Charpa group is the most primitive and genuine. My interpreter during this tour was Mr. King, who was born in the district. As he knew the Kadan dialect and the people very well, he helped me to get close contact and collect important information.

## The Conceptions of the Divine Beings

(a) *The Charpa group.* Kanakuthy (Plate Ja) is the chief and *pujari* (priest) of the Charpa group. I found him a very clever and able man, whose statements were confirmed by the older men. His father, who died some years ago, held

\* With Plate J and five text figures

a reputation as a man of great knowledge of Kadan traditions and customs. Kanakuthy stressed that the Kadar believed in a High God called Parama Shiva or Parameshiva, identical with Surya, the sun god, whose sister is Ilura, the moon goddess. They may not utter the name Surya but replace it by the simple 'He,' while invoking Ilura's name as they like. Ilura is identified with Parvathi, Shiva's wife. The female counterpart in this couple plays no special role and is hardly mentioned.

Another couple is Karimalai Gopuram, a mountain god also called Aiyappan, and his sister, Kaliyani. Kaliyani is not another name for Kali. The sun god married Kaliyani. One day they started a quarrel and the sun god became



FIG. 1. KADAN FAMILY (GRANDMOTHER, MOTHER, BOY AND GIRL) BENEATH WINDSCREEN

furious. He rushed at her to strike her but she fled to her brother for protection. Surya pursued her to her brother's place, and shot an arrow at Aiyappan, wounding him. Blood gushed in torrents from his wound and formed a lake called Chora Kulam (lake of blood). Aiyappan and Kaliyani are now believed to reside on two mountains, and to be the first human beings, whose offspring are the Kadar. The very first human couple was created by Parama Shiva, who is not honoured by sacrifices.

Surya gives us men and the procreative power which we communicate to our wives through sexual intercourse. The first two ancestors appeared on the surface of the earth coming out of a hole at the foot of the mountain Parapapari.

That is the first report I had from the chief. The second report narrates a creation myth in which the stress is again laid on the one High God Parama Shiva. The Charpa group does not sacrifice to the High God. Kanakuthy stressed: 'We do not honour Shiva by sacrifice but after death our souls go up to appear before God who will judge them.'



The chief is the *pujari* of Aiyappan who comes down during sacrifices, possesses the *pujari* and speaks through his mouth. That is why this Kadan group is closely attached to Aiyappan, who is supposed to be the first man and primeval ancestor. He is a powerful mountain god who protects the Kadar from wild beasts and poisonous snakes, and helps them in all dangers. He is also a hunter god who provides the Kadar with game. The Charpa group has a place of cult in a cave near the waterfall below Charpa. Here are a pyramidal stone and two small bells, marking the place for their offerings of cocoanuts, roasted rice, plantains and arrack.

(b) *The Ambula group.* The older people of this group stated: 'Our main god is Parama Shiva, whose consort is



FIG. 2. KADAN WOMEN AND CHILDREN, MAKING TOILET

Parvathi. Shiva created the first Kadan. In the olden days we Kadar had many traditions relating to god and mankind, now lost and forgotten because we were forced to retreat to poor and restricted districts, becoming lesser in number.

'In veneration of Shiva we burn lights and offer cocoanuts, honey and betel, but not tobacco and arrack. We can offer these on any prominent rock opposite our wind-screens. We clean the place and bore a hole on the top of the rock into which we pour oil and light it. Nearby we place the other oblates and offer them. Once a year we have to make a great sacrifice for Shiva.' Two rocks for sacrifices were opposite the settlement. I was not allowed to go near to take a photograph.

'Aiyappan is our most powerful protector and mountain god. We honour him together with Shiva. The stories of the two mountains, Malavay and Malankuratti, are mere fables and they are not divine beings. We venerate a female goddess, Kaliyani, on the mountain Karimalai Gopuram, offering her opium, ganja and arrack. Near Manjakutty is a growing rock, the home of the goddess Athavichari. We may not offer her tobacco and arrack.

'Our *pujari* Valayan gets possessed by the spirit of Karivali who was the very first Kadan. When we make offerings we take away a handful of rice for our ancestors, especially Karivali. We also know of a god for travellers, Parivazi Mundara. During the feast connected with the

offerings we dip our fingers in liquid and sprinkle a few drops in the air.'

(c) *Valakayan of Kuryarkutty.* Valakayan, who is about 50 years old, said: 'My old mother always admonished me to pray to one god only who protects us and gives us enough food. She constantly mentioned Parameshva (Parama Shiva) and Aiyappan. On the summit of Karimalai Gopuram is a flat rock, with a stone projecting from its centre. This spot commands a view of the sea in the west. This is why we believe Aiyappan lives there, watching and protecting the world. Here the *pujari* offers arrack, opium, ganja and incense. He also kills a cock and sprinkles the blood on the stone. During this performance he becomes possessed first by Karnor ["deceased ancestor" in general and not "my father" as in the Malayalam language] and foretells impending diseases and troubles. He gives instructions to the attendants about the district in which they should camp and hunt in the following year. The Karnor spirit then leaves the *pujari*, who then becomes possessed by Aiyappan, who at once announces: "The offerings are insufficient and too poor. If you have no better sacrifices I am unable to protect and help you." We reply: "Of everything God has given us we offer you a share."

At the sacrificial place there are two double-edged daggers about 25 centimetres long and two long sickle-shaped knives. If the possessed *pujari* grasps a dagger he will pierce his mouth with it; if he seizes a knife he will strike his head with it. During this great festival a band plays three cylindrical drums, one round drum and two flutes. This great sacrifice is offered once a year on a Sunday or Friday in the last week of December. The Kadar have no knowledge of time and the *pujari* has to find the date from the people of the plains.

The life of every child is given by God. The parents cannot do anything to force God to give them a child. If they do so it will surely be still-born. They have a proverb: 'The parents tried to force God to give them a child, so God did not give the baby a soul and it was still-born.' Abortions and premature births are also God's punishment. When they die their souls go up to heaven and appear before God. They say: 'The body is from the earth, why should there be mourning? What God has given [the soul] he takes back.' Such belief shows that the Kadar have a distinct conception of a High God.

(d) *The Coimbatore group.* 'The mountain god is called Kayakan Kandheki. At the foot of the mountain is a cave where a stone is placed. There we make an offering in the month *thai*. The paddy used for this sacrifice has to be pounded with a new pounder and in a new mortar. Cocoanuts, rice, plantains and incense are the sacrificial ingredients. Our *pujari* wears small bells on his ankles and carries a small bundle of seven reed canes. A cylindrical drum is beaten during the ceremony. As ancestral sacrifices we offer rice, plantains, tobacco, arrack, opium and all kinds of food on Monday or Friday of any month. Marilal is the female goddess.'

These are the most important data on the conceptions of divine beings among the Kadar.



### *Creation Myths of Man*

All the Kadar believe that a Supreme Being created the first man. On enquiring about the manner of creation they replied: 'In olden days we had many stories about them, but they are now forgotten.' Only the chief Kana-kuthy was able to tell me a creation myth.

'Parama Shiva and his consort in heaven had a son. They sent him down to earth to enjoy himself. He came down to earth and visited a few countries. But he soon returned to heaven and complained: "There is nothing on earth except trees and forests. I could not find a companion so I have come back." Thereupon Shiva gave his son an earthen pot containing 4,000 kinds of seeds, saying: "Be careful and use these seeds only when they are needed." The son revisited the earth and as he was roaming about he let the pot fall, scattering the seeds, which quickly developed into all the things on earth. Among them men also appeared. They came to Shiva's son complaining: "On earth there is no water, no fire and no food. How can we keep alive?" He was unable to give them anything. At this moment the Naga king happened to meet him and asked: "What is your trouble? What is your difficulty? Let me know if I can help you." He told him about the pot and how men originated and were asking for a living. The Naga answered, "Do not worry, I can collect all the men." He then collected all of them, locked them again in the pot and returned them to Shiva's son, who went back to heaven and reported all that had happened. Of all these men brought to Shiva he selected Aiyappan and Kaliyani and sent them back to the earth. Because men were first enclosed in a pot and came out through the opening of the pot, it is said that the first couple came to the surface of the earth from a hole.

'Shiva sent his son down to the earth once more, endowing him with powers to establish the human races. First he arranged the forest tribes, the Kadar, Panans and others—18 in all. Then he set up the plains tribes—the Parayans, the Pulayans and others, altogether 18 tribes. In the beginning men were stark naked. At that time there were 8,000 different kinds of animal and 10,000 different kinds of bird. But rivers and seas did not yet exist.

'One day the Naga king came to Shiva, reminding him of the service he had done in collecting the men and asking for a reward. Shiva promised to grant him whatever he wanted, whereupon he asked to be made the ruler of the world. Shiva disagreed, saying, "The world may not remain steady." The Naga king answered, "If you are afraid that the world may become unsteady and get into disorder then let me carry the world." Parameshwa then placed the world on Naga's head, who was thus compelled to carry the world. Naga started weeping, his tears forming rivers. As he continued to shed tears these collected together to form the seas. Thus rivers and seas came into existence. Naga is the serpent carrying the world.

'In the beginning men were stark naked, but they were happy because they had everything they wanted. Without work or effort life was very easy. But one Kadan chief who was discontented with such a life went to Shiva one

day, asking for more enjoyment. God questioned him, saying, "Why do you like to have more enjoyment, what do you wish?" The chief answered, "I would like to have a basket and a digging stick." His wish was granted, but the chief realized that he lacked the power to carry the basket and the skill to make a digging stick. He asked for these powers and received them. Thus men began to work, digging roots and collecting food.

'After some time man was discontented again. He now asked Shiva for wealth. God replied, "This is the last request I will grant; therefore be careful." The Kadan chief stood near a pillar of the heavenly palace. He stretched out his hands, embracing the pillar. In doing so he opened both



FIG. 3. TWO KADAN BOYS

his hands together and Parameshwa filled them with gold. But as he withdrew his hands, the gold fell down and was scattered all over the earth. The Kadar have since remained poor and have to work all their lives.'

This is the story of the creation of man, his happy life in the beginning and subsequent ill luck and poverty. The other groups know that God created mankind in a happy state without disease and trouble. Most of them call the first man Aiyappan and the first woman Kaliyani, the first parents of all mankind. Some remember the first Kadan, who is not identical with the primeval ancestor and call him Karivali or Karnor.

### *The Maladevi and Animal Ghosts*

The Kadar know a general group of spirits whom they call Maladevi, meaning 'Mountain and Forest Spirits.' Among them are also 'Nature Spirits' who live in trees, caves and water. At the rocky banks of the upper Chalakudi river are under-water caves where the water monsters live. They have long arms with which they drag into the caves the victims bathing nearby. Evil spirits lingering in the trees can also do harm to man, and others live in mountain peaks. These spirits usually are only known in general and have no special names and receive no offerings. As a rule the Kadar are not afraid of the Maladevi.

Some animals are in the same category as the Maladevi. The Kadar regard the *gaur* (bison) as an accursed animal so they do not kill it, touch its flesh or pollute their implements with it. When a hunting party from the plain



shot a bison they used a big copper vessel of the Kadar for boiling the flesh. After that the Kadar discarded the vessel and used it no more (E.1, p. 180). They are even afraid to meet bisons in the forest or crossing their tracks. All these events are bad omens. There is a peculiar exception to the bison taboo. The group around Parambikulam practises a *gaur* dance. They attach the animal's horns, together with the frontal skull bone, to a bamboo board which the dancer wears on his head. This custom is only known in the Parambikulam district. The other groups know the ceremony but do not practise it. Enquiring about their *gaur* taboos, most of the Kadar replied, 'Our ancestors did so and we do the same.' A few men answered, 'Some of our



FIG. 4. KADAN BOY, GOING FISHING

ancestors are reborn as *gaurs*. That is the reason why we do so.' Otherwise the idea of rebirth is completely unknown among the Kadar and other primitive forest tribes like the Pantarams, the Hill Pulayans, the Malayans, etc. Whose ancestor was reborn as a *gaur*? He cannot be benevolent since the animal is regarded as accursed. The powerful good ancestors are helpful protector spirits. The Kadar were unable to explain the *gaur* mystery clearly.

Similarly they consider the tiger accursed. They are not allowed to kill the tiger or use any part of it. It is a common belief among the forest tribes that the tiger is sent by the High God to punish bad people by killing and devouring them, so they do not try to rescue any person attacked by a tiger.

The Kadar do not eat the white monkey (*Macaca radiata*, subsp. Travancore), the elephant and the bear. They could not give me the reason for these taboos, which are common to all the primitive tribes of Travancore-Cochin.

#### *The Religious Conceptions of the Parambikulam Kadar*

Let us briefly compare the religious conceptions of the above-mentioned Kadar with those of the Parambikulam district related by Ehrenfels (E.1, pp. 154f.; E.2, pp. 163f.).

The *puja* festival at the Karimthalpara pool near Kuryarkutty, in honour of Bhadrakali the ancestor, the spirits of dead children, and the tree spirits, shows all the characteristics of the *puja* of the people of the plains. The offering of arrack and opium, the biting off of the cock's head and the drinking of blood, the drum-beating and the pipe-blowing are clear proofs (E.1, pp. 157f.).

A similar *puja* was related by Valakayan which is performed on the top of Karimalai Gopuram in honour of Aiyappan. Ehrenfels mentions Malavay and Malankuratti as 'two very, very old Kadan gods. . . . They were the first beings in the world and had come from below the surface of the earth. . . . They were the creators of the first Kadan man and woman. . . . Malavay and Malankuratti created the mountains. These two mountains began to fight badly. The Chora Kulam Lake is between these two mountains. Their blood can be seen even today, so badly did the two mountains fight.' The two hills referred to here are the two peaks of the double-pronged Karimalai (Gompuram Kovil) (E.1, pp. 161f.). The double-pronged mountain is Malavay and Malankuratti, brother and sister. Feeling the contradiction, others say they are 'two giants who fought a fierce battle' or the battle was fought with two mountains further east, Perungunnu and Mayangunnu, who had proposed to the sister part of Karimalai to be the bride' (E.2, p. 170).

This shows that there is some confusion of ideas. The above-mentioned fight between the sun god and Aiyappan on the summit of the Karimalai gives a clearer picture of the myth.

A similarly contradictory story is about Attuvachery, who is supposed to be the daughter of Malavay and Malankuratti. Was her origin due to creation because her parents created everything, or to generation?

But what is more important is that there is a counterpart of this couple. 'A divine couple is known to certain people of the plains as Malakoran and Malaykoratti and by other similar names. Though not worshipped in temples, they are considered as hill gods. Particularly the Panans worship them in some places' (E.1, p. 163, note 5). It is well to remember here that the Panans and the Kadar were the first forest tribes established by Shiva's son. The similarity in the names Malankuratti and Malaykoratti is striking. There are several divine couples. Therefore it cannot be proved that 'Malavay and Malankuratti are, or at least were until quite recently, the Kadan gods *par excellence*' (E.1, p. 192). In the light of our recent research among the Kadar the religious conceptions of this tribe are much more complicated.

Ehrenfels himself quotes some Kadar who objected to this divine couple idea as the main god—Murugan, Govinda, Velli, who 'stressed the importance of Aiyappan,' Velluppu who mentioned an 'old spirit Karia Muppan (Black Old Man) who saw them, gave them clothes, advised them to create the first two Kadar and then disappeared' (*op. cit.*, p. 166), Velama who said: 'Malavay and Malankuratti were not gods at all, but just reformers who introduced civilization, especially the wearing of clothes, the use of fire and the preparation of boiled food.



The Kadar were not created by them but by Ishwara (Shiva)' (*op. cit.*, p. 167).

Karia Muppun who advised them to create man has his counterpart in the above-mentioned Naga king who was helpful in bringing about the creation of man in the right way. It even reminds us of Shiva who instructed his son how to create man. We have seen in detail in the above quoted reports how strong the belief in an ultimate creator is among the Kadar. Ehrenfels, conscious of the stress laid on a High God who is the creator, writes, 'Velluppu's story of the old spirit Karia Muppun, however, still allows for a possible assumption of an original, almost forgotten Kadan belief in an ultimate creator also of Malavay and Malankuratti' (*op. cit.*, p. 196).

The Kadar of Parambikulam know about the happy and easy life in the 'Golden Age.' The loss of their paradise was due to 'some mischievous boys and girls' who 'went alone to the jungle. They were silly things and could not grasp anything with their clumsy hands. So they got hold of some sticks and began to dig into the ground, out of curiosity. . . . Ever since this, their foolishness, the whole tribe is doomed to the drudgery of using our heavy digging stick' (E.1, p. 175). How the Kadar lost the money which the gods placed in their hands is related in another story. Embracing small trees they stretched out their folded hands to get the money. But when they withdrew, they opened their hands and the coins were scattered on the ground (E.1, p. 173). The belief in the Maladevata (hill gods), in a life after death high up in the sky because the souls go up there after death, in taboos and omens is similar to the ideas of the Kadar whom I examined (E.1, pp. 196f.). There is much the same in the religious conceptions of the Parambikulam Kadar and the other groups.

#### *Analysis of the Religious Conceptions*

The single Kadan groups are in a different stage of acculturation. Kuryarkutti, the home of Valakayan, like Parambikulam, is very strongly influenced by the people of the plains, as both districts are near the tramline. The Kadar of Coimbatore are also influenced by the people of the tea estates as are the Ambula and Charpa groups, although contact was not so close. Acculturation is evident in the building of houses and cowsheds and the cultivation of plantains and tapioca among the first two groups. Clothes and ornaments show the imitation of Malayalam and Tamil customs. The Kadar have lost their original language save for a few words only and now speak a mixture of Tamil and Malayalam. Even the names of their religious concepts have been replaced by Malayalam and Tamil words. The disintegration of the Kadan culture is very marked, and this fact must be considered when we analyse the Kadan religion.

Another fact is very important for the right understanding of the Kadar. We may divide their neighbours into three circles, inner, middle and outer. The inner circle consists of food-gatherers like the Malayans, the Hill Pulayans, the Pantarams, and tribes practising shifting or 'slash-and-burn' cultivation. After one or two years they move on and burn another part of the forest. Such tribes

are the Muthuvans, Munnans, Pallayans, Uralis and Malai Aryans. All these tribes, the shifting gatherers and the shifting cultivators belong to a pre- and non-Dravidian population. The middle circle is formed by the Parayans, Pulayans, Vedans, Vettuvans, Panans, etc., who are the agriculturists at the foot of the hills and the adjoining plains, and the Ulladans and Nayadis who are the food-gatherers in the plains. The latter group lost their hunting grounds because the lower jungles disappeared completely. All these tribes are pre-Dravidian. The outer circle consists of the proper Dravidian castes, people who follow Hinduism or Christianity. They occupy the fertile plains and the lower hills, but owing to over-population have recently



FIG. 5. CHILDREN WITH MALARIA (SWOLLEN BELLIES)

been forced to migrate into the areas of the middle and inner circles. Consequently the people of the middle circle have moved into the territory of the inner circle. The people here have exhausted their sources of food, owing to forest-clearing. Thus some tribes of the food-gatherers and shifting cultivators are forced to settle down permanently. In the whole area acculturation is taking place on a large scale, and the primitive tribes are changing rapidly.

The pre-Dravidians of the middle circle have their own beliefs and customs. They are influenced by Hinduism and to some extent by Christianity, but not to such a degree as would be expected. I cannot go into details of this pre-Dravidian religion, though a few points may be stressed. It is characteristic that they have no temples, but put up stones beneath certain trees as the abode of their gods and spirits. In spite of this, the belief in a Supreme Being is strong among them. He is known as Shiva, Ishvara, Devan, Bhagwan, etc. The female goddess Kali, Bhadrakali, plays an important role but does not by any means dominate the religion. Bloody sacrifices of cock, sheep and goat are common. Magic is well developed, especially among the Parayans, and the magicians form a special class called the *manthravathi*. Many of them use the hourglass-shaped drum so typical among the Shamans. The concept of rebirth is



unknown, or acknowledged only to a very slight degree. These characteristics show that the people of the middle circle are not remoulded by Hinduism as is the case with so many other primitive tribes in India. If that is the situation in the middle circle which was in close contact with the Dravidians for many centuries, the inner circle, it may be said, is even less influenced by Hinduism.

What proved effective for all the tribes was also effective for the Kadar. Their dominating concept is the idea of a High God who rules the Kadan life and after-life to a great extent. This monotheistic God is the centre of their belief, though belief in minor gods and spirits is not excluded. He is the creator of the world and of man, and gives the soul to every child that is to be born, and to him the soul returns after death. God provided a paradise for mankind, a state of happiness and joy, and when man lost the 'Golden Age' through his silly ambitious desires, the Divinity gave him the equipment to win the struggle for life. Even now the Kadar depend on God for food and sustenance. The Supreme Being watches over the world and mankind, protecting them and also punishing transgressors with diseases, tiger attacks and other misfortunes. It is true that the Kadar neglect the worship of this God, but this is because of their belief that God does not need man's little things and cannot be appeased with sacrifices. The belief in an ultimate creator is one of the basic original ideas in the Kadan religion.

His consort plays a negligible role. More important is a kind of demiurge appointed by God to create man and certain parts of the world. In one myth it is the son of Parameshva, in another legend it is Malavay. In the beginning there were fights, Surya against Aiyappan on behalf of the latter's sister, one mountain against another on behalf of a bride. The creation of man had to be repeated because the first creation was a failure. A mysterious person appeared and gave his advice—the 'Old Spirit Karia Muppan' or the Naga king who could not reign in the waters as rivers and waters were then non-existent. The fundamental aspect of these features seems to belong to the original Kadan belief. The influence of pre-Dravidian tribes is obvious from the changes in names and details.

It is either Aiyappan or Malavay who is greatly honoured. The pre-Dravidian people show greatest devotion to Aiyappan, who is closely associated with Sastha, as the following account shows: Iyappan or Sastha is believed to be the supreme god and highest ruler among the non-Aryan aborigines [better pre-Dravidian (M.H.)] in Southern India. He is called Sastha (ruler) or Iyappan (respectable father) and is the chief of the *bhutas* and ghosts, whom he restrains from inflicting harm on human beings. He is in this respect identified with Shiva, who is called Bhuthesa or Bhuthanadha, the chief of the ghosts. Worshipped as he is by all castes of people in Southern India, especially in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, he is more revered and feared by the low castes in rural parts. He is often represented as mounted on an elephant or a horse. He rides with sword in hand over hills and dales to clear the country of all obnoxious spirits. During midnight, he goes hunting armed with swords, surrounded by torch-bearers and

followed by his retinue. Anyone who meets the hunting party on the road is sure to die. When not riding he is shown as a seated, red-skinned man. On his head he wears a crown, on his forehead are painted the three lines of *vibhuthi* (holy ashes) and on his tuft-like locks hang strings of pearls which also adorn his ears and neck. Ornaments cover his arms, hands, feet and waist. As an emblem of his royal authority, he carries a sceptre in his hand, and a girdle encircles his waist and left leg. He wears no clothing on the upper part of his body, but covers his loins with a gay-coloured cloth.

Most of the rural parts of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore possess a small temple (with or without roof) or shrine beneath a shady tree or by the side of a brook, dedicated to the worship of Sastha. As people, especially the Sudras and the lower castes, who were largely agricultural and fond of hunting, had to live and work in the forests, they began the propitiation of this deity for protection against demons and all kinds of illness. He thus became the favoured deity of the Sudras. Brahmans must also have borrowed the worship of this god from them. There are temples for this deity where *pujas* are performed and daily offerings given by the Sudras, who never offer animal sacrifices. Their special songs called *Sasthapattu* (songs in honour of Sastha) are sung to propitiate him in order to prevent any pestilential diseases or failure of monsoons, and to keep off evil demons.

After recovering from illness or to commemorate any piece of good fortune (acquisition of wealth or the birth of a son) in a Sudra family, the members thereof celebrate a festival in honour of Aiyappan by inviting a band of Sudra songsters well versed in the songs praising him. A small structure in the form of a temple is built in a conspicuous part of the house, and a small stool with an image thereon is placed in the temple. The figure of Aiyappan is also drawn on the floor. *Pujas* are performed and offerings of rice boiled in milk, sugar, plantains, fruits, etc., are made to him. The song lasts for the whole night and is accompanied by tambour-beating. One of them turns as Velichapad at the end, and dances or walks up and down in an excited manner amid the noisy music, while an attendant sings songs describing the deeds of demons. He finally succumbs in a fit and gives out oracular responses to any enquiries addressed to him. Most of the bystanders consult him as to their wants and destinies (L.K.A.K. Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Madras, 1909, Vol. I, pp. 312f.).

Iyer simplifies the actual facts, because some of the primitive tribes such as the Kadar never use the name Sastha for their Supreme God. There is a clear distinction between the primitives: some use the name Sastha, others do not. The idea of a High God is common among all the people but his names differ. The Kadar show their aversion to the pre-Dravidians by not choosing the name they use but the name Shiva used by the Dravidians. The name Sastha, also pronounced Sastan, is perverted by the Dravidians into Satan—devil—thus turning the High God of the primitives into a demon. This is mostly done by Christians. The Hindu Brahmans consider him a child of the unnatural union of Hari and Hara (Shiva and Vishnu



in the form of a beautiful girl) (*op. cit.*, p. 313). It is an acknowledged fact that the victors make the High God of the suppressed people a demon.

A second mistake in Iyer's report is the identification of Sastha and Aiyappan. The aboriginals themselves never identify the two personalities but keep them clearly separated. They never offer Sastha cocks, sheep, goats or any bloody sacrifices, or arrack, opium or tobacco, but only food and light offerings. The Ambula group of the Kadar offer cocoanuts, honey and betel nuts and burn an oil lamp. The *pujari* is never possessed by Sastha.

With Aiyappan it is quite different. He receives bloody sacrifices and arrack, opium and tobacco. During the ceremony he takes possession of the *pujari*, who begins to tremble, dance and jump, and then prophesies in the name of Aiyappan. Besides the *pujari* the others may also become possessed by him. 'On the morning after a boy was killed by a tiger, near a village east of Parambikulam, parts of the victim's hands and feet were found in the jungle. Velli, who was in no particular way related to the killed boy, became obsessed by Aiyappan and went with Murugan, and one Kadar from the boy's village, to the jungle. There he gripped the already decomposing remains of the body with his teeth and, crawling on hands and knees, transported them to a small hole which had meanwhile been dug by the other two members of the party. Finally the scant bodily remains were buried and a wooden peg driven into the filled-in hole with invocations to Aiyappan. This . . . would cause Aiyappan to prevent the tiger from killing any further humans. . . . When discussing the genuineness of Velli's obsession, his friends asserted: "How else could he have taken the boy's remains into his mouth?" They seemed convinced of the genuineness of the obsession, whilst Velli himself declined to talk about the subject' (E.1, p. 183).

Kanakuthy, the chief and *pujari* of the Charpa group, told me, 'I am very afraid that possessed by Aiyappan, I may one day fall down to the ground and die immediately.' I asked him: 'Have you a revelation or prophecy from Aiyappan to this effect?' 'No, it is only my fear,' he replied.

From the enquiries I made among the different tribes of Travancore-Cochin and from the above-mentioned Kadan belief in Aiyappan it can clearly be proved that Aiyappan is the primeval ancestor who was deified and then became a powerful mountain, forest and protector god. His consort, the first woman, shared his fate to a certain degree, but never became so important. This is the case in the belief of the Kadar, and the other pre-Dravidians.

I suppose that the belief in primeval ancestors and their veneration as protector and mountain gods is an original part of the Kadan's creed. But the Kadar have changed the name and enriched the sacrifices with bloody offerings, arrack, opium, tobacco and with the music of drum and pipe. Similarly, they introduced the rite of possession by Aiyappan and the magic connected with it. I suppose that the offerings originally made to Aiyappan by all the pre-Dravidian tribes did not include the killing of animals and the sprinkling of their blood. Such ceremonies are

closely connected with Kali and Bhadrakali, the ferocious aspect of a female goddess, as the name suggests. She is the specific mother goddess, whose original worshippers—the agriculturists—possessed a cultural pattern, formed and dominated by mother-right. Contact with such people influenced the other pre-Dravidians who had a patrilineal organization, and they took over the Kali cult with the bloody sacrifices. Some of the Kadar groups show the same acculturation, for instance those around Parambikulam. Others refused to adopt such ceremonies.

There is one remarkable fact, that the stronger the practice of the Kali cult is in a group, the greater the development of magic, as among the Parayans who are recognized as the best magicians. They are consulted in all matters relating to theft, demoniacal influence, murder of enemies, and disease. In the black art of the *oti* cult they render themselves invisible or are able to assume the form of an animal, such as the bull, cat, elephant or dog. To practise this, the chief ingredient they require is *pilla thilam* (infant oil), which they prepare from a six- or seven-month-old foetus of a young mother in her first pregnancy. The magician extracts the foetus from the hypnotized mother at midnight and distils an oil from it. In spite of the great influence of black magic among these tribes, we recognize its negligible role among the Kadar.

The belief in Surya (Sun) and Ilura (Moon), the creation myths of the world and man, the legends of the 'Golden Age' and the 'Lost Paradise' are also fundamental features of the Kadan's *Weltbild*.

### Conclusions

Ehrenfels considers that 'a simple, somewhat vague conception of a primeval couple, conceived almost as one entity, appears genuine and not self-contradictory' (E.1, p. 196), ' . . . the female aspect of the divine plays a not negligible role in the Kadan religious thought' (*op. cit.*, p. 188) and 'would appear to approximate to Hindu mythology, especially that of Shiva Shakti' (*op. cit.*, p. 191).

Even in the belief of the Parambikulam Kadar related by Ehrenfels there is no stress laid on the female consort of the divine couple nor is 'a female creation deity largely submerged under patriarchal acculturation sheets' (*op. cit.*, p. 286). The female goddess always remains in the background of the religious concepts of the Parambikulam and of all the other Kadan groups. The male ancestor plays an important role and took over some functions of the High God, but the Supreme Being was never outruled by Aiyappan, nor is the strong monotheism of the Kadar a recent adaptation from Hindus and Christians (*op. cit.*, p. 196). I found that the Kadar living in the west nearer to the Christians do not use the Christian name Devan but the Hindu nomenclature Shiva, Parameshva, etc., for their Supreme Being and the Coimbatore groups closely connected with the Tamil-speaking east use other names.

All these facts show that the High God of the Kadan belief is the original creator and genuine ruler of the world and of mankind. It does not exclude secondary influence by Hindus as well as by Christians.



## KONKOMBA 'OSUO'\*

by

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**162** The word 'sorcerer' is exceedingly vaguely used in the literature of English witchcraft. Yet, if the word be understood to mean a malevolent, maleficent person who seeks to achieve his ends by magical means, then 'sorcerer' will serve as a preliminary translation of the Konkomba term 'osūo.'

Morphologically, the word 'osūo' seems to fall into the concord class that has 'o-' and 'bā-' as singular and plural prefixes and into the sub-class of that class which is composed of nouns that apply only to human beings. All such terms as 'man,' 'woman,' 'chief,' 'diviner,' etc., and only such terms, are in this sub-class. Yet the form 'osūo' is peculiar in two ways.

First, it ends in a nasalized diphthong. Diphthongs appear to belong to the verb in Konkomba and very few nouns end in them. These appear to be forms with ritual or magical significance. For example, *kasiūo*, a bad thing; *kəliūo*, the special bags carried over the shoulder and worn only by Elders; *kədzəndziūo*, the shadow. Yet it may be that I tended to simplify these sounds and to eliminate the diphthongs, so that until Konkomba phonetics have been more fully analysed little can be made of this point.

Secondly, the plural form is in doubt. At first I noted the word as having no plural. At other times I noted it as falling into the class I have suggested because the plural form *bəsuom* occurred. In one of my texts, however, the plural form is *isiūo*. This would suggest that the word should be in the 'o-/zero,' 'i-/zero' prefix/suffix class, that class into which animals are put. For example, 'opia, ipia' (animal), 'ona, ina' (cow). Other words in this class include *onamu*, *inamu* (an animal that is dangerous in life and after death) and *otuwe*, *ituwe* (a one-legged, one-armed spirit of the bush). The plural form *isiūo* may reflect some doubt about the human status of the *osūo* who, because he is evil, is inhuman. On the other hand, were there in fact no plural it might be because *osūo* are individuals who work alone, who achieve their evil by and for themselves. Konkomba have no highly developed concept of an association of sorcerers.

Anyone who suspects that he is being attacked by a sorcerer will say, 'Oni ne mi,' that is, 'Someone "does not want to see" me.' The verb 'ne' is explained in the Konkomba phrase 'Wa dge ke oni,' that is, 'He not-wants to see someone,' that is, he wishes the person to die. Sometimes the phrase 'Wa dge ke oni' is used in place of the verb 'ne.' Like the language of divination, that of sorcery is circumlocutory and evasive.

Once a particular person is suspected of sorcery the

victim may accuse him or her. Open accusations are, in fact, most commonly made against women. The formal accusation of a sorcerer is made as follows. First, the accuser lays a head of sorghum on the ground and on the corn he lays an arrow. He then says, 'A ge bisa aṅ a ge unkwī la,' 'You want food (before) you want death.' The word 'ge' like the word 'want' is capable of several interpretations. Here it seems to mean 'need.' The sentence is not interrogative or it would end with the interrogative particle 'nā,' which has a falling tone. The concluding particle 'la' strengthens the sentence. Nor is the sentence disjunctive: the conjunction 'aṅ' does not put alternatives to the *osūo*. The sorcerer is not being offered a choice between food (that is life) and an arrow (that is death) but is being offered food before death. The most frequent use of 'aṅ' is in such a sentence as 'N ge n ke Dagbi aṅ kənanke Mamam,' 'I want I see Dagbi before seeing Mamam.' 'Aṅ' implies a future tense in the succeeding clause even though the future tense of the verb is not always used. The action of placing the arrow on the corn with the accompanying formula may be interpreted either as a threat 'Death will put a stop to life' or as a command 'Eat before you die.'

On some occasions the formula can be so worded as to offer alternatives. Thus, 'N ṅa kənji a be a ku mi. Bisa sə, unkwī mu sə; nje sa ge nena,' 'I do so you wish you kill me. Food is there, death too is there: take the one you wish.'

The first form of the accusation is the stronger of the two since it threatens speedy death. The persons known to me who were so accused, all of them women, at once ran away from their husbands to unknown destinations.

Sorcerers are believed to use two principal methods of attack on their victims. The first is by medicine and the second by transvection. The medicine is known as *sūdanjog*, literally, *osūo a njog*, or 'sorcerer's medicine.' The term 'njog' is applied to any therapeutic medicine, native or exotic, and it is also according to context either a good, that is a curative, or a bad, that is a hurtful, medicine. This distinction is expressed by Konkomba not by different nominal forms, but descriptively. Thus, 'Osūo ti oni njog mwa dje,' 'Sorcerer gives one medicine it not-good.' On the other hand an *onjodaa*, literally, a medicine-owner, a leech, treats patients suffering from a recognized disease with 'Njog mu ṅe na,' 'Medicine it good.' The ingredients of *sūdanjog* are the exuviae of a dead body. The Konkomba term for exuviae is 'tədzə,' a word which is explained as meaning 'a man's own personal dirtiness.' *Tədzə* may be contrasted with *təbər*, a ritual uncleanness which can be removed only by a purificatory rite, and with *təbi*, faeces. All three forms belong to the same nominal class and are found only in the plural form.

\* Vernacular words are here, exceptionally, printed with phonetic characters, since the article depends to a large extent on linguistic exactitude.—ED.



The term 'njog' may be contrasted with the term 'nda-bin.' Ndabin is a good, in the sense of protective, medicine, but is one that is dangerous if misused. If misused it may turn upon its maker.

The Konkomba concept which I have translated as transvection is *sūōhmi*, literally 'sorcerer fire,' or the glow given out by a sorcerer flying by night to attack a sleeping victim. Though Konkomba quite frequently claim to have seen *sūōhmi*, the method of attack by *sūōanjog* is perhaps the more feared of the two.

The concept of *osūō* is not a single one. Whereas in some societies, for example the Azande (Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, Oxford, 1937) and the Navaho (Kluckhohn, *Navaho Witchcraft*, Paps. Peabody Mus., Vol. XXIV, Part 2, 1944), the sorcerer who kills with medicines and the witch who flies by night are distinguished by different terms, Konkomba include both kinds of attack under the one term *osūō*.

The beliefs about *osūō* must be distinguished from those about were-animals and dangerous spirits. First, were-animals and were-trees: these may turn into human beings and human beings may turn into trees or animals. The former belief is the more frequently invoked of the two. There appears to be no noun which could be translated as 'were-animal.' Konkomba speak of 'Opia o kpeni odza na,' 'an animal who turns into a man.' Of all the animals, the pig and the crocodile are the most frequent were-animals. Were-animals seem to be characterized by a general incompetence in carrying out their evil intentions. They seem always, at the last moment, to get insensibly drunk and, in their drunkenness, to change back into a pig or crocodile and so expose themselves.

Spirits, among Konkomba, are of two kinds. First there are the small spirits of human shape, vaguely assigned a place in the bush, and known as *bānākpib*. Secondly, there are the tall, one-legged and one-armed *otuwe*. *Bānākpib*, though dangerous when they attack, can be caught, controlled and thereafter used by the person whom they attack. These spirits do not appear to be connected with sorcery or with the ghosts of sorcerers, though they may be connected with ancestral ghosts, since the word *bānākpib* is the plural form of the word *ānākpāl*, Elder. The same plural form is often used in the sense of 'ancestors' or 'forefathers,' as in the phrase '*Bānākpib diyuen . . .*' 'In the time of our forefathers . . .' The *otuwe* are static spirits

and certain places in the bush are notoriously dangerous because *otuwe* are found there. These spirits are dangerous if they stand upwind from a traveller, who will suffer paralysis of one side if the wind blows from the *otuwe* to him.

The two kinds of spirit, were-trees and were-animals are all, sometimes, spoken of as *osūō*. If one asks, say, 'What are the *otuwe*?' the answer is likely to begin with the phrase, 'Ni je *osūō* la,' literally, 'It is sorcerer.' I have already pointed out that the word *osūō* is a doubtful form but one which probably belongs to a particular concord class containing only words that refer to human beings. Yet there is another form that is very occasionally used. This word has the same stem as *o-sūō*; it is *kā-sūō*. That is, by the use of a different class prefix the word is transferred from one concord class to another. In some of its usages the word *kā-sūō* is synonymous with *sūōanjog*, sorcerer's medicine. In a very few instances, however, it is used in a more general sense which is best translated by 'something bad,' 'a bad thing' or, more abstractly, 'evil.' It is true that in most of my texts I recorded that these phenomena are spoken of as '*osūō*.' Yet it is possible either that I recorded the spoken word incorrectly, or that the speakers, since they spoke of beings having some kind of life, even a simulacrum of human life, used the form of word that refers to human beings. The occurrence of the word *kā-sūō*, though rare, suggests that all the phenomena discussed here belong to a general class of phenomena that are *kā-sūō*, evil. The term may refer to a concept, an abstraction, and not solely to a specific evil action. Such an act would be spoken of as '*O ŋa na āŋe*,' 'He does it not-good' and a sacrilegious act, such as the desecration of a shrine, is spoken of thus, '*O ŋa baka*,' 'He does evil.'

The apparent confusion of one evil phenomenon with another may therefore be resolved in the following way. Things that are evil form a class of phenomena that are *kā-sūō* and are contrasted with things that are good, *kānjaa*. Just as the two forms *kā-sūō* and *osūō* are found, so also are the forms *kānjaa* and *onjaa*. *Onjaa* is best translated as a good, or worthy, person, though it can also mean a handsome or beautiful person. In the separable phenomena that are sorcerers, evil or dangerous spirits, were-animals and were-trees, the general evil that is found in the Konkomba world is refracted into particular manifestations of evil.

## OBITUARY

Gerrit Jan Held: 1906-1955

**163** Gerrit Jan Held died suddenly on 28 September, 1955, at Jakarta, where he was professor of anthropology at the University of Indonesia. He was 49. The tragedy of his early death is the more bitter because in spite of his unusual abilities, his long periods of field research and his interest in structural theory he has remained practically unknown to British anthropologists.

He was born in Holland in 1906, attended the gymnasium, and did a period of military service before entering the University of Leiden in 1926. There he studied 'Indologie,' a testing range of

subjects including Sanskrit, comparative Indonesian linguistics, history, and anthropology, for nine years. In 1935 he was awarded a doctorate *cum laude* for his remarkable thesis *The Mahabharata: An Ethnological Study*, a work of unusual learning and theoretical ingenuity whose value has recently been recognized by Lévi-Strauss in his *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté*.

From 1935 to 1940 he served the Dutch Bible Society as delegate for New Guinea with the duties of advising on the cultural background in connexion with mission work and Bible translation, carrying out his own linguistic and ethnographical research, and surveying mission areas in Bali, Celebes and Java. It was during



this long period that he did field research among the Waropen of Geelvink Baai in western New Guinea. The results of this exacting research in the swamps and mudflats of the coast were published in a Waropen grammar and vocabulary (1942) and *Papoea's van Waropen*, a conventional ethnographical monograph which was completed before the war but not published until 1947.

In 1940 he entered the Dutch civil service in Indonesia as a linguist, and in 1941 was seconded to the University of Indonesia to teach anthropology. In 1942 he was commissioned in the Army of the Netherlands East Indies, was taken prisoner by the Japanese and remained the rest of the war in a prison camp. In 1946 he was appointed to the chair of anthropology in the University of Indonesia. He was also Director of the Institute for Linguistic and Cultural Research in Jakarta. He spent 1951-2 at Yale University as visiting professor and research associate.

His field research in these post-war years was carried out in the sultanate of Bima, in eastern Sumbawa, and before his death he had nearly completed a book on Bimanese social structure,

history and mythology. Those parts which I was fortunate enough to discuss with him were analyses of structural problems of great interest and of particular importance in the comparative study of social organization in eastern Indonesia. A few months ago he was preparing for final investigations on Sumbawa before leaving Indonesia to return to Holland. His return to Europe would undoubtedly have begun the most fruitful period of a life of arduous scholarly training and field research. Though they cannot now appear as he would have shaped them, there are many writings from before and after the war which it is hoped that his academic colleagues will edit for publication.

As a scholar, Held was almost awesomely informed on Indonesian ethnography, history and linguistics. He had a keen theoretical mind, and a sceptical thoroughness in the analysis of ethnographical data which would have proved him, had he lived, a great Indonesianist and an outstanding social anthropologist. He was a man of extraordinary charm and generous friendship. There is no one to replace him. RODNEY NEEDHAM

## SHORTER NOTE

**Bilingualism among the Mahass.** By J. Gwyn Griffiths, M.A., D.Phil., University College of Swansea, Wales

**164** During a season spent as archaeological assistant to the Egypt Exploration Society at Sese, Lower Nubia, in 1936-7, I was able to record certain observations about the linguistic habits of the Mahass who live in that area. A group of Egyptians from Quft formed the nucleus of skilled workers who led the actual digging. Some 40 local labourers assisted them, and they in turn were helped by about 80 boys and young men from the neighbourhood. The local labour was drawn from Sese<sup>1</sup> itself, which is about 180 miles south of Wadi Halfa, from Delgo, a village facing Sese on the eastern side of the Nile, and from other villages both north and south of Sese and Delgo, including Wawa, Abri, Amarah, and Firka to the north, and Khasanta, Handika, Koka, Kerma, Argo and even Dongola to the south.<sup>2</sup> The report of the excavations has not yet appeared, but is promised for the near future from the pen of Professor H. W. Fairman, of Liverpool. Professor A. M. Blackman directed the excavations. The following observations, however, are my own, and their tentative nature should be emphasized, as they were obtained through the medium of an imperfect knowledge of Arabic.

Seligman<sup>3</sup> once stated of the Barabra in general that 'most of the men are bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as their own languages.' The term 'bilingual' is of course a broad one, and may indicate very divergent levels in the knowledge of the two languages concerned. It is probable that most of the men employed at Sese were able to understand a certain amount of Arabic. They were also able to speak the language to some extent. Certainly both the men and the boys understood the simple instructions which they constantly received in the field from the Qufti, although such instructions, as far as the boys were concerned, would be confined to hortatives like '*inshi shwaya*' and '*igeri*'. When receiving their pay at weekly intervals, the men were able to answer simple questions in Arabic, while the boys would often be helped out by their elders. A common feature of outdoor work in the Nile Valley is the community singing, which heartens rather than hinders the will to work. At Sese the local labourers joined fervently in the refrains of the Arabic songs, which were led by the Qufti, songs which included favourites like *Hammam*, *Yas-candarani*, *Kam lele we kam yom* and *Halima*. It is not difficult, naturally, to join in the refrains, and it was noteworthy that the ones of improvising new verses fell on the Egyptians.

As a rule the local workers used their dialect of Nubian among

themselves. On more than one occasion when an Egyptian *Reis* spoke to them about their work, they could be heard afterwards conversing in Mahass. 'Dogs!' he would say, 'why don't you speak Arabic, a language fit for men?' The paucity of Arabic among the boys was illustrated by the case of Ibrahim Ali from the neighbouring island of Oryw. He spoke Arabic fluently, but told me that he was brought up at Wadi Halfa, where he had learned to read and write the language. He also knew Mahass and would frequently act as an interpreter for his friends. It was only a year since he had come to the neighbourhood, and his ambition, he told me, was to go to Khartoum and learn English. During the excavations he would lead the other boys in singing Arabic chants like *Maharba al el gai* ('Welcome to him who comes'—on the approach of a member of the expedition). The others joined in, but could not be prevailed upon to sing Berberi songs.

It was apparent that members of the upper social strata in the vicinity were fluent speakers of Arabic. They included local dignitaries such as the Omdah, the doctor, and the Sheikh Abdul Aziz Zibir, ex-king of the Mahass. This brings me to the vital question of the relative prestige attached to the two languages. There could be little doubt that the general attitude of the Barabra at Sese was to view their first language as a thing of little importance. Looking at the world in terms of power, they seemed to think that the two important languages were Arabic and English. Economically, these people belong to what may be described as a 'poor rural community.'<sup>4</sup> This poverty has produced a considerable migration and may be a factor too in producing the enterprising qualities which Seligman<sup>5</sup> has noted thus:

The Barabra are an enterprising people, travellers and traders, not unscholarly, and quick at picking up languages, so that they are found everywhere as settlers between the Delta and Khartoum. . . . The poorness of their country is no doubt largely responsible for their dispersion, for, though they are an agricultural people wherever this is possible, over a great part of their territory the desert closes in to within a few yards of the river.

The poverty was exemplified at Sese itself by the flimsy reed huts in which the average villager lived. It was a source of wonder how these dwellings could stand up to the strong winds of January.<sup>6</sup>

Seligman states elsewhere<sup>7</sup> that 'the women do not usually accompany the men on their travels, the result being that few know even a word or two of Arabic.' As it is difficult to contact the women in such a society I cannot comment on this statement



except to suggest that it is hardly right to regard the men's knowledge of Arabic as a result only of their travels. Very few of the local workers at Sese gave evidence of having travelled, although some of their sons had left home. An acquaintance with Arabic, in varying degrees, had reached them from two directions, namely their religion and their education, and more especially their religion. The greater prestige of Arabic is clearly confirmed by these influences. It was only in the fourteenth century that the Christian régime in this area came to an end,<sup>8</sup> but the impress of Mohammedanism has been strong.<sup>9</sup> One soon remarked that Yom el Goma was fairly strictly observed, a suggestion, when time pressed, that there should be work on that day being firmly rebutted. The fast of Ramadan seemed also to be observed, and marriage ceremonies in several respects followed the Egyptian pattern described by Miss Winifred S. Blackman in her book on *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt* (London, 1927), pp. 92ff. According to an aetiological folktale explaining the remains of Akhenaten's temple, the three standing columns are three girls from Sese who were turned into stone because they omitted to say *Ensha Allah* (God willing) in speaking of their return from the Nile when they were going to bathe. In all these associations the influence of the Arabic language is paramount.

The same can be said of such educational facilities as exist. Both types of schools, the Koranic *khalwa* and the secular *kuttab*, teach and use Arabic. I was informed by Mr. W. D. C. L. Purvis, then governor of the northern province, that the people of Delgo had raised a school there from their own contributions. Attendance at any type of school is voluntary.

At this point it should be noted that the Mahass vocabulary has experienced a large influx of Arabic words. Here are some random examples:

English	Mahass	Arabic
gun	<i>bunduca</i>	<i>bunduqiya</i>
knife	<i>motwaga</i>	<i>motwa</i>
teapot	<i>burata</i>	<i>burat</i>
thimble	<i>cwstibanga</i>	<i>cwstiban</i>
director	<i>mudirca</i>	<i>mudir</i>
Nile	<i>bahurca</i>	<i>bahr</i>

As might be expected, this process has occurred especially in the vocabulary of government, religion and technical terms. Words for animals and colours, and adjectives of size and number, are mostly non-Arabic. It is worth comparing, in this connexion, a comment made by J. D. Tothill in the preface to his 'Glossary of Arabic and Vernacular Words' (in *Agriculture in the Sudan*, p. 941, where the reference includes other languages of the Sudan):

Many of these words are Arabic or of Arabic origin. . . . There is a residue of words associated with irrigation and with clay lands rather than with desert; most of these were probably in use before the Arab invasion of Africa, and they probably derive from ancient Egypt and from southern languages.

There is of course no rigid cleavage in the Mahass vocabulary between the Arabic and non-Arabic elements with reference to subject matter. My bilingual informant, when I enquired what

was the Mahass translation of various Arabic words, would often say *zai-baad* (the same), but would add, as an alternative, a native equivalent, e.g. for *marhaba* (welcome), *mascagna*.

A number of the Arabic expressions of courtesy and salutation may often be heard interspersed in a Mahass conversation. This is natural, as they are so frequently religious in meaning. Equivalents, however, exist even in this context, such as *cosidus* for *el hamdu lil 'Lah* (God be praised), or *Nura duburca* for *Allah jibarik fik* (God bless you). Occasionally a mixed sentence emerges, e.g. *Nurica salimak* for *Allah yisallimak* (God preserve you).

In spite of these Arabic elements the Mahass dialect of Nubian remains a distinctive tongue with its own syntax and a considerable pre-Arabic vocabulary. It is the first and predominant tongue of most of its speakers in this area, few of whom knew enough Arabic to be described as *docti sermones utriusque linguae*. Contrary to the prevailing view of those who speak its dialects, Nubian has a history of great interest and antiquity. No one who has studied ancient Egyptian can fail to be struck by the apparent similarity between many words in Egyptian and Nubian. The word 'Nubia' itself may possibly derive *via Nuba* from the Egyptian *nbw*, 'gold,' and one naturally compares with this the Nubian (Mahass) word for gold, which is *nab*.<sup>10</sup> Dr. M. F. L. Macadam reminds me that many such comparisons may be found in Murray's *Nubian Dictionary* and that they are more numerous than Murray himself indicates. The exact relationship, however, between Nubian and ancient Egyptian is a difficult question and one which had better not be entered into here.

Whatever future awaits the Sudan politically, it seems likely that the Nubian dialects will steadily be ousted by Arabic. According to official figures for 1950 there were then 37,000 pupils in the government elementary schools and 40,000 in the Koranic schools, the figure in each case being for the northern province. As education advances, Arabic is bound to be consolidated under the present policy. Or is it possible that a historical awareness will arrive in time to give Nubian the place it deserves?

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Known to Egyptologists as Sesebi, a form hard to explain, but see H. W. Fairman in *J. Egypt. Arch.*, Vol. XXIV (1938), pp. 151-2.

<sup>2</sup> According to C. G. Seligman, *Races of Africa* (London, 1939, revised edn.), p. 113, the Mahass inhabit the country from Wadi Halfa to Dongola. Their habitat is more restricted according to the map of the northern province of the Sudan published in J. D. Tothill (ed.), *Agriculture in the Sudan* (London, 1948), p. 738.

<sup>3</sup> *Encyc. Brit.* (14th edn., 1929), s.v. Barabra. Cf. A. R. C. Bolton in Tothill, *op. cit.*, p. 187: '... the northern Sudan, which is Arabic-speaking for the most part and in which the Mohammedan Law applies. . . .'

<sup>4</sup> J. D. Tothill, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Races of Africa*, pp. 113f.

<sup>6</sup> For a vivid description of the environs, see David Bell, 'The Nile in Nubia' in *The Welsh Review*, Vol. I (1939), pp. 330ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Encyc. Brit.* (14th edn., 1929), s.v. Barabra.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. A. J. Arkell in Tothill, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> For a possible relic, nevertheless, of Christianity in the use of the sign of the cross, see my article in *MAN*, 1938, 68.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. L. P. Kirwan, 'A Survey of Nubian Origins' in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Vol. XX (1937), pp. 47ff.

## REVIEWS

### AFRICA

**The Prehistoric Cultures of the Horn of Africa.** By J. Desmond Clark. C.U.P., 1954. Pp. 374, 52 plates, 36 text figs., 2 climatic tables. Price £5 5s.

**165** This pleasantly produced 'analysis of the Stone Age cultural and climatic succession in the Somalilands and the eastern

parts of Abyssinia' is the happy result of Dr. Desmond Clark's participation in the war. M. C. Burkitt in his appreciative foreword written in 1951 comments that 'all too seldom did the hazards of war bring people and places so fortuitously together.'

Since the days of Seton-Karr this region has provided quantities



of stone implements, but few facts. Tied to his military unit from 1941 to 1946, Clark managed not merely to collect surface material, but to undertake scientific excavation, to photograph sections and sites, and eventually to get vast quantities of specimens out of the territory and into safe keeping. His main collection is housed at Cambridge, but representative series remain in African museums.

Two introductory chapters cover the pattern of physical geography and the findings of previous workers. Part II supplies the general geology, the prehistoric events and the pattern of successive cultures as observed in the areas studied. Desmond Clark has been able to relate recent geological deposits and the deduced climatic evidence with the associated stone-age cultures over a vast area. There are obvious gaps left unbridged owing to the peculiar circumstances in which the survey was undertaken; but these are far less important than they would have been under a less genial and generous patron than the Army proved to be. The bulk of his sites lie between the meridians 43° and 46° E., with a smaller number between 47° and 49° E.; only a few lie outside these two belts. This happily yields a very neat section of the territory from north to south, with comparable test areas a little to the east. These limits were obviously imposed by military exigency, but they have yielded most satisfactory results.

Part III is geological, covering the prehistory of these areas. His cultures fall into acceptable patterns; an Acheulio-Levalloisian, a Levalloisian, a Somaliland Stillbay with its inevitably derived Magosian. This is followed by his Doian culture, with 'strand-looping' and neolithic variants, and finally there is a Wilton development. The human story, from the limited evidence obtained, seems to start with the Acheulio-Levalloisian at the onset of the last or Gamblian pluvial, thus suggesting a counterpart to the Kenya Fauresmith; and, indeed, alongside this are to be found Levalloisian cultures here too. Within the same parallel evolutionary pattern, a Developed Levalloisian follows, then the Somaliland Stillbay. This last seems to be confined to the dry end-Gamblian. Blade-and-burin cultures do not make their appearance until post-pluvial times, and, once they do appear, they show closer affinities to the Mediterranean material than to southern or more normal African variants.

The last chapter of section III discusses the prehistoric art of the Horn of Africa. Part IV, epitomized by two folding charts at the end of the volume, draws together the climates and cultures and relates them to the pattern developed by Wayland in Uganda, by Leakey in Kenya, and by others elsewhere. Here, too, is a somewhat more tentative comparison with the picture in southern Arabia. Appendices contain tool lists, reports on the meagre faunal remains which are mainly molluscan, and a list of charcoals recovered. Chapter 14, which begins this section, wisely emphasizes the restricted action and meaning of 'pluvials' in this relatively arid territory. There is no suggestion of flourishing forests, though changes in the intensity of precipitation did occur and seem to be broadly comparable to changes in adjacent areas. The long, intense erosion period of the Kageran pluvial is again evident here, represented by thick conglomerates and marls in Somaliland rivers, but no implements have so far been associated.

The apparent lag in the cultures of the Horn when compared with those of Kenya and Uganda is most striking. One is led to deduce that there is perhaps a marked difference in the chronology of the climatic maxima north and south of the equator, and that the cultures may prove a better means of dating climates than *vice versa*. The lag suggests a climatic swing rather than a general equatorial pattern of increase and decrease of precipitation. Our sad lack of any other real evidence from the bulk of Africa north of the equator makes it essential to be guarded in our immediate deductions, but the possibility is there and must constantly be watched for.

This then is the foundation stone of Somaliland prehistory, and it provides a fundamental work which will bear building upon. Whether we approach our subject from the viewpoint of technology, geomorphology, or climate and chronology, Desmond Clark's work fills in an essential unit of the underlying pattern which is Africa. He has offered us a reference book covering a new region, a spotlight on a vaguely known romanticized area, and he has

managed to impart some of his personality into his work in a pleasant manner. Mrs. Clark's excellent illustrations profoundly increase the value and clarity of the volume.

A. J. H. GOODWIN

**East African Age-Class Systems.** By A. H. J. Prins. Groningen and Djakarta (Wolters), 1953. Pp. vii, 135. Price 7.90 florins

**166** This is a comparative study of what the author has chosen to call, in contrast to present British usage, age-class systems, in East Africa. With the exception of a certain amount of material dealing with the Kikuyu, the account is based solely upon published sources. Mr. Prins decided not to study all of the age-class systems for which material is available, or to focus attention upon a number of related tribes but rather to concentrate on three groups, one from each of three different linguistic groupings. On this basis the Kikuyu, the Kipsigis and the Galla were chosen. In the latter case no specific tribe was singled out for treatment but instead a common denominator for the whole complex of Galla tribes was sought.

A defect from which this volume suffers, and which of course is no fault of the author's, is that the material for a systematic study of the age-class systems in this part of Africa is by and large still deficient not only in quantity but also in quality. Of the three groups dealt with, only the Kipsigis have been studied by a modern social anthropologist. However, the situation in this regard is improving and may be expected to improve still further in the future. For instance in recent years we have had excellent material based upon studies carried out by Peristiany and Gulliver.

The author first describes the more formal aspects of the structuring of the systems in the three groups, enumerating the number of classes in existence at any one time, the number of years a set occupies a given grade in the system, etc. In the following chapter he once more goes through the three systems in rotation, focusing attention this time upon what he terms their organization, i.e., the co-activities of the various sets, the tasks which devolve upon them, their privileges, their charters and their methods of recruitment.

However, in spite of the relatively large amount of space devoted to a discussion of basic sociological theory, the monograph never rises very much above a purely descriptive level. The principal difficulty is that the author stops short of a point at which significant analysis could be made. He fails to place the age-class systems in the perspective of the total social structures within which they operate. This deficiency can be made clear by comparing the present monograph with the article by Bernardi (*Africa*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, Oct. 1952, pp. 316-332) in which the argument is advanced that the age-set systems among certain Nilo-Hamitic peoples play the structurally crucial role occupied, for instance, by lineage organization in certain other African societies.

Despite the defects from which the present volume suffers and which in any case are faults of omission rather than commission, we can be grateful to Mr. Prins for his efforts to bring a certain amount of order into the published accounts dealing with these peoples.

E. H. WINTER

**An Analytical Grammar of Shona.** By G. Fortune, S.J. London (Longmans, Green), 1955. Pp. xv, 443. Price £1 1s.

**167** The book is divided into two parts: (i) Sounds and sound changes, and (ii) The parts of speech. The first part is regarded by the author as an introduction to the orthography and not as an integral part of the grammar.

The second part is—within the limits of the grammatical 'scheme' it employs—outstanding amongst its kind. But like all its kind it suffers from certain defects. These defects, we must hasten to add, do not appear in the detailed treatment of sounds, words, or parts of speech, but rather in the general approach to the language and to aspects of the language.

The study is called 'analytical,' but it is never quite clear what exactly it is that is analysed. On the other hand, 'analytical' could also mean that a technique or scheme of treatment is applied that is generally conceded to be analytical. Fortune borrows C. M. Doke's 'scheme' for explaining words, but in fact this scheme is not analytical; rather, it treats of the various grammatical shapes that *stems* can assume.



It is disappointing that Fortune does not apply his useful distinction between functional, formal and semantic aspects of a language (par. 92) to the detailed explanations in subsequent sections. Had he done so, he would not only have made an exceedingly valuable contribution to modern linguistic studies but would also have written the first analytical morphology of a Southern Bantu language.

It is apparent, even from a cursory examination, that Fortune has an intimate knowledge of Zezuru (Shona). His material can there-

fore be accepted as authoritative. His translations of the words given as examples are generally enlightened and always refreshingly direct. The term *mudzimu/midzimu* is translated as 'shade of ancestor' and it is not equated, as is unfortunately so often done, with the term *mudzimu/vadzimu*. Only in a few cases can his translations be questioned, e.g., he translates *nyeya* as 'air, soul,' but, unless soul and spirit are the same to Fortune, the exact translation is 'air, spirit' and not 'air, soul'; the term 'soul' should be reserved for another word not contained in Fortune's list of examples. E. WESTPHAL

## EUROPE

**Growth of Children: Sixty-Six Boys and Sixty Girls each Measured at Three Days, and One, Two, Three, Four and Five Years of Age.** By Alexander Low. Aberdeen (U.P.), 1952. Pp. 64. Price 10s.

In the obituary (MAN, 1951, 84) of Alexander Low, M.A., M.D., LL.D., Emeritus Regius Professor of Anatomy (1925-38), in the University of Aberdeen, Professor Lockhart gave an account of his published scientific work and also mentioned anthropometric records by him that were still to be published. These were measurements of 66 male and 60 female children whom Low, with the

TABLE I

	66 Boys					48 men: 5 years adult life
	0-1 year	1-2 years	2-3 years	3-4 years	4-5 years	
Changes in the mean values of:						
Head length . . .	40.8	8.6	3.9	2.3	1.9	14.73
Head breadth . . .	32.7	5.9	3.4	1.9	1.3	10.48
Head height . . .	31.0	7.9	4.0	1.8	2.4	2.1
Head circumference . .	116.9	22.1	11.0	6.9	5.2	56.4

	60 Girls					43 women: 5 years adult life
	0-1 year	1-2 years	2-3 years	3-4 years	4-5 years	
Changes in the mean values of:						
Head length . . .	38.7	7.6	4.9	2.2	1.8	9.65
Head breadth . . .	32.3	5.6	3.7	1.9	1.2	6.63
Head height . . .	29.0	8.3	5.0	2.6	2.5	1.8
Head circumference . .	111.7	22.6	13.0	6.4	5.8	41.3

help of his cousin and secretary, Miss A. M. Clark, and of a nurse, measured annually from birth to five years of age. These records have been published by the University of Aberdeen as a tribute to Professor Low, and they form the subject of this review. Science has often had to be content with studies of growth based on measurement at different ages of different samples. Low followed the same children for five years, and his work derives thence a special value. C. B. Davenport (*Contributions to Embryology*, No. 169, 'Bodily Growth of Babies during the First Postnatal Year,' Carnegie Institution of Washington, No. 496, 1938) says 'so diverse are the growth operations of individuals that a growth curve based on masses of individuals has only a limited biological significance; its interest is chiefly statistical.' Davenport also speaks of thousands of kinds of genes acting upon thousands of kinds of cytoplasmic molecules making the growth of a child 'not like a placid river' but 'more like a stream full of eddies.'

The children measured were born between 1923 and 1927, and

Dr. J. M. Tanner, now of St. Thomas's Hospital, London, during his tenure of the British Medical Association's Ernest Hart Memorial Scholarship, added in 1953 measurements of 48 of the boys, now adult, and of 43 of the girls. These measurements have been added to Low's published figures in the copy kept by the university and in the copy presented to the Royal Anthropological Institute.

Twenty-two measurements were taken and five ratios were calculated for each child and the figures are given for each with means added for each sex and age; also standard deviations and standard errors of means.

It is well known that all measurements are subject to error and that the difficulties of accurate measurements of infants are specially great. Students who seek guidance on this may consult E. Boyd (*Am. J. Phys. Anthr.*, Vol. XIII (1929), pp. 389-432) and C. B. Davenport (*loc. cit.*).

Davenport's data relate to 34 children measured at short intervals especially in their first year which, particularly in the first half, is a period of explosive growth. Low's tables bring this out clearly as the figures extracted and calculated from them and shown here in Table I indicate.

Growth rates generally decrease progressively in childhood after the first year until the adolescent spurt is reached, but this occurs diversely and towards their third birthday girls are typically growing a little faster than boys, especially in head height. The mean values for change in head height from the fifth year to adult life mean vary little, as among boys the change varies from -13 to +15 millimetres and among girls from -18 to +21 millimetres.

TABLE II

	66 boys (48 at adult stage)								
	+4 or more units	+3 units	+2 units	+1 unit	0	-1 unit	-2 units	-3 units	-4 or more units
0-1 year .	13	5	4	4	8	8	11	2	11
1-2 years .	1	2	3	13	17	10	8	6	6
2-3 years .	1	3	8	15	16	15	6	2	0
3-4 years .	0	0	3	18	34	7	1	3	0
4-5 years .	0	0	2	10	30	20	4	0	0
5 years to adult life	1	1	5	5	12	9	6	5	4

	60 girls (43 at adult stage)								
	+4 or more units	+3 units	+2 units	+1 unit	0	-1 unit	-2 units	-3 units	-4 or more units
0-1 year .	17	6	6	7	5	5	7	5	2
1-2 years .	4	2	4	6	20	11	5	4	4
2-3 years .	0	2	7	11	15	12	10	3	0
3-4 years .	0	3	4	12	24	9	8	0	0
4-5 years .	1	0	2	14	24	11	4	3	0
5 years to adult life	0	1	3	4	18	6	5	5	1



Maxima and minima of the above measurements are much alike for boys and girls, but at that age two boys and 13 girls have head length below 170 millimetres, five boys and eight girls head breadth below 135 millimetres and one boy and six girls head height below 115 millimetres.

Changes in units of cephalic index follow the above-mentioned changes (see Table II).

Summation of changes in cephalic index from the fourth birthday to adult life gives 36 positive and 82 negative units for the boys against 35 positive and 54 negative units among the girls. The tendency to reduction of cephalic index is thus marked among the boys. The factor chiefly operative is increase of head length.

In stature girls are usually ahead of boys from the third birthday to beyond the fifth and the same is true for a phase about the third birthday for suprasternal height but not for sitting height or tip-middle-finger height.

The fontanelle was still noticeable in eight boys and six girls of two years of age, but was no longer noticeable in 10 boys and eight girls at one year of age.

Four boys and one girl still had no teeth when one year old but all 126 children had reached the normal condition of 10 teeth in each jaw when three years old; 29 in each sex had already reached this condition at two years of age. One one-year-old boy already had eight teeth in each jaw.

Many other features are tabulated in this memorial publication, and the present review has merely selected a few points of broad interest in the hope that this may promote appreciation of Professor Low's careful work and further study of his results, as well as more observations following individuals through their phases of growth.

H. J. FLEURE

**Studies in Ancient Greek Society: Vol. II, The First Philosophers.** By George Thomson. Pp. 367, 6 maps, London (Lawrence & Wishart), 1955. Price £1 7s. 6d.

The author has two obsessions, one greater and the other less. The former is Marxism, the latter the mysteries. Between them, they rob this book of practically all value as a guide to the highly interesting period of ancient history which it professes to discuss. Incidentally, it is not until p. 105 that the promised subject begins to appear; up to that point we have had, after a short introduction, chapters on 'the tribal world,' i.e. the evolution of *Homo sapiens* and a discussion, not always up to date, of savage society, and on 'the oriental despotism,' with sections treating of China and the Near East. All this is garnished with selected portions of the canonical gospels of Communism, more of which adorn the rest of the book.

A natural result of this is that the account of the rise and development of Greek thought up to and including Plato (who is hardly one of the first philosophers in point of time) is vitiated by over-insistence on social and economic forces which did undoubtedly play their part in conditioning and limiting the great thinkers who fathered all European philosophy, but no more serve to account for their originality and boldness of conception than the circumstance that they all lived in the northern hemisphere. 'Class' and economics are called upon to account for practically everything. Thus, Heraclitus's doctrine of flux is 'the ideological reflex of an economy based on commodity production,' and he was capable of conceiving such a doctrine because he was 'opposed to democracy' (p. 282). Epicurean atomism was 'an ideological expression of the individualism which characterized one section of the ruling class in the period of the dissolution of the city-state' (p. 312). Parmenides's 'universe of pure being' is 'a fetish concept reflecting the money form of value' (p. 315). Such ideas are even pressed into service to explain well-known myths. Thus, on p. 195, Midas's golden touch

and, odder still, Gyges's magic ring are popular memories of the invention of coinage, the sad plight of the former prince signifying the destitution of the moneyed man when coinage suddenly depreciates. Better still, on p. 287, Oedipus is 'man, the new man, the individual owner of commodity-producing society ... caught as by some supernatural power in a "network of social relations spontaneous in their growth and entirely beyond the control of the actors"'—the last sixteen words being a quotation from *Das Kapital*. This surely outdoes the wildest work which Freudianism ever made of this venerable tale.

The lesser obsession referred to above is not so conspicuous, but obtrusive enough. Heraclitus again may serve as an example. He is said to have been descended from the ancient royal family of his native Ephesus. Therefore (p. 135) 'he was by right of birth a priest-king. That is why he wrote in a hieratic style.' Something like proof that there ever were priest-kings in Greece (as opposed to kings who, like all Greek magistrates, had some sacral functions) and that the philosopher's curious style was hieratic, or that we know what a Greek hieratic style of anything like that date was, would not have been out of place. Hence later on (pp. 273-75), a quite good and clear account of Heraclitean philosophy is prefaced by an elaborate comparison of the surviving fragments with the Eleusinian mysteries, accompanied by references to the (supposed) mysteries of the Orphics. To balance this, we are later treated (pp. 280-82) to a short discourse on dialectical materialism, declared to be 'the distinctive outlook of the class-conscious proletariat.' Again, to adduce an example of a proletariat of any date or country which was capable of evolving a dialectic would have made the argument rather less unconvincing.

There is no space, and it would be tedious, to give a list of minor blemishes such as doubtful pieces of history or anthropology, references which are incomplete or so abbreviated as to be hard to identify, and occasional misunderstandings of the sense of quoted passages, as opposed to forced interpretations of them. H. J. ROSE

**Peregrinatio Neohellenika.** By R. Kriss and H. Kriss-Heinrich. Veröffentl. des Oesterreich. Mus. für Volkskunde, Vol. 6. Vienna, 1955. Pp. vi, 231, 126 photographs

Largely owing to the late Professor R. M. Dawkins, Mount Athos is the only part of Greece where 'religious folklore' has been systematically investigated. The present authors add a collection of legends and miracles associated with the sacred images on Mount Athos, maintaining that these play a larger part in Greek devotion than with any people in Central or Western Europe. There are, of course, no pilgrimages, since women are barred from the holy mountain and men only admitted on special permission.

In this first general survey of present-day Greek pilgrimages, Istanbul and South Italy have been included on account of their close spiritual links. Vivid accounts and excellent photographs illustrate the splendour of the Orthodox Church, the venerated shrines, relics and icons as well as the various types of votive offerings (two votive offerings by Englishmen are mentioned on pp. 36 and 93). Other photographs show sacred shrines being carried over the pilgrims who crave from them healings and other mercies. A mental patient has his hands and feet chained. A woman touches her eye with the head of a live snake. The description of the Feast of Snakes at Markopoulo soon after the disastrous earthquake in 1954 is of special interest. Two chapters are devoted to those places to which pilgrims have resorted since the days of antiquity and among which caves are of outstanding importance.

There are far too few travel books by trained folklorists. Whatever their special field of work, no other traveller should be able to bring home such a rich harvest. Few, however, will carry their learning as lightly as Professor Kriss. E. ETTLINGER

## OCEANIA

**Changing Melanesia: Social Economics of Culture Contact.** By Cyril Belshaw. Melbourne (O.U.P.) (London: Cumberlege), 1954. Pp. x, 197, maps, bibl. Price 17s. 6d.

The aim of this book is to develop a theory of social change based on the fluctuating economic fortunes of three

Melanesian areas: the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, the British-French Condominium of the New Hebrides and the French colony of New Caledonia. There are two aspects of the author's approach. These are stated in Chap. X, entitled 'Social Change in Theory,' as: (i) to describe the historical results and trends of



European-Melanesian contact (Chaps. I-IX); and (ii) to develop a comprehensive theory of social change by use of concepts borrowed from economics—hence the sub-title 'Social Economics of Culture Contact.'

Although occasional reference is made to theoretical points in the first nine chapters, the reader's attention is focused on the description of particular events. Chap. I gives a very brief summary of 'early' Melanesian economics, stating clearly the problems of liquid capital in the economy. Of particular interest is Belshaw's excellent review of the concept of money in these societies. Chaps. II and III give a brief account of historical events and a critique of the concept of 'Dual Economy' (or Plural Society) as it applies to Melanesia. Chap. IV describes European commercial relations with Melanesians, which resulted in the catastrophic violence so dreadfully familiar from the colonial history of other areas—massacres of Europeans and natives, revolts, murders, etc. Belshaw gives some original explanations of why so many people were killed in these early days. In summary form Belshaw also shows that one result of these violent economic changes has been a trend towards patrilineal individual succession in matrilineal areas; why there should be this tendency is not adequately demonstrated by the empirical data provided in the chapter. The next chapter is an extremely fair-minded account of missionary activities; it presents some of the positive results of missionary zeal as a contrast to the disruptive effects of traders' greed. Chap. VI deals with the changes in Melanesian preferences, which have been profoundly influenced by the acceptance of European cash values. Such items as land, coconuts, crops and labour have come to have 'extended values' because of their convertibility into money and therefore into manufactured goods. The next three chapters seem to form a unit and can perhaps be regarded as the core of the book: Chap. VII, Land, Labour and Capital; Chap. VIII, Property and Organization; Chap. IX, Production and Exchange. Concrete changes are noted in the Melanesian scene, one of the most important being that economically and politically the Melanesians can organize themselves over wider areas and with greater complexity of structure than they could in the early days of their relations with Europeans. Another conclusion is: 'One of the most compelling motives leading to the demand for money has been the imposition of taxes and licences.' While this is a safe conclusion in all probability, the reviewer's experience in other parts of the Solomon suggests that there may be as strong a compulsion to get money even when no tax has been levied.

The greater bulk of Chaps. I to IX is descriptive, but from time to time an attempt is made to draw theoretical conclusions. An example occurs on p. 125, where Belshaw attempts to predict the conditions which will lead to increased 'production of European-desired commodities.' But the reader is not shown how these predictions are derived from a theory based on empirical data; the predictions seem to be shrewd guesses arising from Belshaw's experiences as a Government officer and from his field work; they might be called intuitive prophecies rather than scientific predictions. For example, he concludes in this section that production will tend to increase '... (3) if the culture develops in such a way that new demands develop' and '... (6) if production is dovetailed into the Melanesian calendar instead of being organized on a fixed time-table without reference to Melanesian social and domestic requirements.' One might reasonably argue, however, that most anthropological 'predictions' are statements of this order.

The greater part of the theoretical analysis is concentrated in the last two chapters. These consist of an interesting attempt to relate Western economic theory to the different economic values of the Melanesian peoples, with the aim of developing a comprehensive theory of social change. But at many points this theoretical discussion seems strangely divorced from the empirical data described earlier; the theory does not seem to have grown out of Belshaw's understanding of the facts and it was difficult for the reviewer to see how it applied to the facts except in a general abstract sense. This faulty integration appears to derive at least partly from the difficulty of relating theory based on the construction of logical models (Western economic theory) to the theory based on the analysis of specific empirical data (social anthropological theory). Each theory requires a different method and approach to empirical

data, and it is difficult to use one method for both. If the aim of social science is to develop a comprehensive theory of social systems, however, attempts at integrating various types of theory must be made. Belshaw's book marks an important attempt in this direction.

In addition to its theoretical interest, this book provides a good introduction to Melanesian ethnography. Its extensive historical description and its comprehensive bibliography and appendices also indicate to the reader the practical problems besetting the area. It should prove of interest to Government officers and other newcomers to Melanesian areas, especially in view of Belshaw's direct experience and his discussion of practical policy in the last chapter of the book.

J. SPILLIUS

### Contribution to the History of Fishing in the Southern Seas.

By Bengt Anell. *Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia*, IX. Pp. 172. xix, 249, 8 plates, 23 figs., 15 maps. Price £5

A good deal has been published in various places on fishing in Oceania, particularly on hook-fishing, but the only comprehensive treatment has been H. G. Beasley's *Pacific Island Records: Fish Hooks*, which, since its publication in 1928, has been the standard work in its limited field. Beasley's aim was to record; he described and illustrated, for each island or group in turn, specimens known to him in his own and other collections. Though he occasionally commented he drew few inferences and made few deductions: that was not his aim. His work nevertheless had, and will retain, great value, not least as a complement to the book under notice.

Dr. Anell's 'contribution' is in fact a survey of almost all Oceanic fishing methods, not only of hook-fishing. He has chapters on, e.g., the thorn-lined trap, the casting net, the fishing kite and the harpoon. The book is based on reading both extensive and intensive, a thorough knowledge of European museum collections and a practical interest in fishing as a sport. His method is to describe and discuss one fishing device at a time, showing the way in which it is used, the pattern of its distribution, and the local varieties of form and material. He suggests its place of origin if there is sufficient evidence, and surveys, in considerable detail, the extra-Oceanic occurrences of the same type of device. Each chapter is illustrated by one or more valuable distribution maps. The method gives rise to a number of revealing discussions; he is particularly interesting on the unlikelihood of the U-shaped hook having developed from the gorge, on the probable origins of the Oceanic spinner, and on the development of the specialized ruvettus hook from the more variable shark hook. His practical experience of fishing enables him to explain the uses of some types of hook which work on principles differing from those followed in Europe, and to dispose of some unlikely suggestions made by previous writers. The treatment of nets might have been expanded; only the casting net is discussed thoroughly, but other types, such as the seine, are important locally.

The final chapter sums up the conclusions. Dr. Anell shows that Oceanic fishing devices seem to fall into two groups. The evidence indicates that the first, predominantly Melanesian, originated in the tropical areas of south and south-east Asia. The trail of the second, comprising in particular the Polynesian and Micronesian fish-hook types, leads through neolithic Japan and Korea to a northern Eurasian fishing-complex, elements of which are to be found in prehistoric Europe and have in some cases survived there into modern times. The author's conclusions thus do not favour a Malayan starting-point for the Polynesian migrations. It should be added that he finds Heyerdahl's theory of an American origin for Polynesian culture untenable and his arguments—as far as fishing is concerned—misconceived.

The value of this book would have been increased by more illustration of specimens, though expense probably made this impossible. The one serious criticism to be made is of the quality of the translation. In a sense it ill becomes us to carp—we should be grateful that so much is published in our language—but some errors must be mentioned. Singular and plural are used almost haphazardly. For example in the first four lines of Chapter VI we have 'in this parts of Oceania' and 'no details as to the construction of the snare was given.' On page 71 the natives of Tierra del Fuego are described



as making snares from 'quillpens' (quills) and on page 128 there are two references to a 'cook's comb.' 'Mussel shell' is used throughout, in the German sense of *muschel*, to mean any shell, especially a bivalve. Usually pearl shell is the sort intended. To anyone with some knowledge of the subject the meaning is usually clear; but such mistakes could be serious and in many cases seem to be due simply to careless use of a dictionary.

Works of such scope and thoroughness on material culture subjects are all the more welcome for their comparative rarity nowadays. This one is of the first importance and should be in all anthropological libraries. The combination of exhaustive description with judicious discussion makes it a notable contribution both to Oceanic ethnography and to wider spheres of culture history.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

**Italians and Germans in Australia.** By W. D. Borrie. Melbourne (Cheshire) (U.K. Agents: Angus & Robertson), 1955. Pp. xix, 236. Price £1 15.

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It is increasingly recognized today that the process of assimilation or integration of large groups of immigrants is usually a two-way one. Even when the assimilation appears to have been total, the impact of the vanished ethnic minority can often be traced in the institutions and values of the majority society.

Mr. Borrie recognizes the reciprocal nature of the assimilatory process, but suggests that it has not applied in the case of the German and Italian immigrants in Australia who are the subject of his book. This he attributes to the narrow rigidity of the receiving society, with its constant emphasis on its British-oriented 'Australian way of life.'

On the other hand, Mr. Borrie points out that, despite the fact that most Germans are now third- or fourth-generation Australians, and many Italians are second-generation settlers, neither of the two groups studied can as yet be regarded as fully assimilated in terms

of the definition provisionally accepted by a 1950 U.N.E.S.C.O. demographers' meeting for use in a series of similar studies: 'Assimilation is a psychological socio-economic and cultural process resulting in the progressive attenuation of differences between the behaviour of immigrants and nationals within the social life of a given community.'

Mr. Borrie rightly emphasizes that economic integration and naturalization are far from coterminous with assimilation, which in the last resort depends on acceptance by the majority group. The arrival of large numbers of Italians and Germans since 1947 may, he suggests, further retard the acceptance of the earlier arrivals.

It would be ungracious to criticize Mr. Borrie for not writing a different book, with a wider scope. He sets out only to provide a diachronic study of the process of integration of two groups, mainly through a wealth of statistical data. His material on the more recent Italian group is adequate, that on the older-established German group less so. In neither case is any information given about the impact on the existing ethnic groups of the large influx of Italians and Germans since 1947, nor about relations between the various non-British groups in Australian society.

The book contains informative chapters on Australian immigration policy and on the attitudes and social structure which this policy reflects. Its main basis seems to be economic, the desire to protect hard-won material living standards; this is supported by a vague sense of 'Nordic' superiority originating out of isolation rather than positive racial arrogance.

In view of the fact that Australia has since 1947 admitted 1,000,000 immigrants, of whom just over 50 per cent. are non-British, it seems likely that Australians will have to modify their own attitudes towards newcomers more than they have so far done. Perhaps the concept of 'integration' which Canada, in a similar situation, has found preferable to 'assimilation' might prove helpful here.

SHEILA PATTERSON

## CORRESPONDENCE

### The Concept of Function

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SIR,—Professor Raymond Firth's paper on 'Function' in the *Yearbook of Anthropology*—1955 continues to distinguish between at least two primary uses of the concept 'function.' Stated in the most simple manner, function in the first sense refers to the interdependence or correlation of two or more phenomena and in the second sense designates the 'needs' (i.e. 'functions') served by some designated phenomena, e.g. kinship systems or magic.

Considerable reflection on these two uses of the term convinces me that they are not really different. In the interests of coherence and generality I submit that the two usages are highly compatible, provided that we agree to use the word 'function' solely in the sense of a relationship, no matter what kind of relationship, so long as it is an empirically testable one.

When we speak, say, of a given ritual functioning to restore equilibrium in a group following a crisis ( $R = (f)E$ ), we are expressing a correlation between two events in which the dependent variable, equilibrium, is one of a few chosen concepts of interest. In Malinowski's 'need theory' such chosen concepts are perhaps more specifically prescribed than in Radcliffe-Brown's 'maintenance-of-the-system theory,' to mention only two theories in which interest focuses on a relatively few dependent variables. More latitude, it will be noted, is allowed in the search for independent variables, which are generally items of culture that act in a given way with reference to the dependent variables. This is functionalism in the second sense of the word. It remains functionalism whether the analyst limits himself to a particular community at a specific time and place or whether he seeks to generalize on a universal level concerning, say, the needs of any on-going social system. At the latter extreme, of course, we are doing science rather than history.

Now, in the first sense of the word an explicit theory containing a selected number of dependent (or, perhaps, also independent) variables is lacking. We start with a more abstract phrasing in which it is said, merely, that the phenomena we are studying constitute a system and hence variables will be found to be functionally related:  $V_1 = (f)V_2$  (where  $V_1$  is any independent variable and  $V_2$  any dependent variable). Presumably such an approach is relatively inductive compared to the more deductive theoretical approach. Again, this approach may be adopted on any level of generality.

Objection may be raised in terms that Firth carefully avoids. That is, somebody may claim that for Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown and others who hold to the second use of the concept, functional relationships are one-way, producer-product relationships. That is, in such propositions the independent variable produces (causes) the dependent variable. But to speak of cause is surely a more complex matter than to speak of functional relationships. Cause is a subject that involves highly specific proof which, by the definition that I follow, must come by some variety of the comparative method, including a matched control group of societies (always more than one) that shares many things with an experimental group *except* the crucial independent variable. A very crude model of such an experiment (using only two societies) is represented in Nadel's recent work. To design experiments of this type on a larger scale is well nigh impossible when the cases are total cultures or societies.

If we are resigned for the time being at least to dealing with correlations rather than producer-product relationships, then I submit that there is no basic difference between function considered as co-variation or function regarded as satisfying needs of an individual or community.

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EARLY MASKS FROM THE DAN TRIBES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Length: (a) 5½ inches, (b) 6 inches. Photographs: W. B. Fagg, 1955



# TWO EARLY MASKS FROM THE DAN TRIBES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM\*

by

WILLIAM FAGG

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**175** The two small masks illustrated in Plate K came to light some years ago in the course of sorting of the stored North American Indian collections of the British Museum preparatory to the re-exhibition of the Ethnographical Gallery, and were transferred to the West African collections. Their special interest lies in the fact that they were acquired in 1868 (from another English collection) and are thus probably among the first specimens of their kind to reach European collections. They were among the innumerable gifts made to the national collections by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, then Keeper of the Department of Antiquities (including ethnography), who was indefatigably searching Europe, with the eye of a connoisseur, for objects of primitive and other art at about the time when the older artists of the revolutionary French school of painting which was to 'discover' African art in the early years of our century were being born.

The contemporary labels attached to the two specimens show that both pieces (bearing Christy Collection registration Nos. 4572 and 4573 respectively) were 'purchased from Wareham [i.e. William Wareham, a Leicester Square dealer of the period] and presented by A. W. Franks, Esq., Jan. 30, 1868,' and that they were 'from Mr. Hodgekinson's collection.' No information has been traced about the last-named gentleman, so that we cannot assume an appreciably longer history for the pieces, or guess how he obtained them. The information recorded on the labels appears also, together with drawings of the pieces, in the slip catalogue which formed the register of the Christy Collection at that time.

No provenance is attributed to them in the Museum's records, and their presence in the American collections was presumably due to the similarity of the beadwork on one of them to Plains Indian work.

The first piece, which is the better carved, is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. The hollowed back of the mask is filled with a black material which appears to be gum, and there is a beard of plaited strands of vegetable fibre to which blue, red and other beads are attached. At the top of the mask are attached (a) the wampum-like band of blue glass beadwork, 20 inches long and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide, (b) behind this and partly attached to it, the skin, nearly complete but lacking most of the hair, of (probably) a small monkey, and (c) a second, smaller skin.

The second mask (6 by 3 inches) has a beard formed of tufts of hair (the outermost two terminating at the upper end in small bone tubes), perhaps from a monkey, and a large iron staple for suspension is fixed in the top edge. The hollow back is again filled with what may be presumed to be 'fetish material,' but this is completely enclosed in an outer covering of hairless monkey skin. The remains of

the sacrifice of a fowl over the mask are evident in the form of small feathers adhering to the nose and cheeks.

To any student of African art it is at once evident that these two masks come from the Dan—or better Dan-Ngere—group of tribes, which are found, under various names, in eastern Liberia, the western Ivory Coast, and the contiguous portion of French Guinea. The stylistic varieties of this group<sup>1</sup> seem to have been formed by the interaction in various ways of two main traditions of almost



FIG. 1. DAN MASKS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

*A general view of those illustrated in Plate K*

opposite tendencies within the framework of a common set of forms (notably the more or less oval-shaped frontal mask) whose presence throughout the group is no doubt due to the cross-tribal influence of secret societies such as the Poro: the generally more smooth, restrained and decorative tradition associated with the Dan, and the bolder, more exaggerated tradition (marked especially by bulging eyes) associated with the Ngere; though other minor strains play their part, these two seem to be the dominant polarities. Our two masks are clearly of the Dan tradition, though neither is readily to be paralleled in detail from the published literature. Though no doubt

\* With Plate K and a text figure



from the same place (to judge from the similar treatment of their backs), they appear to be from quite different hands.

Since the eyes are not pierced in either case, and in view of their small size, we may assume that they were not made as masks to be worn in front of the face. It would seem likely from an examination of the first specimen and of its attachments that it was suspended either round the neck or from the waist, and in that case they may have been worn by priests in ritual dances. It is natural to compare them with the miniature masks which have been collected among the tribes of this group in Liberia (but not in the Ivory Coast) by Dr. Etta Becker-Donner,<sup>2</sup> of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, and by Dr. G. W. Harley,<sup>3</sup> for the Peabody Museum at Harvard; a small group of these has recently been collected by Dr. W. Peters among the Mano and presented to the British Museum. These miniatures, which according to Dr. Harley have reference both to a man's personal soul and to his ancestors and are given to a boy on his initiation into the Poro and

in certain other circumstances, are normally between two and three inches in length, less than half the length of the two masks under discussion, and are designed to be held in the palm of the hand, so that they can be seen by the owner but not by others; our two masks are therefore unlikely to have quite the same function, though they may well have a related use in the Poro cult.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> See especially the excellent stylistic analysis of the various sub-styles found in the Ivory Coast by Professor P. J. Vandenhouste, 'Classification stylistique du masque dan et guéré de la Côte d'Ivoire occidentale,' *Mémoires de l'Institut de l'Afrique Occidentale, Leiden*, 4, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Donner, 'Kunst und Handwerk in No-Liberia,' *Baessler-Archiv*, Vol. XXIII (1949), pp. 45-110.

<sup>3</sup> See G. W. Harley, 'Masks as Agents of Social Control in North-East Liberia,' *Pap. Peabody Mus. Amer. Arch. and Eth.*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2 (1950); also *id.*, 'Notes on the Poro in Liberia,' *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, No. 2 (1941), and G. Schwab (with additional material by G. W. Harley), 'Tribes of the Liberian Hinterland,' *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI (1947).

## THE SOCIABILITY OF MONKEYS\*

by

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**176** Too few systematic studies exist to enable a definite statement to be made about the causes of sociability in monkeys and apes. Nevertheless, there is sufficient information available to enable the main features of the problem to be outlined.

The social behaviour of six species only has been studied, but of these only five species have been studied in sufficient detail to be comparable. We are fortunate in that they include important representatives of the different modes of life found amongst the order primates, although, unfortunately, because they are so difficult to study, we have no representative of the great apes. Also, we have some intensive studies, in captive colonies, of the social behaviour of the Rhesus monkey (Chance, in press), and of the Hamadryas baboons (Zuckerman, 1932). These two species have also been studied in the wild.

It is necessary briefly to call attention to some salient features of each species of monkey, the behaviour of which is under discussion.

The Hamadryas baboon lives in Africa and forages for long periods in the open, especially after rain, as well as feeding in scrub and temperate forests. It walks on all fours.

The Macaque, or Rhesus, of India, walks on all fours equally well on top of a bough or on the ground. It forages in trees and in open country.

The Howler monkey is mainly an arboreal creature of South America and the Panama. It walks on all fours and has a prehensile tail.

The Spider monkey, of South America, has a prehensile tail and similar features and habits to the Howler,

except that it brachiates when passing from one tree to another.

Finally, the Gibbon, which relies almost exclusively on brachiating as a means of progression through the trees, lives in the forests of Siam. It rarely descends to the ground except to move quickly across gaps in the forest, which it does on its hind legs, balancing with its arms.

*Terrestrial and social habits.* These monkeys have been mentioned in an order which emphasizes that apart from man, and excluding the great apes, there are some monkeys which live a great proportion of their life in the open, like the Baboon and the Rhesus. These walk on all fours whether in the trees or on the ground and are agile in both situations—unlike the Gibbon, which is not well adapted for running. The Rhesus and the Baboon are commonly found in large troops. As many as 150 Macaques are found together, and Hamadryas baboon troops vary in size between 25 and 100 individuals.

At the arboreal extreme, the Gibbon lives only in families consisting of the adult male and his mate, occasionally an old male, and one or two young; less than half a dozen in all.

Intermediate in habit are the Spiders and Howlers, which move mainly or wholly on all fours, but possess specialized prehensile tails to assist them in the trees. They are also intermediate in the numbers constituting the groups, which vary in size from 5 to 30 individuals.

*The structure of their social groups.* The Gibbon lives in families, an adult male and female staying together throughout their lives. The young males, on the other hand, are driven away from the family by the antipathy of the adult male when they reach maturity, and adolescent females leave their parents for the company of these lone

\*The substance of a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute, given with a sound film, 3 November, 1955



males. The families occupy territories and threaten other families with calls, if they meet at the boundaries.

Lone males are also encountered in the population of Howlers, but these rarely spend much time outside the group and soon rejoin the heterosexual bands which form the major portion of the population. The members of a band are kept together, and movement coordinated, by calls of various kinds. In these bands, however, the sex ratio is not equal, females predominating over the males in the ratio of 8 females to 3 males. There are thus slightly more than twice as many females as males in a band. The disproportion is made up in the population, in part at least, by the lone males.

This disparity in the number of each sex is also present in the groups of Spiders, though so far no lone males have been encountered. The Spider group contains on the average 8 males to 15 females, which shows that the heterosexual grouping tendency is smaller in the society of this monkey than in that of the Howlers, which live in the same kind of territory.

These monkeys, like the Howlers, inhabit territories and the groups split up during the day, for feeding, into sub-groups—comprising mostly males and females and young, or males alone, although there are a few female sub-groups with young. These sub-groups, however, always keep each other in view and call to one another as a means of keeping together.

The ratio of females to males expressed as a percentage has been termed 'The Socionomic Index,' and serves as a means of comparing the group structure in the population of different species.

TABLE I. SEX DISTRIBUTION IN THE GROUP STRUCTURE OF DIFFERENT SPECIES

Species	Heterosexual Groups		No. of ♀ for every 100 ♂	Socionomic Index	Lone Males	Bachelor Bands
	Typical Group	Males Females				
<i>Gibbon</i>						
<i>Hylobates agilis</i>	1	1	100	(+)	—	
<i>Spider Monkey</i>						
<i>Ateles geoffroyi</i>	8	15	160		—	
<i>Howler Monkey</i>						
<i>Alouatta palliata</i>	3	8	230	+	+	
<i>Hamadryas Baboon</i>	(not known)					
<i>Papio hamadryas</i>	in one harem					
	1	12	?			
<i>Rhesus</i>						
<i>Macaca mulatta</i>	6	22	500	+	+	

The main grouping tendencies of the five species studied show the following salient features. Firstly, the sex ratio is unequal in all but the Gibbon. Secondly, this inequality is known to lead to the exclusion of males from the group in two out of four species where this inequality is present. Bachelor bands are present in both of these; one habitually forages in the open, the other lives in forested country. It appears, therefore, that a specific attraction exists between

males of the Macaque monkeys and of the Howler, which is apparently absent, or at least not obvious, in the Spider, and no observations have been made on the Baboon. In all four species, however, mechanisms exist for keeping the animals together in large groups. The Howlers and Spiders rely apparently, in part at least, on calling to one another, but the other mechanism clearly demonstrated by the study of the Howler and the Macaque is to break up into two separate groups—the heterosexual and the male-homosexual groups.

*The origin of their sociability.* Much emphasis has been laid heretofore (Zuckerman, 1932) on the sexual element in the social life of monkeys and there is no doubt that this element plays a prominent role in the social life of many types of monkey. However, it is as well to keep in mind, when considering the origin of sociability in the primates, what we know about sociability in other mammals. The instances are relatively few, but in the wolf, for example, pack formation occurs at a particular time of the year, for hunting, and in contrast to the primates the dominant pairs separate from the group in the mating season (Schenkel, 1948). In seals, sociability during the mating season appears to be mainly determined by the restricted nature of the breeding grounds (Scheffer and Kenyon, 1952). Thus, it can be seen that the tendency of some mammals to form groups in relatively open territory is not necessarily associated with mating behaviour. This point is made here because it should be emphasized that in considering the place of sexuality in the complex social integration of primate society, we must not jump to the conclusion that it is necessarily a prime evolutionary cause of the origin of primate societies. Moreover, we have seen that more than one mechanism has been brought into operation to keep the numbers together. This would suggest that hypersexuality is only one mechanism for ensuring sociability and may indeed not be the primary mechanism. This is further discussed later. At this juncture, however, the information already set out is itself sufficient to suggest a reason for the evolution of sociability, though, because of the meagre attention paid to this all-important subject, no statement can be made on the basis of adequate knowledge.

Only the Gibbon, of those we know something about, lives exclusively in the trees except when forced down, and this monkey is so specialized that it is at a disadvantage on the ground. All the others are capable of running on the ground, and show a grouping tendency which in some way excludes males from the group. These excluded males either spend little time outside the main group (as in the Howlers) or possess an attraction for other males of the same species (Macaques, Howlers and possibly Baboons).

What is known of the Baboon in Africa suggests that there is safety in foraging together in the open when they are exposed to attack by feline predators. At night they sleep in rock face shelters and in trees. This suggestion is confirmed by Carpenter (1934), who observed a young Howler, isolated from the group, which was attacked and bitten by an ocelot; but the young monkey received protection from the three males of the group in response to its cries.



It should be noted that Gibbon territory in Siam is inhabited by leopards, which climb trees easily; but the Gibbon possesses a unique method of escape from these cats as 'Gibbons cross rapidly from one tree to another, brachiating from slender terminal branches over rather wide spaces; fairly large cats would have difficulty in following over such arboreal pathways.' In this connexion it is interesting, and perhaps significant, to note that the central grouping tendency and socionomic index is more marked in the Howler than the Spider, but the latter possesses the ability to brachiate from tree to tree and thus has a method of escape from danger in trees which the Howler lacks. The other possible predators are large birds of prey and snakes, but little or nothing is known of the behaviour of monkeys towards these animals, or whether they are attacked by them.

It thus appears that the society of subhuman primates may have been evolved in response to selection imposed by the behaviour of predators in open territory.

*Dominance hierarchies and their consequence in primate societies.* Now let us examine the societies of these monkeys a little closer to see what elements they are composed of. Barnett has shown how the presence of a female rat emphasizes the antipathy between the males, as revealed in their competition for food at the food box. The competition results in an order of priority whenever one animal is subordinate to another. Such hierarchies of dominance are present in other mammalian societies. In the wolf, both males and females form hierarchies (Schenkel, 1948). The presence of both sexes intensifies these hierarchial differences in captive colonies of wolves, so again we see the same tightening of the rivalry between members of the same sex in the presence of the opposite sex, and you will note that in both these instances there is a factor binding the animals of one sex close together. In wolves, there is the tendency to herd together, which yet requires analysis, and in the instance of the rats described by Barnett, the cage and their attraction towards the food box kept them close together. Dominance also occurs in the seal colony when the females come ashore to join the males in their territories, which are crowded close together on the fore-shore, and where the dominance of a male is reflected in the size of his harem. The same element is prominent in primate societies, where it can be discerned in three aspects of the behaviour of the male.

The first concerns the regulation of the relations between the sexes; this takes different forms.

In Macaque societies dominance determines the order in which the males establish consort relations with the females as they come on heat. The females associate early in the cycle of receptivity with low ranking males, and later at the peak of sexual swelling with the more dominant males. In the quiescent stage the females return to the periphery of the group.

In Baboon society, on the other hand, the high ranking males possess larger harems than the lower ranking males. The higher the status of the male the larger will be the cluster of females surrounding him and constituting his harem. During the period of the sexual swelling the females

seek the closest possible spatial association with the males; thus the spatial distribution within the harem reflects the relative attraction of the overlord for a particular female.

In the distribution of members of the society as a whole we can see the same feature. For example, in the Santiago colony of Rhesus monkeys, studied by Carpenter (1942a), the most dominant male and the next most dominant male were on the average less closely associated than the second most dominant male and the third one in the male hierarchy.

Thus we come to the second feature. It is clear that the spatial relations within the society, and indeed apparently the actual space or territory occupied by the group, is a reflection of the relative antipathy or dominance of the constituent males. This is a most important and prominent feature.

Finally, it should now be clear that the males excluded from the heterosexual groups are another aspect of this male hierarchy, since the higher ranking males inside the groups have appropriated more than one female to themselves.

*Balance of social and anti-social forces.* There are thus considerable disruptive forces present in the heterosexual groups of monkeys. These arise from constant threats between the animals. In some way these are balanced by attractions between the animals.

What is the nature of these attractive influences? One of these exists between the overlord and his consort female. What are the others, and above all, what is the counterbalancing attraction between the males which prevents all but the lone males from scattering and leaving the group? The answer given to date for the Baboon (Zuckerman, 1932) is that the attraction of the males for the females holds the heterosexual society together. Can this be generalized to include all sociable species of monkey? At first glance this is not possible as in Gibbon communities only single pairs remain together. Clearly in that society the females are not a compensatory attraction for the threats between the males. Nevertheless, it may be possible to retain this hypothesis if it is assumed that the females are an attraction only when they are in heat, or only if the period of heat occupies a large proportion of the reproduction cycle, i.e., occupies a large proportion of the total time.

What is known of this feature? It is known that in Baboon and Macaque societies the female is receptive for a large proportion of the cycle, but we do not know anything about the other three species whose social habits are known. Nevertheless, in Macaques and Baboons we know that the receptive period is so long that on the average there will be a female on heat for more than half the time, which means that mating behaviour is more often possible than not (Chance, 1953); indeed, mating behaviour is raised to the status of all types of behaviour. It is thus possible that the explanation which is based on the attractiveness of the females keeping the males together is valid. Information about the reproductive habits of the female Gibbon, Spider and Howler monkey, however, is missing, so that the crucial comparison cannot be made.

Another possibility, however, exists and has been put



forward by Chance (in press). It has already been mentioned that in the societies of the Macaque and the Howler, the excluded males form bachelor bands. Thus the isolated males are attracted to each other. This, it could be argued, is to obtain the protection afforded by numbers, but that is not the type of explanation we seek since it implies behaviour taken in anticipation of danger rather than as a response to actual conditions. Moreover, it is inadequate to explain the behaviour of the three adult dominant males of the Macaque colony studied by Chance. These three animals started life in the colony together by forming a trio isolated by a space from the rest of the colony, comprising the adult females and a large number of young and adolescent monkeys. These three males rested together, ate together, groomed each other, mounted and were mounted by each other; all signs of close affinity between them. They were separated only when two of the adult females of the colony had come into heat for the first time. Then, although the distance between them increased so that it was never less than 3 or 4 feet, they did not entirely separate. This separation happened after a fight which had left wounds on the dominant male. Their behaviour after this change showed that they were linked by a bond which had not been broken, however, by their new antipathy—for the movement of one of them often caused the others to move so that the distance separating them remained roughly the same, or they would simply keep the other members of the trio in view. Moreover, the afternoon siesta—a constant feature of the social life—was at times, when there were only a few females in heat, spent in the same neighbourhood. This is evidence of a probable attraction between the males of Macaque society and emphasizes the association of males in bachelor bands. Moreover, it provides us with a means of understanding how a number of males remain together in a group with sexually receptive females, when the antipathy between them is high, in a way which is consistent with our knowledge of other groups like the Gibbon societies where it must be presumed absent.

Such a bond is mainly a male characteristic, since none of the females of the Macaque colony showed any comparable tendency to group together, and no female bands have been observed in the wild in any of the societies studied, although occasional lone females have been reported.

We are thus presented with two alternative hypotheses for the existence of primate society. Firstly, either the attraction of males for females in species where sexual receptivity is the rule rather than the exception constitutes the prime bond, or the association of more than one pair, so to speak, is maintained by the attraction of males for each other.

Additional evidence in favour of the existence of a distinct male bond is also provided by studying the reaction of Macaque monkeys to threat. Macaques in captive colonies of all ages and both sexes most frequently react to threat from a more dominant animal, or merely from the presence of such an animal, by presentation. This consists of directing the hind quarters towards the source of threat

and is the female copulatory stance. The effect is to diminish the threat from the more dominant animal so that the subordinate monkey can remain close to it without being attacked. This gesture is very often followed up by a subordinate monkey crawling up to and lying in front of the more dominant animal before starting to groom it. This combination of gestures was frequently seen in the behaviour of the subordinate members of the three adult male Macaques of the colony at the London Zoo. It shows that the male Macaque possesses a set of responses to threat, different from either counter threat or escape, and that these responses allow it a freedom of movement, in a social setting where antipathies are aroused, which would otherwise not be possible.

However, the behaviour of the females which were establishing relations with the males of the breeding hierarchy throws considerable light on the significance of threat between males of the hierarchy. The soliciting female is aggressive towards her prospective overlord, evoking counter threat and avoiding the consequences in part at least by presentation, and also by a complex of other gestures which have not yet been analysed. Often, following such behaviour, however, and separated by an interval of time, the male approached her independently, so that it appears that threat induces a delayed response in the male; namely, an attraction for the aggressor. Now, it is possible to see that the attraction between the males may well arise out of the constant awareness, by subordinate males, of the potential threat implied by their more dominant colleagues.

If this should prove to be so on further study, then dominance and sociability are two inseparable aspects of sub-human primate society.

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# ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

## PROCEEDINGS

### The Relations between White Settlers and Aborigines in the Borderlands of the Pacific. By A. Grenfell

**177** Price, C.M.G., D.Litt., Master, St. Mark's College, Adelaide. Summary of a communication to the Institute, 10 October, 1955.

The European invasions of the Pacific territories from about 1500 onwards constitute one of the most important events in human history, while one of the most interesting features of the invasions was the interaction between the incoming Europeans and the indigenous inhabitants. From this viewpoint the Pacific basin can be divided into six great areas, each of which shows certain similarities. These areas are Siberia; British North America, as far south as Mexico; Spanish America, from Mexico to Cape Horn; British Australasia; East and South-East Asia; and the Pacific Islands. This paper cannot discuss Spanish America where substantial Indian populations tended to absorb the incoming whites and to create new mestizo peoples; nor does it deal with East Asia, South-East Asia and the Pacific islands, where through reasons such as climate or the density of indigenous population, the whites formed only sojourner settlements from which, in regions such as Burma, Indo-China, Indonesia and the Philippines, they have retreated or must retreat politically, although many of their introductions of flora, fauna and culture remain and may even continue to advance.

The three remaining areas, Russian Siberia, British America, and British Australasia, resembled one another in that much of their climate was suitable for Western white settlement and that, almost everywhere, the densities of the indigenous populations were slight. No worthwhile calculations can be made of native population figures prior to the white invasions, but it is doubtful whether Eastern Siberia, the Pacific regions of British North America, together with Australia and New Zealand, contained more than three or four million indigenous people in lands which now provide homes and economic resources for ten times as many whites. In most of these areas white native relations passed through three phases, a pioneer period during which all the incoming peoples slaughtered the indigenous by the introduction of white diseases, by land-seizure or by actual warfare; a middle period marked by missionary and reservation policies, usually worthy in conception but usually non-economic and unpsychological. A third period, recent and scientific, saw the indigenous people develop some immunity from white diseases and begin to profit from the efforts of white governments to restore native morale by re-establishing the good features of the former native systems of administration and social life, and by interesting the people in suitable and popular economic and educational activities. In all these regions, whether British, or Russian, or under the control of youthful peoples such as those of the United States or Australia, white greed, brutality and ignorance exterminated many indigenous groups and possibly reduced the survivors to about one-fifth of the pre-conquest totals. Under modern scientific management, however, native numbers increased, and are increasing in several important regions such as New Zealand and the Southwest of the United States. Nevertheless, sooner or later, most of the indigenous groups surviving will be absorbed in the great white majority.

The whites now appear firmly and permanently established in British North America where the Pacific Coast communities are supported by the vast white populations further east. The white position seems less secure in Siberia and Australasia where smaller

and more remote white populations lie to the north and south of the East and South-East Asian block with its vast and rapidly increasing populations, against which the Russians in spite of their professed communistic equalitarianism have established a 'White Siberian Policy' and are vigorously fostering white migration on the lines adopted by Australia. It may be noted that the Australians have used their 'White Australia Policy' to protect the million natives of Australian New Guinea from the type of Asian population influx which is so threatening to the Fijians, and it is of vital importance that New Guinea, which is certainly not Indonesian in geography, flora, fauna, or population, should remain under the trusteeship of the Dutch and Australians.

It is impossible to examine here certain very interesting anthropological discoveries in these Pacific regions, but it may be noted that in Australia evidence is accumulating that the continent and Kangaroo Island on the south coast were inhabited by a pre-Australoid people, possibly of the same type as the Tasmanian negroids who were so brutally exterminated by the British white invaders. In 1930 the South Australian Museum (of Adelaide) conducted little-publicized, but most able, thorough and fruitful excavations at Devon Downs and Tartanga on the lower Murray River, and at the latter site unearthed fossil skeletons and primitive artifacts of a type recently discovered at Lake Menindie on the river Darling, and in large numbers on Kangaroo Island, which was uninhabited when the whites arrived. Further explorations are being conducted in 1956 and specimens have already been sent to the United States for Carbon-14 tests.

### Land Tenure in a Sinhalese Village, North Central Province, Ceylon. By E. R. Leach, M.A., Ph.D.

**178** Summary of a communication to the Institute, 19 May, 1955

The purpose of this paper<sup>1</sup> was to describe the changes that have taken place in regard to the tenure of irrigated paddy land in a single village in the North Central Province of Ceylon during the past 80 years. The community in question at present consists of 35 families and 160 individuals. Farming is dependent upon artificial irrigation. Irrigation water is supplied from an artificial reservoir (tank) which stores up rainwater during the two periods of heavy rainfall around April and November. Ordinarily two crops of rice can be grown each year. The irrigation works are ancient and were probably first constructed prior to the tenth century A.D. Up to 1940, when the Irrigation Department carried out a major reconstruction, laborious annual repairs were necessary if the tank was to be kept in operation. Up to 1940 the tank was adequate for an area of about 45 acres of paddy land; the present tank can feed rather more than twice that area.

Prior to the British annexation of Ceylon in 1815, land was held on a species of feudal tenure. Grant-holders (*gamarāla*) held their land in fee from a superior baron (*vanniya*). The *gamarāla* worked his land with the aid of personal adherents, mostly near relatives. Tank repairs being arduous, several *gamarāla* usually combined to work the land under one tank. In this particular case there were three such *gamarāla*. The British abolished the feudal structure but the consequent dislocation of the economy was so great that in 1870 a partial restoration of ancient custom was decreed. The position of the *gamarāla* as landlord was not, however, recognized. Each individual householder was now deemed to have a freehold right in the lands he occupied and worked. Supervisory control over the tank and the irrigated



lands below it was vested in an elected official called the *vel vidānē* or 'irrigation headman,' who thereby became the most influential individual in the community.

In the older feudal organization the holdings (*bāgē*) of the three *gamarāla* were distributed in such a way that the advantages with regard to water supply were equalized. Thus the paddy land as a whole was divided into two fields, each field being further divided into three sections and each section into six shares (*pangu*) in a complex manner that was explained in detail in the lecture. The effect of this allocation was that, originally, each of the three *gamarāla* had held six out of 18 shareholdings. Each shareholding comprised certain strips of paddy land, a section of garden land suitable for housesites, fishing rights in the tank, and one-eighteenth of the available water supply; each shareholding also carried the liability of one-eighteenth of all feudal services that adhered to the tank—the most arduous being the work of tank-upkeep and paddyfield-fencing. After 1870 the administration treated each individual householder as a tank shareholder (*pangu-karayā*) in his own right but the villagers continued, in many respects, to manage their affairs according to the traditional system. At the lecture, detailed maps were displayed showing how the seemingly complicated distribution of holdings of present-day individual 'shareholders' is directly derived from the traditional organization.

The two 'old fields' to which this traditional type of tenure applies total about 45 acres. In recent years additional lands have been brought under cultivation, tenure of these new lands being of a different kind. In part this new land is held on unrestricted tenure according to English notions of freehold and partly on a

kind of perpetual lease from the Crown. The distribution and consequences of these newer types of tenure were discussed in some detail. The point was emphasized that, whereas in the traditional system the land was so subdivided that each shareholding automatically received an equal share of water, the same does not hold good for the new system. Under the new system, intense rivalry and competition centres around the control of main irrigation feeder channels. As it so happens, three such main channels have been constructed to feed the more recently developed lands, so that the community as a whole appears to consist once again of three factional groupings, each with a leader, a kind of 'gamarāla.' The resemblances and differences between this new kind of factionalism and the old were discussed.

The lecture closed with some discussion of the locally prevalent systems of sharecropping (*āndi*) and mortgage (*ukas*). Under the old feudal organization, title in land was held by a primary grantee (*gamarāla*) and worked by his dependants who were primarily his kinsmen. Under the present system the bulk of the land is held by three or four leading landowners but it is worked by their sharecropping dependants, who are, as before, primarily their kinsmen. Thus, although the legal principles on which land is now held differ radically from those of former times, there are a number of ways in which the new system seems to be developing structural features which resemble, or parallel, features in the traditional system.

#### Note

<sup>1</sup> The fieldwork on which this paper was based was carried out in 1954 and was made possible by a Leverhulme Research Award and a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation.

## SHORTER NOTES

**A Bamenda Meteorite.** By M. D. W. Jeffreys, M.A., Ph.D.,  
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. With two  
text figures

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Mr. P. G. Harris, C.M.G., when in charge of the Cameroons Province, edited in 1944 a brochure called *A Preliminary Survey of the Economic Possibilities of the Cameroons Province*. In this duplicated brochure occurs on page 40 the statement: 'Meteorite. Another source of very rich iron ore is a large meteorite lying between Mbinka and Mbembi. For many years the foundry men of Mbembi obtained their iron ore from it. It is no longer mined.' A few details about this large meteorite may be of some interest. In 1942 I received instructions from the Nigerian Government to report on the local iron industries in the Bamenda division of the British Cameroons, with the idea of speeding up production to remedy to some slight extent the increasing shortages of iron hoes for local agriculture due to the German submarines sinking the ships with these vital supplies.

At Mbembi in the Mfunte native court area, the village head stated that originally the village consisted of foundry men only who used to sell their bloom to the Kwaja blacksmiths, some 15 miles away, but that this industry had ceased before he was born. My estimated age for this village head was then about 38. He remarked that during his lifetime iron ore had been sold to the foundry men of Lus, some 11 miles distant, but that no sales had taken place for many years.

I asked to see the sites where they obtained their iron ore. The first site was a limonite gravel and was of no particular interest. The second site lay about five miles away on the left bank of the Makka stream. I was first shown some coarse gravel in which the iron ore appeared to be richer than in that at Mbembi. A little further on I was shown a large boulder measuring about 12 feet

high by 8 feet broad and some 25 feet long. These are overall dimensions. The boulder was not compact but much eroded in places, and went locally by the name of Baa. I suspect that this meteorite belongs to the class of Syssiderite meteors.



FIG. 1. A BAMENDA METEORITE

With great difficulty I managed with a heavy hammer to detach a piece of it and sent it to the Nigerian Geological Survey. The report came back that it was an unusual specimen and gave



indications that it was of meteoric origin. If this diagnosis is correct then this meteor ranks as one of the really large meteors on the surface of the earth. I give a photograph that I took of it and I also give a sketch of the area so that it may again be located (figs. 1 and 2).

The Makka stream is a well defined stream passed on the path from Mbinka in the Tang native court area to Mbebbji

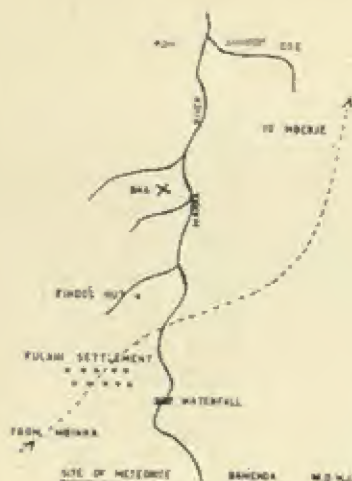


FIG. 2. SITE OF METEORITE, BAMENDA DIVISION

and about five miles on the Mbinka side; the path crosses this stream. The sketch map shows the approximate site of this alleged meteorite.

The native names for iron in West Africa raise interesting problems and confirm the tradition that the art and craft of the foundry and of smithying reached them from the east. Thus among the Ibo, *igwe* is the word for 'iron' and also for 'sky,' and one is reminded of the fact that in ancient Greece σιδήρεος, 'made of iron,' was applied to the sky (Homer, *Odyssey*, XV, 329, XVII, 565). I am not suggesting that the Ibo got their iron and ideas of iron from Greece or *vice versa*, but I do suggest that, as neither were the discoverers or inventors of the use of iron, each obtained their common ideas from a common source. So far as Africa is concerned that source is the Valley of the Nile. On turning up Wallis Budge's book, *Hieroglyphic Vocabulary to the Book of the Dead*, London, 1911, p. 130, one finds:

*Baa* = The ore of a metal, iron, copper, etc. A metal tool, a name of the sky or firmament.

*Baa en pet* = Metal of the sky, meteoric iron.

*Baat Sheman* = The metal of the south, iron.

Here then can be traced the use of one word for both sky and iron. But what is one to make of the fact that the Mbebbji name for iron ore of meteoric origin is *baa*? Is the similarity between it and the Egyptian name for the same material a case of diffusion or a coincidence? I am unable to say. Not enough is known of the rest of the Mbebbji culture or vocabulary to say that their name *baa* for meteoric iron is a borrowed word; nor do I know what is the Mbebbji word for sky, for when I was carrying out these investigations I was not aware of this similarity with the Egyptian name for iron and so did not enquire. Further examples of similar words for iron and sky are found in the following Bantu languages (taken from Sir Harry Johnston's *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1919):

Page	Tribe	Iron	Sky
322	Nyenge	lo-clo	li-olo
454	Misumba	tolo	yolo
465	Akela	lulu	lola
465	Bahusu	lolo	lola
418	Genya	cea	kio
418	Kilega	igela	ungulu
500	Homa	gwe	kugu
556	Ifumu	boelo	yulu
593	Seke-Bulu	yobo	diobo

#### Note

'Who, however, also used χάλκεος and πολύχαλκος, 'brazen,' in the same way, *Iliad*, V, 504, XVII, 425, *Odyssey*, III, 2.—ED.

**A Typical Khasi Hat.** By U. R. Ehrenfels, Ph.D., University of Madras. With two text figures

**180** The Khasi of Assam use two kinds of hats,<sup>1</sup> made of palm leaves and bamboo splinters. Production and use of material, but not the shape of the hats, resemble that of the 'typical Bengali Hat,' *mathail* or *jhapi*, described by C. C. Das Gupta (*MAN*, 1950, 28). In both types of the Khasi hat, the conical hollow surmounting the wearer's head is missing.

The simpler variety is called *ka trap* in Khasi and consists of one flat circular piece (fig. 1a-c). In this respect, it resembles the palm-leaf hat of South India, and especially of the West Coast (Kerala),

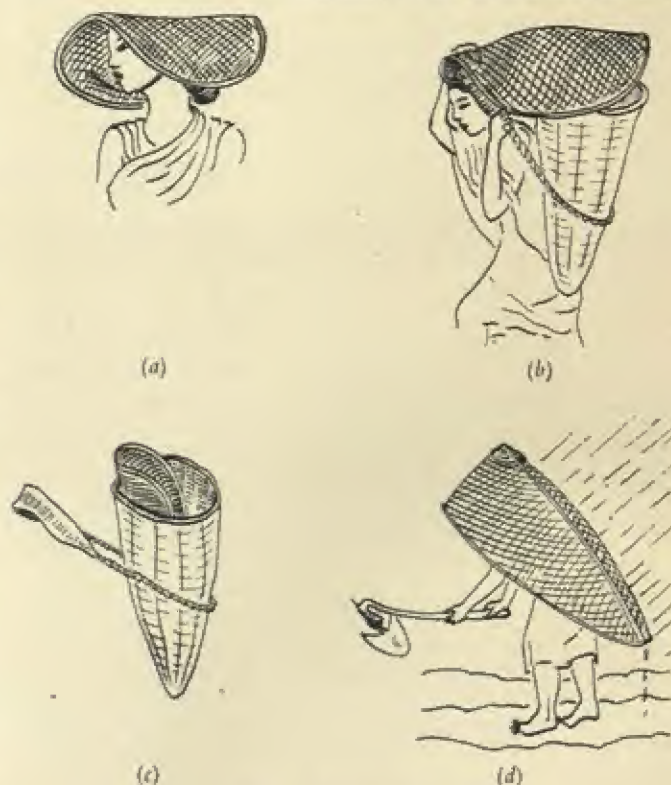


FIG. 1. KHASI HATS

(a, b) *Ka trap hat*; (c) *Ka trap hat fitted in back basket*; (d) *Ka Knup hat*

except that the South Indian hat is fitted underneath with a bamboo ring which is worn on the head like a felt hat, whilst the Khasi *ka trap* is either loosely balanced on the head and held in place with the hand (fig. 1b) or tied with a loose strap under the chin (fig. 1a). The function of the two hats is slightly different in



Assam and South India. The Khasi *ka trap* is generally worn to protect both the wearer's head and the conical Khasi back basket (*ka koh*) which is carried on the shoulders with the support of a headstrap (fig. 1b). The hat is, however, often also used as a lid on the back basket, or fitted into it, to protect bulky or loose loads in the basket (fig. 1c).

The second type of Khasi hat is called *ka knup* and could be described as a palm-leaf shield for the protection either of the wearer and his or her back basket, or of the wearer alone when, for instance, working in a field during the rains (fig. 1d). The Khasi, like the Bengali, hat is worn by all, irrespective of sex, age or status, but nowadays it is more used by women than by men.



FIG. 2. 'TOPPI KUTA' HAT, MALABAR

Whilst the shape of the South Indian leaf hat resembles the circular Khasi *ka trap* in its flatness, its function is more similar to that of the Bengali hat, as it is worn tightly pressed on the head only; both types of Khasi hats or 'shields' are partly used as hats, partly as protection for the backload in the conical basket. The South Indian palm-leaf hat is called *toppi kudai* (head umbrella) in Tamil, and *toppi kuta* in Malayalam (fig. 2).

Mr. Das Gupta raises in his article above-mentioned the question of a north-eastern origin of the Bengali hat, and writes in this connexion: 'It seems that a similar hat is worn in Assam as well as in East Bengal but not in Bihar or provinces westward.' This is true of the hat with a conical hollow, but the flat palm-leaf hat or shield of the Khasi shows similarities to the flat South Indian palm-leaf hat.

These features of distribution gain in significance from the parallel distribution of matrilineal and partly also megalithic forms of civilization to which I have already drawn attention on pp. 36, 73, 161 and especially 185ff., of my book *Mother-right in India*, O.U.P., Osmania U. Ser., 1941.

#### Note

<sup>1</sup> Figures and descriptions here used were collected during two research trips to the Khasi Hills which financial aid from the Viking Fund, New York, enabled me to undertake during the winter of 1949 and the spring and summer of 1950.

**Taranaki Carving.** By W. J. Phillipps, Dominion Museum, Wellington. With four text figures

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Old Taranaki carving is known to us chiefly by certain *pare* or carvings over doorways and a few other articles, most of which have been retrieved from swamps. These are now in our leading museums. Where detail adornment



FIG. 1. A PATAKA CARVING FROM TARANAKI  
Photograph by C. J. Lindsay

is present on these carvings, we find a wealth of contrasts in presentation and can realize how much trouble was taken by those early carvers to ensure that repetition would not be the ruling theme. The human figure is often wide across the eyes and narrow across the mouth, generally with a pointed head. This type of head is used on Taranaki greenstone *tiki*, enabling the student to identify them at a glance. In no other part of New Zealand is the



FIG. 2. HEAD OF A POUNDER IN TARANAKI MUSEUM,  
NEW PLYMOUTH  
Drawn by J. Brennan



carving so convoluted as in Taranaki. It would seem that the carver went out of his way to produce the unexpected. Bodies of figures are often much elongated and ridged longitudinally.

In the illustration of a *pataka* (store house) carving from Taranaki (fig. 1) many of the typical features appear. Below on



FIG. 3. HEAD ON A TARANAKI PADDLE IN THE DOMINION MUSEUM, WELLINGTON

Drawn by J. Brennan

the right, two *manaia* (side-faced beings) may be seen with bodies locked together, and heads facing in opposite directions as if striving to pull one against the other. They may represent warring *atua* (spirits).

The sketch of the head of a Taranaki pounder (fig. 2) is of much interest as it does not conform to accepted standards. The Maori did very little carving in stone, though stone pounders with carved heads are not uncommon over a limited area of country north of Hawera and south of New Plymouth. These pounders were used for pounding flax fibre, and some of the



FIG. 4. HUMAN FIGURE CARVED ON WALL AT KOREKORE PA

After R. W. Firth, *Polyn. J.*, Vol. XXXIV (1925), p. 14

finest Maori garments are known to be from this area. The type of head figured here may pre-date the era in which the cult of carving the human figure in conventional Taranaki style had been adopted or accepted.

More typical of the Taranaki style is the head of a Dominion Museum paddle with its wide head, and ears in the form of lugs reminding us of Marquesan and other Pacific forms (fig. 3). Here we have Taranaki at its best, an old primitive yet fundamental presentation. More crude yet illustrating something of the same elementary picturization is the human figure carved on the sandstone wall of a rectangular pit at Korekore pa, two and a half miles north of Muriwai, Auckland (fig. 4). So we trace the influence of Taranaki carving from Taranaki to Auckland.

## REVIEWS

### GENERAL

**The Fossil Evidence for Human Evolution.** By W. E. LeGros Clark. U. of Chicago P. (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1955. Pp. x, 181. Price £2 5s.

This is the second book in a series called *The Scientist's Library: Biology and Medicine*, which is intended to acquaint the professional biologist with the fruits of advanced methods and research in areas of study other than his own. The sub-title of the book is *An Introduction to the Study of Paleoanthropology*. The body of the text has 171 pages and 20 figures, all line drawings. There is an author's introduction of two pages. The first chapter deals with taxonomic problems; the second treats of *Homo*, the third of *Pithecanthropus*. The fourth chapter takes up the problem of those anthropological *leptacanthin*, the *Australopithecines*; and the fifth and last presents the author's views upon the origin of the *Hominidae*. Approximately equal length is given to the several topics indicated by the chapter-headings. There are 127 references to the literature at the end of the book. An index completes the work.

Sir Wilfrid LeGros Clark is one of the most diligent, scholarly and candid anthropologists of our time. Many of us have long hoped for a book on this topic from his hand. He sets out his principles in the first chapter. They may be summed up, perhaps, by saying that he proclaims himself to be relativist, molecular, non-metrical and historical in his approach—although, of course, he uses none of these four words. He is relativist, for he holds that any taxonomic grouping—species, genus or what not—should include earlier as well as modern forms; that is, it should be spatio-temporal, not

confined to horizontal sections of the physical continuum. He is molecular, for he holds that taxonomic status is to be determined not upon the basis of characters taken in isolation ('atomic characters') but upon the basis of what he calls 'morphological patterns' ('molecular characters'). These morphological patterns correspond to what Bertrand Russell has called 'complexes of compresence,' though not in the precise metaphysical sense of that philosopher. Sir Wilfrid is non-metrical in that he will have no taxonomic problem solved by measurements and indices alone, although he has a place for statistical data in his scheme: the term 'non-metrical' is used here as distinct from both 'metrical' and 'antimetrical,' following the custom of modern logic. Finally, he is frankly historical in his criteria of relevance: nothing is to be admitted as relevant to the premisses of evolutionary argument which is not supported by fossil remains of sufficient completeness and of adequate geological dating. These several characters of his book spring from a single, more fundamental character of its author: he is consciously logical. In his preface he states that he is highly concerned 'to examine critically the logical basis of the arguments and inferences' which have been put forward to support evolutionary conclusions from a study of fossils or comparative anatomy. Informed with this spirit, Professor LeGros Clark has paid special attention to definition as a principal aim of his present work. Each of the first three chapters is an argument, argument almost Euclidean in its mode and clarity; and the argument leads to and concludes with a definition of the group denoted by the chapter-heading. Apart from the fact



that this makes each chapter exciting to the lover of literary form, it is good tactics. It is a secondary, though far from unimportant, objective of the author to establish his case that the Australopithecines are to be assigned to the Hominid rather than to the Pongid group of Primates. He does so on the basis of the definitions he has arrived at in the preceding chapters.

The general thesis runs thus. *Homo sapiens* and *H. neanderthalensis* are congeneric (*Homo*). *Homo*, *Pithecanthropus* and *Australopithecus* are confamilial genera (Hominids). The Hominidae and the Pongidae are consubordinal Primates (Hominoids). Within the Hominoids, the *Pithecanthropi* are ancestral to both species of *Homo*, and are possibly descendants of an Australopithecine group. It is accepted that Neanderthal man is an aberrant (and late?) form of the human genus.

The plan of this book is like the plan of a good order of battle. Having, as it were, consolidated his bases in the first three chapters, the author proceeds to the assault in the fourth and fifth. He is well munitioned because of the number and unusual variety of the South African fossils, and he has a first-hand knowledge of them as well. His objective is clear: to include the Australopithecines within the empire of the Hominidae as distinct from the larger commonwealth of the Hominoidae. One of his chief weapons is comparative odontology, governed by the principle of morphological pattern which he has defined and illustrated earlier. In Chap. IV, Note 18, there is a documented summary of the side action fought against Ashton and Zuckerman on the issue of the use of metrical statistics in this field; those readers who did not follow the contest while it was in progress should note that it is the key to the early discussion of the place and worth of such statistics in comparative anatomy, and that the temper of this discussion appears to justify the term 'non-metrical' which has been applied here to the author. The present writer has had some training and experience in physical anthropology, but would class himself as no more than a general practitioner in anatomy. To pursue and complete the simile, his judgment upon the progress of the main action, for what it is worth, is this: a clear foothold has been secured by those who would assign the Australopithecines to the Hominids; the mellay (or 'dog-fight') is still in progress; and only time can tell whether a counter-attack by one or more specialists will dislodge them. This is, in fact, the import of the last paragraph in the book.

Having examined the work from the aspect of its chief title, we may briefly consider it in the light of its sub-title. It is suited to both undergraduate and postgraduate students, as well as to the inquiring layman who is already acquainted with the general problem. The university man taking anthropology as a subject would probably do well to read some more general work first—say, the same author's *Early Forerunners of Man*. The earlier and the later book invite comparison. Space does not permit of such comparison here, save for certain details. In the earlier text the names of Dart and Broom do not appear; *Australopithecus* is not mentioned, naturally; and the term 'hominoid' has a connotation quite opposite to what it has in the book now reviewed. Twenty-one years of discoveries and reflection have brought about some evolution of our author's thought, particularly with respect to the notion of Parallelism in phylogenesis. It seems to the reviewer that Sir Wilfrid has changed his standpoint from the 'prophetic' to the 'historical'; in so far as can be judged from a comparison of the introductions to the two texts, as well as from their contents and arguments; to use phrases of his own, he is now judging 'in retrospect' rather than 'in prospect.' Such a noticeable shift of standpoint is witness to his scientific spirit and is itself a model for any student of natural philosophy.

The *Fossil Evidence for Human Evolution* is the kind of book that reaches at least a second edition. When this edition is being prepared some, at least, of the following points might be considered by its writer. Light might be thrown upon the conglomerate of characters of *Australopithecus* by a study of microcephalic modern men, particularly their skulls. The necessary material is undoubtedly scattered and the project would call for team-work. Such examples (of varied provenance) as the present writer has seen seem to indicate that these skulls are more like one another than like the crania of their several geographical groups: it may be so. Again, the parallel tables of classification which appear here and there in the present edition

are not logically impeccable, for some of the contrasted pairs contain terms which are criteria of likeness, not of difference (e.g. Chap. IV, Table 1, p. 140, para. 2, cols. i and ii, lines 1-4). This point is admittedly debatable. Finally, there is a certain incongruity between the words of an Oxford knight and the Americanized spelling in which they are presented to us. Would Sir Wilfrid permit a man to write 'modeling'? But perhaps this is further evidence for human evolution.

M. A. MACCONAILL

**The Fate of the Soul.** By Raymond Firth. *The Frazer Lecture, 1955.* C.U.P., 1955. Pp. 46. Price 2s. 6d.

**183** It is clearly impossible to do justice in a review to a Frazer Lecture: to give a digest of what is already a digest. At the beginning of the lecture various people are quoted and peoples mentioned, and some interesting and valuable suggestions are made; but these suggestions serve only as a prelude to the main part of the lecture, which is concerned with the notion of the soul in Tikopia. I much prefer this part, because I am of the opinion that more profit is derived from an account of custom or belief among a certain people or a few closely related peoples than among primitive peoples in general. Professor Firth's interpretations are, of course, sociological—and very stimulating they are. This is certainly a valuable contribution to a neglected side of socio-anthropological studies, religious ideas and practices, and is further evidence of a new interest in comparative religion among social anthropologists, as also a scholarly approach to it. Anyone who is engaged in such studies will find many sensible and accurate observations in this essay. The only criticism offered is that, considering how many people are quoted, Professor Firth does not mention the person who has made perhaps the most valuable sociological contribution to the subject he is discussing—Robert Hertz in his *Contribution à une étude sur la représentation collective de la mort*. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD

**Hair Embroidery in Siberia and North America.** By Geoffrey Turner. *Occ. Pap. on Technology, 7.* Oxford (Pitt Rivers Mus.), 1955. Pp. 83, 17 plates, maps, text figs., tables. Price 15s.

**184** This beautifully produced, small volume deals almost exactly with what its title would lead one to expect. But Mr. Turner has provided a more nearly complete study of the subject he has chosen than we are generally fortunate enough to obtain.

The 'hair' under consideration includes the quills of the New World porcupine, the hairs of moose (*Alces*) which occur in the north of both hemispheres, and those of *Rangifer*, known in their Asiatic distribution as reindeer and in North America as caribou. Quills and hair have apparently been many times confused so that the chapter on identification will be of particular use to museum personnel and collectors. The chapter on the techniques used for applying the hairs to the fabric to be decorated will have an even more general value, for these techniques overlap with several used in other media. The clearest case of this is selected for special consideration in a chapter on false embroidery, a technique associated with twining and often employed with vegetable fibres and/or wool. (I am particularly pleased to see the distinction maintained between false embroidery and imbrication, although it should be pointed out that the latter occurs not only among the Interior Salish, p. 57, but among the Coast Salish as well.) Horse hair is, of course, of later introduction and because of its length was often applied by somewhat different techniques as shown in the chapter on horse-hair piping. If the attention given to design is less detailed than that for techniques, this may be because Mr. Turner recognizes that a full study of design elements could not be limited to those produced in hair. His conclusions are based on distributional data, and in presenting these he has recorded time levels from the present to 531 B.C. (based on radio-carbon dates for Lovelock Cave). The quill used in this astonishingly early period, however, is part of the textile structure of the extant specimen and therefore lies outside of his consideration of hair employed solely for decoration.

In fact, the whole analysis fans out from the examination of specimens. In such studies, the validity of conclusions depends on the representative character of the sample. The specimens cited come largely from the United Kingdom and I am in no position to judge



the extent to which other specimens are consequently slighted. It is interesting, however, that a recent study of Micmac embroidery (Wallis and Wallis, *The Micmac Indians* . . . 1955, pp. 89-96) which has a different point of departure, being an intensive analysis of all the data on one tribe, tends to confirm the conclusions reached here: the tourist trade in hair embroidery was under way by 1714 (p. 48) and has continued to the present. Much of the artistic inspiration for this *appliqué* work is alien to the New World and came to eastern Canada via the tutelage of nuns of the Ursuline order. Nevertheless, hair embroidery was probably native to northern Asia and America, extending from the Samoyed to the Atlantic. It reached its highest development among the Aleut, possibly under the impetus of the introduction of superior needles in the mid eighteenth century. Mr. Turner further believes that quill *appliqué* was an offshoot of hair *appliqué* which was first developed by reindeer-hunters in North America. The material given for eastern Canada does not go back beyond the seventeenth century, but Wallis's study quotes a source of the sixteenth century referring to 'quill' work on a chief's robe. Mr. Turner has shown how frequently 'hair' has been identified as 'quill' and short of examination, which is of course impossible, this literary item must remain doubtful. In any case, the establishment of genuine quill work among the Micmac in the sixteenth century would not weaken Mr. Turner's argument. His general picture will probably stand.

MARIAN W. SMITH

**Les Pèlerinages à travers les Siècles.** By Romain Roussel. Paris (Payot), 1954. Pp. 326. Price 1200 fr.

**185** Pilgrimage as an important religious phenomenon has long awaited a comprehensive, scholarly survey; and here it is. The outward trappings of the famous pilgrimages are familiar enough, but little consideration has been given to questions on the history, psychology, and sociology of pilgrimage. Professor Rodolphe Guinand rightly remarks in his preface to this book: 'Pour la première fois, en effet, Romain Roussel, en un ouvrage à la fois attrayant et solide, vient répondre à ces questions et éclairer, non sans provoquer des surprises, le lecteur conquis.'

The short first part reminds the reader of pilgrimages in the ancient world, while the second discusses the growth of Christian pilgrimages in the Middle Ages, perhaps the richest period of all in this respect, and one upon which pilgrimages had a considerable effect economically, politically and culturally. The third part will probably be of most interest to anthropologists, since it treats of the impedimenta of pilgrimages—sacred sites, stones, customs, organization and the like—and not infrequently does one find that these are older than the pilgrimage itself, having survived from some earlier form of religion. Pilgrimages have often been potent media for religious eclecticism.

Part four surveys the main Christian pilgrimages, country by country. Naturally most space is devoted to France; and here the author suggests that the popularity of new saint cults established in this country shows that 'le pèlerinage catholique obtient de nos jours une faveur plus grande encore qu'au moyen âge.' Necessarily only a summary can be given for each country; but M. Roussel, in turning to Great Britain, reminds us that this country, if not rich in Catholic pilgrimages, once had a flourishing Celtic Christianity, and still earlier was covered with pagan religious sanctuaries. Strabo, speaking of the Scots, said that they had a taste for pilgrimage which was second nature. The author does not limit himself, however, to Christian religious centres in Europe, but includes reference to Ethiopia and North and South America.

In his fifth and sixth parts M. Roussel turns to non-Christian pilgrimages, particularly to those of Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism (including Lamaism). He gives a very full account of the Muslim *hajj*, the journey to Mecca, which, being one of the five 'pillars' of Islam, makes pilgrimage an even more prominent feature of that religion than of Christianity. After a short section on pilgrimages among primitive peoples, the author concludes with an essay on the contribution which pilgrimages have made to civilization. In the words of Chateaubriand, 'il n'y avait point de pèlerin qui ne revînt dans son village avec quelque préjugé de moins et quelque idée de plus.'

This is a charmingly written book; and throughout the author

succeeds in combining objectivity with respect for this remarkable world-wide religious phenomenon. One wonders how he reconciles in his own mind his reverence for non-Christian practices with what must obviously be his own Catholic predilection. The book closes with a useful bibliography; but, after the French fashion, there is no index, nor are there any illustrations, save the rather pointless reproduction of a fifteenth-century woodcut on the paper cover. But, even with these defects, this is a book worth browsing through, and is bound to appeal to the general reader as well as to the specialist.

D. W. GUNDRY

**Islam: Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition.** By G. E. von Grunbaum. London (Routledge & Kegan

**186** Paul), 1955. Pp. xv, 260. Price £1 1s.

This scholarly collection of essays should be read by all who wish to understand the ideas and ideals of Islam in general and of the Arabs in particular. He tells us (p. 25) that 'Islam prefers the sedentary to the nomad, the city-dweller to the villager.' It encourages on the one hand mystics and visionaries, and on the other scholars and jurist-theologians. The sword ranks lower than the pen. Rulers are disliked but their power is unchallenged.

'Islamic thought is authoritarian. Political absolutism parallels the theological absolutism of God's relation to His creatures' (p. 135).

'No Muslim government ever tried to develop civic sentiment and (except on sectarian grounds) there is little attachment to any particular régime' (p. 26).

'The absence of political education or civic virtue from the catalogue of manly accomplishments is among the strongest contrasts between Islam and the Greeks' (p. 74).

In Islam 'there is nothing too slight, too personal, too intimate to stand in need of being arranged by the divine will. This approach, while completely ritualizing life, imparts meaning to the most insignificant act and hallows it as a necessary affirmation of the divine order' (p. 67).

'It is obvious that the stipulations of the Friday service exclude the nomad from full participation in the ritual of his faith. This is but one of the many traits that characterize Islam as a religion of the townspeople. The prophet Muhammad himself was born into the most highly developed urban community of contemporary Islam. The appeal of his message was in large measure due to its appropriateness to the urban situation' (p. 142).

In a long essay containing many quotations from modern Arab writers the author indicates the various ways in which they seek to escape from the dilemma in which they find themselves. On the one hand they are bound to regard the God-ordained society of Islam as perfect, and on the other to recognize that in many ways the West has got ahead of them, and that they cannot do without it.

The only fault one can find with the very learned and judicious author is that his English is not always idiomatic. RAGLAN

**The History of Man.** By Carleton Coon. London (Cape), 1955. Pp. xxxv, 437. 32 plates, many illus. Price £1 8s.

**187** Specialization has brought advances in the study of man but also a danger that some branches of research may become too esoteric and weaken their touch with many-sided nature. So one welcomes Coon's bold attempt, especially as he does not try to ride a hypothesis rough-shod over stubborn facts. We have here no Children of the Sun, no Garden of Eden, no Nordic primacy. Most readers will think now and again of alternatives to Coon's suggestions, but his sequences of cause and effect are typically the outcome of honest thought and study. He has travelled, excavated, and obviously talked over many matters with colleagues in various fields of learning.

For long ages *Homo sapiens* competed with various other hominids, usually more specialized in some direction than himself. He probably began by using chipped pebbles and developing some power of speech. Then he learned to use, hardly yet to make, fire. He attained some skill in hunting. In the next phase he seems to have been the sole surviving hominid and developed better craftsmanship with more variously specialized stone tools, also, late in this phase, acquiring the dog as a hunting companion. These two phases witnessed biological adaptations of our bodies which have probably



altered relatively little since. In body and mind we keep a great deal of the hunter heritages, which were gained after assumption of the erect posture in open country.

The third phase of dependence on cultivation of the soil and domestic animals saw successive increases of know-how, leading especially to development of communications, with consequent enlargement of social units and complication of social relations and gradations. Coon is rather readier than some writers to allow that an idea may arise independently in different regions. He thinks South-East Asia may have originated some aspects of cultivation quite independently of South-West Asia, which he sees as the main primary home of cultivation and domestication. *Sus vittatus*, water buffalo, asiatic elephant, domestic fowl, probably banana, bread fruit, pandanus, taro, mulberry as well as dry and wet rice come from South-East Asia. Coon, on the basis of Carbon-14 dating, looks upon maize cultivation as native American. He allows more than some writers to Heyerdahl's hypothesis of the spread of the sweet potato to Polynesia.

Within Coon's third phase we are led on from the small village units of the Neolithic, to which must now be added urban units such as Jericho, to the riverine states, with boat communications, of the Bronze Age, supplemented in some regions by coastwise maritime links. The Iron Age with its steel weapons and horse-riding

makes Empires the fashion, and they rise and fall in succession. Roads developed by Persians and Romans add vast possibilities of communication and of organization, which last so often lags behind technical change.

After following the Iron Age in bare outline to our Middle Ages, Coon emphasizes the use of power, the water wheel improved and spread, the aerial mill devised, and most of all gunpowder, making castles and armour and baron's power obsolete. The historic battle of Formigny (1450) saw the defeat of the British by French cannon, virtually the end of the Hundred Years War. The decline of the castle was a factor of the rise of a west European bourgeoisie, helped by printing and maritime commercial adventure, with the rise of trading companies and the weakening of mediæval authoritarian repression of thought.

In the mid eighteenth century comes the utilization of coke by Abraham Darby at Coalbrookdale, after which a series of technical revolutions leads on to the atomic age, which, Coon thinks, marks a new phase. Until 1750 or later regional specialization was the general rule; now the world is too small for that process to continue and the world becomes more uniform with inevitable clashes of ideologies.

The book makes no profession of originality, but it gives a courageous preliminary sketch of the subject of human evolution, physical, technical and social.

H. J. FLEURE

## AFRICA

### Prehistory and Pleistocene Geology in Cyrenaican Libya.

By C. B. M. McBurney and R. W. Hey. C.U.P., 1955.

**I88** Pp. 315, 16 plates, text figs. Price £3

What Dr. Caton-Thompson and Miss Gardner did for the Faiyum and Drs. Sandford and Arkell for the Nile Valley, Drs. McBurney and Hey have now done for Cyrenaica. They have accumulated an immense mass of detailed data which will provide ammunition for the friendly controversies of the future, and for the present they have drawn some very valuable deductions, both about past climatic changes and varying levels of shorelines. To take the latter first, they (p. 68) conclude: 'The total number of different shorelines to which the terraces correspond does not seem to be more than six or seven. . . . On evidence provided by similar features in other parts of the world, the highest . . . have been assigned to the Calabrian. On similar evidence, the lowest of all, at 6 metres, has been assigned to the Last Inter-glacial.' Of the intermediate terraces they give a table which 'tends to confirm the theory of Lamothe and Depéret in outline if not in detail.'

Cyrenaica (in metres)	Depéret (in metres)
70-90	90-100 (Sicilian)
44-55	55-60 (Milazzian)
35-40	28-30 (Tyrrhenian)
15-25	18-20 (Monastirian)

It is surprising and a little disappointing that the authors found no clear evidence of the 180-metre terrace which is so evident both in the Nile Valley and on the Red Sea coast of Egypt. All that they can give us is: 'It is strongly suggested that the foot of the coastal escarpment for the whole of the distance between Tocra and Antelat represents one single shoreline whose levels now stand between 150 and 200 metres' (p. 60). On pp. 98f., Dr. Hey toys with the idea that there has been a universal post-classical rise in sea level. Besides Cyrenaican evidence, he cites K. P. Oakley for similar rises in Southern England and Flanders. (He does not quote the well-known drops of about 2.5 metres at both Tanis and Alexandria which are more likely to be due to local causes affecting only Nile sediment.) But there is evidence also for no change in level for both the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Thus, the freshwater level in the Roman collecting gallery on the shore at Marsa Matruh can hardly have changed since its excavation; for a drop of only a few centimetres would have let in the sea and a rise of a similar amount would leave the floor high and dry. (See J. Ball, *Contributions to the Geography of Egypt*, p. 67). Equally, at El-Markha about 60 miles south of Suez, the University of California expedition of 1947 found a New Empire 'embarkation point' at present sea level (*Nat. Geog. Mag.*, December, 1948).

The fossil dunes of the coast of Cyrenaica occur not only adjacent

to the modern shore but also below the water surface. The authors agree with Desio that the submerged shoals shown on the charts are almost certainly dunes. They conclude (p. 98): 'The younger fossil dunes were formed at a time when the sea was retreating, thus leaving large areas of sand exposed to the air. The retreat, at any rate between Benghazi and Derna, was entirely due to a general fall in sea level which must have continued to a depth at least as low as -17 metres.' Confirmation of this occurs in Ball (*op. cit.*, p. 30): 'In a deep boring . . . about 3 kilometres south-east of Marsa Matruh the base of the oolitic deposits was found to be about 43 metres below sea level.'

Of the Lower Palaeolithic, the authors 'find grounds for attributing a hand-axe industry from Northern Tripolitania to a period of considerable rainfall increase; this would accord with the hand-axe distribution in the Western Sahara and Kharga. In Cyrenaica finds suggest a late Acheulian occupation of unknown geological date.' Elsewhere (p. 233), 'it is clear that during this period or periods an appreciable degree of cultural uniformity was established throughout North Africa.'

The authors equate the Levalloisian-Mousterian cultures in Cyrenaica first (in the wadis of Derna) with a wet and warm climate and later (along the Sahel) with a climate far colder than at present with extensive freezing in winter. To Dr. Hey (p. 82) 'it seems very probable that frost may have been responsible for the bulk of the screes and alluvial fans which now exist in Egypt and Libya and that these are not modern but of Pleistocene age.' This drop in temperature was associated with a decrease or 'at most an insignificant increase' in rainfall. From a footnote on p. 156 we learn that 'a mandible fragment from a newly discovered cave in the Apollonia region, associated with a Levalloisian-Mousterian industry, shows a number of the peculiar features which serve to distinguish the human type of Tabun from that of the Neanderthaloids of other regions.'

The final phase of the Middle Palaeolithic, the Aterian, enabled the authors to speak with confidence of 'a true cultural continuum extending across the whole of North Africa.' But in neolithic days differentiation had set in and they note 'the profound difference in assemblage as a whole from that of Siwa and the Egyptian oases.'

High hopes are expressed for the future: 'It is hoped that the recently discovered site of Haua Fteia may go far towards the ideal of a complete sequence extending from the Last Interglacial up to the end of the prehistoric epoch.' Let us hope so too.

All the discoveries are set forth in very clear style and in careful and judicious language. It seems a pity, however, that the search for the highest shorelines had to be conducted with no instrument better than an aneroid. The general map of Cyrenaica on p. 9 gives the very minimum of topographical detail.

G. W. MURRAY



**The Stone Age Races of Northwest Africa.** By L. Cabot Briggs.  
*Amer. School of Prehistoric Research, Peabody Museum, Harvard Univ., Bull. No. 18. 1955. Pp. 98, 18 plates, 4 text figures. Price \$3.00.*

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In 1954 the old American School of Prehistoric Research ceased to function as such and its assets were transferred to the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, for the formation of a department within that institution. This department has adopted the same name as its predecessor, which had been very closely linked with the Museum. The publication series of the old American School of Prehistoric Research is being continued by the new, but as a monographic series of which the present one is the first. The standard of printing and production in general is high and typographical errors are almost entirely absent. It is perhaps a pity that, with the change to a truly monographic series, the paper cover was not replaced by boards. This would considerably increase the durability of what promises to be a useful series of volumes.

In this volume Dr. Briggs has presented the results of a complete re-study of all the palaeolithic, mesolithic and neolithic skull material known from north-west Africa. The author has personally examined and re-measured all of the material and has clearly gone to a great deal of trouble in the process. Historical and archaeological summaries of all the relevant sites are presented, and consideration is given to the dating and chronological sequence. The material from each of the three Stone Age periods is considered separately, but owing to the nature of the material, the greater part of the study is concerned with the mesolithic remains. A section deals with pathology, primarily ritual tooth removal, and attention is given to analysis of the racial origins and migrations which could have resulted in the observed picture in the area under consideration. The study is well documented, exhibits great familiarity on the part of the author with most areas of the subject, and is written in a forceful, direct and easily understood fashion. Factual errors

appear to be minimal—a more obvious one being the statement that cingula have not been recorded in modern euhominid dentitions.

This is a study of physical anthropology in the classic mode employing the typological approach based on metrical analysis. In the discussions on racial compositions the reader may be tempted to visualize these compositions being brought about in a laboratory by compounding different proportions of 'pure' ingredients according to this or that recipe. The author does not appear to take into account the nature of population structure as brought out by studies on animals other than man, or that it is not individuals that evolve but populations. The reviewer must confess to a feeling of uneasiness when the Afalou series of between 40 and 50 individuals is shown to exhibit all four racial groups postulated for the mesolithic material. This is despite the fact that almost all of this material came from a single level in the deposit and that the whole series exhibited a 'very strong' family resemblance. Several indices of variability are employed—which are not all consistent in the degree of variability indicated—and the values of V obtained for the total series or the Afalou series are such as are usually found for linear dimensions of the skeleton among homogeneous mammalian populations, especially if the time dimension is also involved to a certain extent. The author does not, however, discuss the level of taxonomic significance to be attached to the divisions made. From the point of view of population mechanics and dynamics, the biological reality of these groups appears questionable. Dr. Briggs does, however, repeatedly draw attention to the shortcomings of the material and the difficulties of interpretation involved.

We are much indebted to Dr. Briggs for this painstaking and informed analysis, not the least of its virtues being the fact that it is a synoptic review of the total Stone Age material of north-west Africa. As such it is a valuable contribution towards the unravelling of the complex history of mankind.

J. T. ROBINSON

## AMERICA

**Basket. Maker II Sites near Durango, Colorado.** By Earl H. Morris and Robert F. Burgh. *Carnegie Inst. of Washington, Publication 604. Washington, D.C., 1954. Pp. x, 135. Price \$4.25 paper bound, \$4.75 cloth bound.*

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At the bottom of the culture sequence of the United States Southwest Middle Cultures appear the 'Basket Makers.' These people existed by hunting, gathering and the cultivation of corn; their method of hunting being with long darts which they propelled with the *atlatl* or throwing board. They had no pottery, although they constructed rude images out of sun-dried clay, using the same material with which to line their baskets. They were skilled weavers, and apart from the baskets, which give them their archaeological identification, they produced woven bags and sandals.

They were a short people, the men broad-shouldered and muscled, the women small and of slender frame. Because of the backward tilt of the top joint surfaces of their shin bones they could not straighten their legs completely; this, together with the retreating foreheads and very heavy brow ridges, which most of them possessed, gave them a somewhat apelike appearance.

Their dwellings were single-roomed, dome-shaped houses constructed of mud and wood masonry, the walls rising with an inward slant. These were cribbed for a distance to reduce the diameter of the flat portion of the roof, which was of clay supported by parallel poles. Each dwelling was equipped with an interior heating pit and storage devices.

This publication sets out the results of two seasons' field work by the Department of Archaeology of the Carnegie Institution in the Animas Valley north of Durango, La Plata county, Colorado.

Findings reveal that a group of Indians was already established by the middle of the first century A.D. in the area north of the present-day city of Durango. These aborigines have been classified by the authors of this report as 'Durango Basket Makers' as distinct from 'Classic.'

Comparative lists of culture traits between these two groups show that they are 70 per cent. in agreement. Some differences, however, do appear, but they are differences more in variety and

detail than in basic kind. Findings also reveal that the Durango people had not advanced quite so far in hand weaving as had their cultural relations farther west.

Centuries of slow development were necessary to bring the components of a culture to the degree of advancement that they exhibit in Basket Maker II. Did this gradual unfolding take place within the confines of the San Juan area of Colorado, or did the Basket Makers move in fully developed from another area? This report throws new light on these problems and is a valuable contribution to the story of Early Man in the Southwest of North America.

This publication of the Carnegie Institution is set out in their usual style; the illustrations, however, excel anything that I have seen in previous works of a similar nature, the photographs being first-class. The junior author, who was responsible for all the maps, drawings and sketches, has set a standard which many others would do well to emulate. In order to facilitate their use in conjunction with the text I would like to see plates and maps (in an elaborate publication of this kind) housed in a separate volume, as has been done in a few other archaeological reports; it is extremely useful when studying the text.

The text is comprehensive, detailing the environment, the sites excavated, i.e. the Talus village and the Rock Shelters, and the tree-ring dates obtained by the dendrochronologists. Approximately one-third of the text discusses the many varied artifacts recovered. The appendices detail the Pictographs, Skeletons, Plant Materials, and Animal and Bird Bones.

D. H. CARPENTER

**La Mixteca: Su Cultura e Historia Prehispanicas.** By Barbro Dahlgren de Jordan. Mexico, D.F. (*Imprenta Universitaria*), 1954. Pp. 400.

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This publication is part of the 'Coleccion Cultura Mexicana' and as it is based mainly on the information so far interpreted from the Codices of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (pre- and post-Cortés) it is unfortunate that it has so few illustrations. It is impossible to try to understand the Mixteca without studying their paintings in the Codices, so full of symbolism and a



strange beauty so unlike anything to be found elsewhere. Apart from this important failing it is probably one of the most comprehensive studies of the Mixteca ever published.

Other sources from which the material has been gathered are the number of 'Relaciones' which have been preserved; the most informative of which is the *Relaciones Geográficas* of the sixteenth century which was compiled as a result of 'un cuestionario real' in 1580.

Twenty-two Mixteca *Relaciones* have so far been found, of which three are bilingual Mixteco-Amuzgos and one Mixteco-Chochó. Many of these contain ethnographical and historical evidence of the first importance as they were compiled immediately after the conquest by the Christian friars with the help of the Indians themselves. Examples of these works are: *La Suma de Visitas* of 1544 and *La Relacion de los Obispos* of the second half of the sixteenth century.

Much of our knowledge of Mixteca religion and mythology is due to other priests who settled in the Mexican province of Oaxaca after the Conquest. Father Burgoa's *Geografica Description* proves that he had intimate knowledge of the Mixteca area, and in spite of his errors and mistakes his information on the religious practices, traditions and mythologies of the 'idolaters' is invaluable. If it were not for these conscientious priests much of the poetic beauty of Mixtec mythology would never have reached us. The story of 'the Ancestors that came out of the Tree as the world was made' is beautifully recounted and depicted in several of the Codices. Other sources in this group are Father De los Reyes' *Art en lengua Mixteca* (1580) and Padre Alvarado's *Vocabulario en lengua Mixteca* (1593).

More details in the chapter on the religious practices are obtained from the *Inquisitorial Process of Yanhuítlan* which was compiled in 1545-49. The Conquistadores themselves, apart from two short references by Cortes in his *Letters*, have nothing to say of the Conquest of the Mixteca, although it is considered that we have Cortes to thank for the Codex Vindobonensis, who probably brought it to Europe in 1519. Included amongst other Mixtec Codices which are the main inspiration of this book are Nuttall, Selden, Rollo Selden, Becker I and II and Mendocino.

The chapter dealing with the social organization of the Mixteca is an elaboration of the works of Dr. Alfonso Caso, whose excavations at Monte Alban have added so much to the pre-Columbian history of Mexico.

This book is, of course, in Spanish and is one of an ever increasing number of publications dealing with Central Americana to become available to students in this country in a language other than English. With the rumour that the Carnegie Institution of Washington is drawing its programme in the Maya area to a close, publications in English will be even rarer.

This book is worthy of an English translation and would thereby be of use to a great many more students than it is in present form.

D. H. CARPENTER

#### Paracas Fabrics and Nazca Needlework, Third Century B.C.-

**192** Third Century A.D. By Junius Bird, with technical analysis by Louisa Bellinger. *The Textile Museum: Catalogue Raisonné*. Washington, D.C. (National Publ. Co.), 1954. Pp. vii, 126, 127 plates (16 in colour), 26 text figures. Price \$18

The Textile Museum of Washington, D.C., clearly possesses extremely rich collections, of which it is producing a 'Catalogue Raisonné.' The volume on Paracas and Nazca, on the coast of Peru, is the third instalment of this, and it is a most useful book, sumptuously produced. The subject is introduced by Junius Bird, of the American Museum of Natural History, who is not only an expert in weaving techniques, but has also made notable contributions to Peruvian archaeology by his excavations. He gives a necessarily brief survey of Peruvian archaeology in order to set Paracas in perspective for the benefit of those who are unfamiliar with the subject, and in doing so shows his fresh and original approach to it. The chief cat which he releases among the pigeons is a suggestion that, of the two manifestations of Paracas culture, Necropolis may be older than Cavernas, contrary to the generally accepted view. There are things to be said on both sides, and as Bird himself says, a few weeks of serious excavation would settle the question properly, a fact which illustrates another of his themes, namely that Peruvian archaeology

still contains more gaps than sequences, in spite of all that we think we know about it.

The bulk of the collection here described comes from Paracas Necropolis, where the textiles are found in quantity in mummy bundles, one of which has given a radiocarbon date of 307 B.C.  $\pm$  200 years. In spite of its early date, the material is some of the richest in Peru in colour and design. A few of the examples discussed and illustrated come from the later Nazca culture in the same region, dating perhaps from around A.D. 300.

After the introduction comes the catalogue proper, the objects being described and analysed under the headings of the types of garment, etc., which they fall into, after which there is a general discussion of design and technique. This is also by Bird. Finally Miss Bellinger gives a technical analysis of the fibres, dyes and techniques, the information being summarized in charts at the end.

Briefly speaking, Paracas stands out for simplicity in weaving, but great elaboration in embroidery, which may cover whole areas solidly, particularly borders of mantles. Braiding was also largely used, and apparently esteemed for its slightly elastic properties for objects such as turbans. The known techniques were exploited according to convenience, and some were rarely used; a sound practical reason has been found for pretty well every usage. An interesting point is the rejection of the old term 'needle-knitting' for the process involved in making certain three-dimensional fringes, on the ground that there was no true knitting in ancient Peru. The embroidery stitch used is here called 'knit-stem.' There is reason to believe that the production of the textiles was by a number of specialists in different techniques (e.g. weavers, dyers and embroiderers) under an overall control. Another unexpected fact which emerges is that the wonderful range of colours was obtained from three dyes, indigo, red and yellow, judiciously combined with one another and with the natural colours of cotton and alpaca wool. An alum mordant appears to have been used also.

The book is beautifully illustrated by photographs, some greatly enlarged to show the detail, and by line drawings, the clarity of which is enhanced by colour where required. Above all, the superb coloured plates give an extremely accurate rendering of the originals.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

**An Early Archaeological Site Near Panuco, Vera Cruz.** By Richard S. MacNeish. *Trans. Amer. Phil. Soc. N.S.*, Vol. XLIV, Part 5. Philadelphia, 1954. Pp. 539-641. Price \$2

This work is one of many that are slowly loosening the Gordian Knot surrounding the story of the ancient civilizations of the New World. Some of the many problems which face students of pre-Columbian history are discussed by Alfred V. Kidder in his foreword to this paper. Of these, two are fundamental: how and when did the Indians populate North and South America; and where did the remarkable civilizations which were found by Europeans in areas of both continents originate?

Until comparatively recently, middle American archaeological research has been concentrated mainly on the outstanding achievements of the Maya architects, and the sculptures and massive pyramids of Teotihuacan. However, the discoveries of much earlier (Formative) remains, of a far from primitive nature, indicated that the roots were yet a long way off. Despite intensive efforts no 'pre-Formative' evidence has been unearthed and problem after problem presents itself.

If New World civilization evolved independently (and not, as many consider, derived from Asia), were its two highest cultures—in Central America and in the Andean region of South America—also of independent origin or did one give rise to the other? Intriguing similarities exist between these widely separated civilizations, but the facts that communication would have been extremely difficult through the jungles of the Isthmus, and that both these two and the Asiatic civilizations had their centres well south of the Bering Straits (the only possible overland migration route) prevents confident and unanimous agreement to the answers submitted so far to these problems.

In middle America some of the apparently earliest Formative evidence has been gathered from northern Vera Cruz, southward



along the Gulf of Mexico. Considerable work was carried out between 1941-42 by Dr. G. F. Ekholm in this area, and Dr. MacNeish in 1948-49 extended his investigations to the Panuco area where he encountered deposits whose uppermost strata contained pottery types identical to Ekholm's earliest, and as he dug deeper the types became progressively more different and more primitive.

As the author points out, with any investigation of early remains in the Huasteca is the secondary problem of the Maya-Huastec relationships. These groups of people speak closely related tongues. Dr. MacNeish's excavations have supplied information which indicates the possible answers to some of the questions regarding this relationship and offers new light on the problem of when and by what process did the Huastec become separated from their linguistic brothers in the Maya area.

The reports on the excavation techniques employed on the two sites are well illustrated by photographs, but the discussions and illustrations, together with the charts and other details dealing with the ceramics and artifacts of clay are most comprehensive. This whole paper, although only a very small addition to the massive foundations needed, will be invaluable to those engaged in building the story of New World civilization. D. H. CARPENTER

**Tobati: Paraguayan Town.** By Elman R. Service and Helen S. Service. Chicago (U.P.) (U.K. agents: C.U.P.), 1954. Pp. xxix, 337. Price £2 12s. 6d.

**194** This is the first study of a modern community in Paraguay, the fruit of ten months' field work by two highly competent and intelligent anthropologists. Dr. and Mrs. Service follow the tradition of North American Hispanic studies and are concerned first of all to cover the ethnographical ground and only secondarily to draw theoretical conclusions. Although several matters are relegated to an appendix the book still reads in places like a field notebook summary. If fault it be, this is a fault on the right side; the care with which the data have been collected and the scholarship

with which they are assembled make the book an important work.

But if the institutions and values discussed are related to one another by no central argument, the descriptions of them are overshadowed by two problems, both of them problems of culture contact. First of all, what part of the culture of Tobati is of Spanish, what part of Indian origin? The Services' answer is clear (p. 283 *inter alia*): 'We find that in rural Paraguay today there are virtually no Guaraní culture traits surviving other than language.' This is in contrast with other parts of Latin America which have lost the language of the natives while retaining much of their culture and in contradiction to the belief of the Paraguayans themselves who pride themselves on their 'Guaraní heritage.' The reader acquainted with metropolitan Spain has no hesitation in agreeing with the authors that this is, in all essentials, an Hispanic culture. Leaving material items aside, here are to be found the same conceptions of kinship and patronage, the same attitudes to wealth and hazard; the same games, the same magic and the same regard for saints. The form of the *compadrazgo* recalls rural Spain rather than rural Mexico. In order to account for this situation the authors give a well reasoned historical explanation which, it must be pointed out, is based upon documents of the colonial period and not upon speculation. The poverty and isolation of the settlers and the form which the *encomiendas* took in Paraguay ensured a complete fusion of the two elements in which the language only of the Guaraní mothers was preserved.

The second problem which receives attention is how these people may be enabled to raise their standard of living. The study of their economy is detailed and shrewd and the authors surmise that the way of life and values of rural Paraguay, combined with the country's geographical isolation, present insurmountable obstacles to its becoming a modern capitalistic society. I do not, however, share their despondency about this, being quite content that the Paraguayans should, if they wish, prefer their independence within a subsistence economy to the material advantages of integration into the economic system of the continent. J. A. PITT-RIVERS

## CORRESPONDENCE

**The Trois Frères Sorcerer: An American Parallel.** With a text figure

**195** SIR,—Struck by the suggestive similarity to the well-known representation of the 'sorcerer' in the cave of Trois Frères and to the hunter of Plate II in Breuil's *The White Lady of the Brandberg* (1955), I herewith send you a photograph of a picture of a hunter in deer disguise (fig. 1) which I came upon in an



FIG. 1. LUISEÑO HUNTER IN DEER DISGUISE

article by M. R. Harrington (*The Masterkey*, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, 1955) describing customs generally practised by Southern Californian Indians up till rather recent times (about two centuries ago) and by the Luiseño tribe even in our days. This representation illustrates excellently Alimen's annotation to his reproduction of the

sorcerer: 'Bien des figurations des cavernes ornées ne s'éclairent qu'à la lumière des coutumes de telle peuplade actuelle d'Amérique, d'Australie ou de Laponie' (*Atlas de Préhistoire*, Paris, 1950).

Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam A. J. VAN BORK-FELTKAMP

**Iron Gongs from the Congo.** Cf. MAN, 1955, 30

**196** SIR,—It may be of interest to record the occurrence of the double gong of Kwango type (Walton, 'Iron Gongs from the Congo and Southern Rhodesia,' fig. 3) in the steatite sculpture of the Lower Congo area (Robert Verly, 'La statuaire de pierre du Bas-Congo (Bamboma-Mussurongo),' *Zaire*, Vol. IX, part 5 (1955), p. 517 and Plate XLI). This sculpture, *Nsiki a n'gonge*, shows the musician seated on a chair and holding his gong 'in the usual manner, the openings [one above the other] pointing towards his chest, against which he pressed or withdrew them, to modulate the sonorities of his double gong' (translation). The structure of the gong is clearly shown, and the musician holds a beater in his right hand. This sculpture, which is in the Musée Royal du Congo Belge, is thought to be of eighteenth-century date.

I was sorry to see a revival of the incorrect use of the word 'sistrum' as applied to double gongs with welded handle. H. Ling Roth, in *Great Benin, its Customs, Arts and Horrors*, Halifax, 1903, seems to have been the original offender. He refers to two 'ivory sistra' on p. 205, and in figs. 224-8; and to 'what we may venture to call a sistrum' on pp. 221f., and figs. 260, 261. In fact the sistrum was a rattle, formed by three or four metal rods in an oval frame, which was sounded by shaking the rods from side to side. Ling Roth is also inaccurate in his use of the word 'crotal' to refer to the small spherical bells sometimes attached to Benin brass objects, e.g., the double gong in figs. 260-1. On pp. 222f. he equates crotals with hawk-bells; in fact the *κρόταλον* seems to have been a castanet of shells, potsherds, brass, wood or split reeds, and used by dancers (Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, s.v. *CROTALUM*). British Museum, London, W.C.1. M. A. BENNET-CLARK









A MAORI STORE-CHAMBER SLAB IN THE MANCHESTER MUSEUM



# A MAORI STORE-CHAMBER SLAB IN THE MANCHESTER MUSEUM\*

by

FRANK WILLETT

*The Manchester Museum*

**197** The carved central slab (*kuwaha*) from a Maori store-chamber (*pataka*) here described was presented to the Manchester Museum<sup>1</sup> in 1951 by Lady Thomson, Sir George Thomson, F.R.S., and Mrs. Joan Charnock in memory of Sir J. J. Thomson, O.M., F.R.S., Professor of Physics at the University of Cambridge, and at one time a student at Owens College (now the University of Manchester). The piece was illustrated together with the

Thomson, saw them while on holiday in New Zealand at this time. He bought the *kuwaha* and sent it as a present to his old Professor. Of the remaining pieces the *maihi*, *tekoteko*, *paepae*<sup>3</sup> and two of the remaining wall slabs were bought by Dr. Hocken of Dunedin. In 1910 the Dominion Museum in Wellington received the *maihi* and *tekoteko* from his widow,<sup>4</sup> but the *paepae* and the two slabs went to the Otago Museum. Somehow the Dominion Museum had acquired two wall slabs, so an exchange was later arranged whereby all the parts of this *pataka* in the Otago Museum went to join the others in Wellington. The surviving wall slabs are shown in fig. 1. The *kuwaha* had thus been 'missing' for half a century when it was presented to the Manchester Museum.

The Thomson slab (Plate L) is an impressive piece. Its measurements are: height, 71.5 inches; width, 27.5 inches; thickness, about 7 inches. The back is slightly concave, the maximum depth being 1.5 inches. The top is slotted as usual to take the main roof beam (1.9 × 2.9 inches), but the edges are not perforated as they usually are to permit tying to the adjacent slabs. It is not clear how this attachment was made. The slabs in the Dominion Museum are perforated for tying (see fig. 1).

The main figure stands proud of its background by about three inches. It has the large head which is usual on Maori human figures, and has an elaborate *moko* very carefully carved. The earlier photographs show that the eyes were inlaid with *paua* shell.<sup>5</sup> The representation of the teeth is not common, and may be compared with the *pataka* doorway from the Arawa district in the Canterbury Museum.<sup>6</sup> In spite of conforming to the conventions of Maori sculpture this head is quite naturalistic. The ears are, as usual, very tiny, but I think that this may be an echo of the fact that the ears on preserved heads are greatly reduced in size; for the function of an ancestral carving, recognizable chiefly by virtue of the representation of his *moko*, is comparable to the preservation of the ancestor's head as a *mokomokai*. An early carver might well have thought of his ancestor in the form of a *mokomokai* rather than as he was in life, and this form of representation could then have grown into an accepted convention.

The neck is a plain block joining the head to the body. The body is covered with a zigzag pattern (*tara tara o kai*) forming chevrons across the trunk, but the linearity of this decoration is relieved by projections across the plain ridge separating the adjacent zigzags. The same motif is used in the spirals on the shoulders and knees. The hands and feet are remarkable for their resemblance to *manaia* heads. Each hand has two attenuated digits, with well carved fingernails. The knuckles (one only on the right hand, two on the left) are represented by equilateral triangles with opposed bases, a characteristic Arawa treatment. The



FIG. 1. WALL PANELS FROM THE HOCKEN PATAKA IN THE DOMINION MUSEUM

*Photograph by courtesy of the Dominion Museum*

flanking slabs completing the back wall of the *pataka* porch in Elsdon Best's monograph *Maori Storehouses and Kindred Structures*,<sup>2</sup> fig. 15A, from a photograph by A. Hamilton which had, unfortunately, no data. It appears that the carved front parts of this *pataka*, including the bargeboards (*maihi*), the *tekoteko*, and the threshold slab (*paepae*) had been obtained by Eric Craig, the well-known Auckland dealer, who had offered them for sale about 1900. Sir Richard Threlfall, then Professor of Physics at the University of Sydney, and a former student of Sir J. J.

\* With Plate L and three text figures



right foot has not received the final surface carving which has been applied to the left foot.

The abdomen of the figure is joined to the head below by an undecorated bar in the shape of an inverted V. Comparison with the figures on the Dominion Museum slabs shows that this represents the vault of the lower head.

Beneath the main figure, the head and flanking contorted *manaia* figures are carved about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch deep on a

The main figure is flanked by four graceful *manaia* figures facing outwards, arranged so as to be out of step vertically, but laterally symmetrical. They all have one hand, with three fingers and a thumb, on the abdomen, and the other, with two fingers and a thumb, raised to the mouth, but with no fixed disposition of the fingers in relation to the mouth. All four figures are decorated with *tara tara o kai*; but not all are finished. The feet of the upper right and lower left figures are undecorated (this



FIG. 2. DETAIL OF THE KUWAHA IN THE MANCHESTER MUSEUM  
Scale:  $\frac{1}{4}$

section of the slab, which forms a kind of lintel or *pare* about 2 inches thicker than the adjacent parts of the slab. The eyes of the central head which have retained their *paua* shell inlays project outwards and upwards, and have knobs on the outer corners, making them resemble the ears of an animal. The bosses below the eyes might be intended as ears, but are perhaps more probably the cheeks. The mouth has three teeth and a protruding tongue.

The head is flanked by two contorted *manaia* figures. The one on the left, which is unfinished, has the two legs bent back, the body sharply flexed, and fused with the upper lip; the left arm has three fingers and a thumb; the right arm does not appear to be represented; the mouth has one tooth. The *manaia* on the right of the *pare* corresponds, but has nails carved on two fingers. The two *manaia* and the head are decorated with *tara tara o kai*.

Two bars join the *manaia* figures and the head. Identical bars are found on the middle of the three left-hand flanking slabs in the Dominion Museum (see fig. 1).



FIG. 3. DETAIL OF A MAORI WEAVING PEG IN THE MANCHESTER MUSEUM (NO. O.4998)  
Scale:  $\frac{1}{4}$

could be deliberately done for variety); the nose bridge of the upper right figure is undecorated, and the nostril of the upper left figure has not been excavated. Fingernails are represented only on the fingers which are actually in the mouth, two on the right hand of the upper left figure, and one on the right hand of the lower left figure. These figures are very similar to the *manaia* on the extreme end slabs in the Dominion Museum (see fig. 1). It will be observed from Plate L that the chamfering of the edges of the *kuwaha* was done after the *manaia* were carved, for it has removed parts of these figures.

The legs of the slab, which form a doorway 23.5 inches high and 17.5 inches wide, bear four undecorated figures carved almost in the round, being joined to the *kuwaha* legs by the feet, the buttocks, the upper arms from elbow to shoulder, and the head. The neck, body and knees are cut free. All four figures follow a similar pattern: the legs are apart, the knees are flexed, the back is hollowed, the elbows are drawn back, the hands rest on the body, the



face is of *whetu* type with a simple tongue hanging down over the lower lip, and a tooth in each corner of the mouth; the ears or cheeks are indicated as a flat knob beside the lower outer edge of each eye. In spite of having so much in common, the figures are individual renderings of a theme, mostly because of the variety of treatments which the hands receive, being variously placed, although none have fingernails or knuckles. In the upper left figure each hand has two fingers and a reversed thumb, the upper fingers touching beneath the chin, but not touching the tongue. The lower left figure is damaged, which hampers certain identification, but it appears that the right hand had two fingers, the upper of which touched the middle of the only surviving finger of the left hand. The upper right figure has two fingers on the right hand and two fingers and a reversed thumb on the left hand. The lower right figure has two fingers on each hand. Both figures on the right leg hold the abdomen between the outstretched fingers. This is possibly intended to suggest that they are female figures, holding the womb, but as none of the figures have indications of sexual organs this is not certain. Three of these figures seem to be incomplete in detail: the upper left and lower right have nostrils indicated but not cut out, while the upper right figure has no indication of nostrils at all. The fourth, on the lower left, has the nostrils finished.

The workmanship of the slab is excellent. The surface of the figures has been adzed or chiselled to a smooth finish, and the pattern cut in afterwards (see fig. 2). The absence of pattern on some parts, and the incompleteness of e.g. the nostrils, suggests that the carver worked on the slab as a

whole rather than completing the different figures separately. The background of the figures has been adzed to a smooth finish, but being rather inaccessible near the figures, it is not as smoothly finished as the chamfered edges. The carving is careful and competent but the well-drawn nose and cheek spirals lack the precision of line which only metal tools can achieve. (Compare fig. 2 with fig. 3. The weaving peg has more accurately cut spirals with clean regular lines, but although these are more refined than the *kuwaha* spirals, they seem, in comparison, slick and lacking in vigour.) The Thomson slab appears therefore to have been carved with stone tools, which suggests an early date. The large hands of the main figure also point to an early date, and suggest that it was made in the Arawa district, probably in the first half of the nineteenth century. Phillipps considers that it probably stood at Maketu, which is its traditional provenance. The donors inform us that the carving is reputed to represent the carver and his father, and that its purpose was to keep away the father's ghost.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Museum Register No. O.7857.

<sup>2</sup> Dominion Museum Bulletin No. 5, Wellington, N.Z., 1916. Mr. W. B. Fagg has kindly pointed out that the wall slabs to the right on this photograph were printed by reversing the negative, and therefore afford no evidence that the two slabs which are still missing had not already disappeared when the photograph was taken.

<sup>3</sup> Figured, without information, by Best, *op. cit.*, fig. 6.

<sup>4</sup> W. J. Phillipps, *Maori Houses and Food Stores*, Dominion Museum Monograph No. 8, Wellington, N.Z., 1952, p. 167.

<sup>5</sup> Best, *op. cit.*, fig. 15A; Phillipps, *op. cit.*, fig. 97.

<sup>6</sup> Phillipps, *op. cit.*, fig. 132.

## POLYANDRY AND THE KINSHIP GROUP\*

by

H.R.H. PRINCE PETER OF GREECE AND DENMARK, M.A., LL.D.

### Introduction

**198** In his Presidential Address of 1941, 'The Study of Kinship Systems' (J. R. *Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. LXXI), Professor Radcliffe-Brown said: 'The internal solidarity of the sibling group and its unity in relation to persons connected with it appear in a great number of different forms in different societies.' Having said that he cannot make an attempt to deal with this he goes on to say that for the sake of argument he would point out that 'it is in the light of this structural principle that we must interpret the customs of the sororate (marriage with the deceased wife's sister), *adelphic polyandry* (marriage of a woman with two or more brothers, by far the commonest form of polyandry), and the levirate (marriage with the brother's widow)' (*italics mine*).

Polyandry being my special study, I propose to deal here only with that institution and only with *adelphic polyandry* since Professor Radcliffe-Brown has only mentioned this form. I will endeavour to discover with you

what practical value the concept of the structural principle of the unity and solidarity of the sibling group has as the means leading to a better understanding of *adelphic polyandry*.

I should warn you immediately, however, that I will do this mainly from the point of view of my personal field-work: I have only recently returned to London to take my Ph.D. degree, and feel still somewhat unhappy in an academic atmosphere; I crave your indulgence and will be grateful for any criticism that you may wish to make later and for your suggestions.

### Analysis of Professor Radcliffe-Brown's Statement

I can state at once that I am frankly puzzled by the meaning of some of the terms made use of by Professor Radcliffe-Brown. What exactly, for instance, is meant by 'in the light'? Are we perhaps to understand that this means 'from the point of view'? Or does it imply that we should look at the customs mentioned, among them *adelphic polyandry*, in a sort of diffused glow given out by the structural principle of the unity and solidarity of

\* The substance of a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 8 December, 1955.



the sibling group? Another way of looking at it would be to take it that Professor Radcliffe-Brown is only, so to speak, giving a sort of general explanation here of the customs he mentions, among them adelphic polyandry. For, to be perfectly fair, he does say that the unity and solidarity of the sibling group appears in a great number of different forms, in different societies. These customs, and more especially in our case here adelphic polyandry, would thus only be one of the many forms taken by this unity and solidarity.

How are we to understand 'interpret'? Should this word be taken as synonymous with 'explain'? Or taken literally does it perhaps stand for an interpretation of the customs mentioned in accordance with one special way of looking at them?

Because of these uncertainties, I feel that, in order to be able to discuss properly the value of Professor Radcliffe-Brown's statement it is necessary to make up our minds as to what he means exactly. I personally would like to take the sentence as meaning that the principle of the unity and solidarity of the sibling group offers an *explanation* of adelphic polyandry. I propose to take this meaning as the basis of my talk.

The next question that at once occurs to us then is: is it enough? Is such an explanation sufficient to account for this form of the principle of the unity and solidarity of the sibling group? Should we not search for some other explanation (as we would, too, of the sororate and the levirate if we were dealing with these forms)?

It seems to me that if such a further explanation is to be sought it can only be in the direction of the degree of intensity of this unity and solidarity of the sibling group. For, presumably, only an *intensification* of the unity and solidarity of the sibling group can bring about difference of form such as adelphic polyandry. I do not see how the principle can vary otherwise.

Before going any further, it might be helpful to ask ourselves what is the *purpose* of the unity and solidarity of the sibling group.

In his introduction to *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, edited by Meyer Fortes and Daryll Forde, Professor Radcliffe-Brown has said: 'The social function of any feature of a [kinship] system is its relation to the [social] structure and its continuance and stability, not its relation to the biological needs of individuals.' This is a purely sociological definition with which we cannot quarrel. As such I accept it fully.

But I will not hide from you that, by personal inclination, and because of my training with the late Professor Malinowski, I feel very much attracted by functionalism in terms of individual needs as described by him.

So I would say that the purpose (function) of the unity and solidarity of the sibling group is mainly economic; it is the mutual help of the closest blood relations to keep them from starving. With the weakening of economic ties through greater economic prosperity, as with us, there would appear to be even a lessening of the unity and solidarity of the sibling group.

However, do not let us go into this, but go on rather to

examine concrete examples of peoples with various degrees of intensity of the unity and solidarity of the sibling group in order to discover where polyandry fits in with them.

### *Concrete Examples Taken from Personal Knowledge and Fieldwork*

Our society, to begin with, is obviously ruled out. There is no great intensity of the unity and solidarity of the sibling group and there is no polyandry either.

But elsewhere there do exist peoples with well knit kinship groups who do not, however, practise polyandry. The Indians, for instance, are well known for their closely bound joint-family organization with great solidarity and unity of the sibling group, and yet there is no polyandry. The Nepalese, whom I know even better, have also a very tightly knit kinship-group organization; sibling kinship terms are used to the exclusion of personal names and brother worship is a feature of the autumn religious festivals.

Aboriginal tribes in India and Ceylon also have well knit kinship groups; these are characteristic of the Veddas of Ceylon, of the Irrulas and Kurumbas of South India, and yet they look upon polyandry as practised by their more advanced neighbours with abhorrence. Lack of knowledge does not allow me to include the Andamanese here as would be no doubt appropriate under the circumstances.

Now, with polyandrous people can it be said that there exists a greater unity and solidarity of their sibling groups?

Apparently, yes. My own experience seems to confirm this at least so far as brothers are concerned (adelphic polyandry). This, in some cases, is even extended to two different generations, as in some parts of Tibet fathers and sons (uncles and nephews) share a wife. In fact the jural relations (the rights and obligations) within the group are extended to include sharing and enjoying of a common wife and of the children by her.

I have studied four polyandrous peoples, the Kandyan Singhalese, the Kerala Tiyas and Kamalans (artisans) of south-west India, the Todas of the Nilgiris, and the Tibetans. In the following I will account for these.

In the Kandyan province of Ceylon the poor paddy-growers as well as the wealthy Rate Mahatmahe (hereditary chieftains) practise polyandry. Both have a tightly knit sibling-group organization with a system of classificatory kinship terms. The wife is shared exclusively by brothers who sometimes, in the case of some paddy-growers, are only two, it being considered immoral for her to be married to more. Both social classes consider polyandry to be moral in that it teaches man to be unselfish and solidarious. It has even been ascertained that it is the self-control of the individual necessary for polyandry to function which made the greatness of Kandyan civilization in the past.

The Tiyas of South Malabar have an identical patrilineal system with that of the Singhalese; it has even been said that they are of Singhalese origin and that their name is a corruption of the Sanskrit term *Dvipa* meaning 'island.' It is interesting to note that these southern Tiyas practise



polyandry whereas those of North Malabar do not, but then they are matrilineal and it would appear that their polyandry at least goes with a patrilineal system. The South Malabar Kamalans or artisans practise polyandry too and they are also patrilineal in organization. Different in this from the Kandyan, none of these people boast of their polyandry; they are in fact rather shy about it. They say that the custom keeps the family together and many deplore the recent change that has taken place in North Cochin, where polyandry is now illegal.

The Todas, who, as is well known, are polyandrous, have a classificatory kinship system. They show a great preference for cross-cousin marriage, which should no doubt be looked upon as a way of marrying as closely as possible within the kinship group while still avoiding incest. But with the Todas there is little solidarity of clan, of kinship group or even of sibling group. I have known close relations murder each other in order to assume chieftainship of the clan and many a polyandrous family has broken up through the quarrelling of brothers. Since women are rarely married long to any same group of men because of the *tereshti* custom (by which a wife can be carried off forcibly), it would appear as if solidarity had been transferred to the entire Toda community as a means of affirming their 'nationality' *vis-à-vis* other Nilgiri tribes. One should then ask oneself whether polyandry with the Todas is not simply traditional today.

Tibetans, who are considered the greatest polyandrous group of people in the world (*circa* 5,000,000), have a descriptive kinship system but curiously enough use classificatory terms for outsiders. Great solidarity and unity is apparent in the sibling groups of the aristocracy and the very poor, whereas it is much less intense with the middle classes. In the province of Tsang and with the Lhasa aristocracy this principle is extended to the point of one wife (known as *cham-ma-dung* in Western Tibet) being shared by fathers and sons. All Tibetans stress the economical reasons for polyandry; wishing to continue the house lineage and not to divide the family property, they are both patrilineal and matrilineal depending on whether there are male heirs or only female. As they say, they cannot afford to quarrel and for this reason practise polyandry.

#### *The Deeper-Going Motives*

This economic function of polyandry which intensifies the unity and solidarity of the sibling group in what concerns brothers is also stressed, although perhaps somewhat less by the Kandyan Singhalese and the polyandrous people of Kerala. It is not, however, by the Todas, who thus appear to be the horrible exception to the rule.

Economy should thus be considered a deeper-going motive, I think, for intensification of the unity and solidarity of the sibling group, leading to adelphic polyandry.

But is even that enough? In an earlier lecture here I showed that sometimes the custom of polyandry was abandoned even when the economy of the people practising it remains unchanged. I mentioned in this connexion the Tibetans of Ladak who were converted to Islam, and the border Tibetan attitude to polyandry which becomes

over-sensitive about admitting the custom. To this should be added now what has happened in the maritime provinces of Ceylon where polyandry has entirely disappeared, and the disturbing evidence of rich Tibetans and of the Kandyan Mahatmahe who remain polyandrous as a means of furthering their power. The latter is a good example of greater economic prosperity not relaxing closely knit kinship ties.

What deeper-going motive should we then seek for? In the field, after I had examined other motives, such as historical and demographic, I asked the people themselves why they practised polyandry. Invariably I was told: 'for the brothers not to quarrel.' In some cases I was told: 'for the women not to quarrel,' but that is really the same statement, for what they meant was that if the sisters-in-law quarrelled they would involve their husbands in their disputes, which was most undesirable. In Ceylon there is a saying that 'where four breasts cannot agree three heads can.'

It thus appears to me that we should seek an intermediary individual *psychological* motive for polyandry. A tightened economy leads to an intensification of the unity and solidarity of the sibling group, which in turn brings about an excessive repression to sibling (brother) aggression; there thus comes a return of repressed incestuous desires which are partly satisfied by polyandry. The closest to incestuous satisfaction thus obtained is the marriage of fathers and sons to a common wife, in central Tibet.

#### *Conclusion*

We have not moved very far away 'horizontally,' as might be said, from Professor Radcliffe-Brown. We have not found him wrong, we have simply gone further in depth.

Adelphic polyandry should be 'interpreted in the light of the unity and solidarity of the sibling group.' But it is an intensified form. Owing to special circumstances (economy, wish to retain power, Toda nationalism), the jural relations within the sibling group are reinforced and lead, through a process of individual psychological elaboration, to adelphic polyandry (even to fathers and sons sharing a wife).

Thus Professor Radcliffe-Brown's statement is good—but it is not good enough. It does not really say very much and it is thus not of great practical value in reaching a better understanding of adelphic polyandry. To do that we must go much deeper. Deeper motives will not only enable us to reach a better understanding of adelphic polyandry, but, I feel sure, will also make it possible for us to interpret polyandry generally otherwise than just in the light of the structural principle of the unity and solidarity of the sibling group.

#### *Note*

Reference may be made also to Prince Peter's two recently published papers 'The Polyandry of Ceylon and South India' and 'The Polyandry of Tibet' in *Actes du IV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques, Vienne, 1-8 Septembre, 1952, Vol. II, Ethnologica, Part I, Vienna, 1955, pp. 167-75, 176-84.*—ED.



# POLYANDRY, INHERITANCE AND THE DEFINITION OF MARRIAGE

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO SINHALESE CUSTOMARY LAW

by

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**199** Although polyandry has been an important topic of anthropological discussion for almost a century the definition of the concept remains strikingly unsatisfactory.<sup>1</sup> This is sufficiently indicated by the fact that Fischer (1952) maintains that adelphic polyandry, regarded as a form of polygamy, is non-existent, while H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark (1955), ignoring Fischer, continues to discuss adelphic polyandry as a species of polygamy.

At first sight the issue seems a simple one with the logic all on Fischer's side. The *Notes and Queries* (1951) definition of marriage is: 'Marriage is a union between a man and a woman such that children born to the woman are recognized legitimate offspring of both partners.' Now certainly, in many cases of polyandry, the legal status of the children is similar to that described by Cæsar for the ancient Britons (Fischer, 1952, p. 114): 'Wives are shared between groups of ten or twelve men, especially between brothers and between fathers and sons; but the offspring of these unions are counted as the children of those to whom the maid was conducted first.' This clearly is not a condition of polygamy; the children have only one legal father and the woman has only one legal husband. The other 'husbands' have tolerated sexual access to the woman, but she is not married to them in terms of the *Notes and Queries* definition. The situation is one of plural mating, or, as Fischer would call it, 'polykoity.'

More specifically, Fischer argues that we should reserve the concept of polygamy for situations in which the polygamous spouse goes through a succession of marriage rites with different partners. In adelphic polyandry 'the woman does not contract different successive marriages. There is no reason for this, since the social position of her children is guaranteed completely by the fact that she is married' (Fischer, 1952, p. 114).

Fischer agrees that an institution of polyandrous polygamy is a possibility. For example a woman might be mated to several men in such a way that each of them in turn assumed the role of social father in respect to her successive children. This very approximately seems to be the state of affairs among the Todas, and Fischer concedes that it 'approaches very closely to that of polygamy.' The institution of secondary marriage as described by Smith (1953) is also polyandrous polygamy in Fischer's sense. In both these cases every child has one, and only one, clearly defined social father.

But is it really so certain that the role of social father cannot be vested simultaneously in several different individuals? Is it not possible that in some societies social

fatherhood is not an attribute of individuals at all but of a collective corporation which may include several brothers or even fathers and sons?

When Radcliffe-Brown (1941) argued that adelphic polyandry is to be 'interpreted in the light of the structural principle of the solidarity of the sibling group,' he presumably had in mind that social fatherhood might sometimes be vested in a collective corporation of this kind, and Prince Peter sought to demonstrate that this is in fact the case. Does this mean that the notion of group marriage is once again respectable?

There is certainly one well attested case of 'corporate polyandry' of this kind, namely that of the Iravas (Aiyappan, 1945, pp. 98-103). Although Aiyappan states that on the occasion of a marriage 'the common practice is for the eldest brother alone to go to the bride's house to fetch her,' it is plain, from the further details that he gives, that the eldest brother is here acting as representative of the group of brothers considered as a corporation. Even so, it is not entirely clear what rights this corporation possesses. It is Aiyappan's thesis that *all* marital rights are completely merged in the corporation—that the sexual rights of the individual husbands and the property rights of the individual children are alike indistinguishable. Nevertheless one would welcome more detailed evidence on these points.

There is another way of looking at the problem. Instead of arguing pedantically about whether adelphic polyandry does or does not constitute plural marriage, let us consider whether a definition of marriage solely in terms of legitimacy (*Notes and Queries*, p. 111; Fischer, p. 108) is altogether adequate. There are other definitions of marriage with respectable backing, e.g. 'a physical, legal, and moral union between a man and a woman in complete community of life for the establishment of a family' (Ranasinha, 1950, p. 192). Is the *Notes and Queries* definition any less question-begging than this? What, for example, does the phrase 'legitimate offspring' really connote?

Prince Peter, in the lecture under discussion, seemed to assume that, of the various forms of heterosexual mating recognized and tolerated in any society, there is always one which may properly be described as 'marriage' in the anthropological sense. Yet if we adhere rigidly to our *Notes and Queries* definition this is not the case.

Thus traditionally among the matrilineal Nayar of South India (Gough, 1952 and 1955) a woman had a ritual husband in her *enangar* lineage and also various 'recognized lovers' (*sambandham*), who lacked ritual status; but all of these men were excluded from any legal rights in respect to the woman's children. There was here then no marriage



in the strict sense of the term but only a 'relationship of perpetual affinity' between linked lineages (Gough, 1955). The woman's children, however they might be begotten, were simply recruits to the woman's own matrilineage.

Yet as Gough has shown, even in this system, certain elements of a normal marriage institution are present.

The notion of fatherhood is lacking. The child uses a term of address meaning 'lord' or 'leader' towards all its mother's lovers, but the use of this term does not carry with it any connotation of paternity, either legal or biological. On the other hand the notion of affinity is present, as evidenced by the fact that a woman must observe pollution at her ritual husband's death (Gough, 1955).

Both Gough (1952) and Prince Peter have described the Nayar as having a system of polyandrous marriage. I do not wish to insist that this is a misnomer, but we need to be clear that if we agree that the Nayar practise polyandrous marriage then we are using the term 'marriage' in a sense different from that employed by Fischer and by *Notes and Queries*.

My personal view is that the *Notes and Queries* definition of marriage is too limited and that it is desirable to include under the category 'marriage' several distinguishable subtypes of institution.

The institutions commonly classed as marriage are concerned with the allocation of a number of distinguishable classes of rights. In particular a marriage may serve:

- A. To establish the legal father of a woman's children.
- B. To establish the legal mother of a man's children.
- C. To give the husband a monopoly in the wife's sexuality.<sup>1</sup>
- D. To give the wife a monopoly in the husband's sexuality.
- E. To give the husband partial or monopolistic rights to the wife's domestic and other labour services.
- F. To give the wife partial or monopolistic rights to the husband's labour services.
- G. To give the husband partial or total rights over property belonging or potentially accruing to the wife.
- H. To give the wife partial or total rights over property belonging or potentially accruing to the husband.
- I. To establish a joint fund of property—a partnership—for the benefit of the children of the marriage.
- J. To establish a socially significant 'relationship of affinity' between the husband and his wife's brothers.

One might perhaps considerably extend this list, but the point I would make is that in no single society can marriage serve to establish all these types of right simultaneously; nor is there any one of these rights which is invariably established by marriage in every known society. We need to recognize then that the institutions commonly described as marriage do not all have the same legal and social concomitants.

If we attempt a typology of marriage on these lines it is at once obvious that the nature of the marriage institution is partially correlated with principles of descent and rules of residence. Thus in a society structured into patrilineal patrilocal lineages we commonly find that right A is far and away the most important element, whereas among the matrilineal matrilineal Nayar, as we have seen, right J is the only marriage characteristic that is present at all. Or again, in the matrilineal virilocal structure of the Trobriands, right G assumes prior, though not altogether unique,

importance (Malinowski, 1932, with reference to *urigubu* payments).

Although the early writers on polyandry (e.g. McLennan, 1865) supposed that it was an institution closely associated with matriliney, Prince Peter has pointed out that the best-established cases of adelphic polyandry occur in societies which express patrilineal ideals. This was true of the Kandyan Sinhalese (D'Oyly, 1929); it is true of the patrilineal Iravats of Madras (Aiyappan, 1945) and of the Tibetans (Bell, 1928, p. 88). But it is also the case that the patriliney in these societies is of an ambiguous and rather uncertain type. The position in each case is that while the people concerned profess a preference for patrilocal marriage and the inheritance of landed property through males only, matrilineal marriage and inheritance through females is not at all uncommon (Aiyappan, 1945; Li An-Che, 1947; D'Oyly, 1929, p. 110). Moreover although women who marry patrilocally surrender their claims on their own ancestral land, they receive a dowry of movable goods in lieu.

This aspect of polyandry, namely that it is intimately associated with an institution of dowry, has previously received inadequate attention. In patrilineal systems of the more extreme type all significant property rights are vested in males so that, from the inheritance point of view, marriage does no more than establish the rights of a woman's sons in her husband's property (right A above). Fission of the patrimonial inheritance group does of course occur, and when it occurs it is very likely that individual marriages will be cited (retrospectively) as a justification for such a split; the model given by Fortes (1945, p. 199) is typical in this respect. Yet, in such cases, marriage, as such, does not create an independent partible estate.

But when property in land and saleable valuables is vested in women as well as in men, a very different state of affairs prevails; for each marriage then establishes a distinct parcel of property rights and the children of any one marriage have, of necessity, a different total inheritance potential from the children of any other marriage.

Systems of inheritance in which both men and women have property endowment are very general in Southern India, Ceylon and throughout South-East Asia. Such systems are found in association with patrilineal, matrilineal and cognatic descent structures. The general pattern is that the nuclear family, as a unit, possesses three categories of property, namely the entailed inheritance of the father, the entailed inheritance of the mother, and the 'acquired property'—that is, the property owned jointly by the parents by virtue of their operations as a business partnership during the period of the marriage. The children of the marriage are heirs to all three categories of property, but the categories are not merged.

Now it is quite obvious that an inheritance principle whereby women as well as men can be endowed with property conflicts with the ideal that landed property should be maintained intact in the hands of the male heirs. Yet it is a fact that there are many societies which manage to maintain both principles simultaneously. There are a variety of customary behaviours which can best be



understood if they are regarded as partial solutions to the dilemma that arises from maintaining these contradictory ideals.

Let us be clear what the dilemma is. On the one hand there is the ideal that the patrimonial inheritance ought to be maintained intact. Full brothers and the sons of full brothers *ought* to remain together in the ancestral home and work the ancestral land. On the other hand, since the wives of these men, when they join the household, bring with them property which will be inherited by their own children but not by their husbands' nephews and nieces, each new marriage creates a separate block of property interests which is in conflict with the ideal of maintaining the economic solidarity of male siblings.

One way out of the difficulty was that adopted in the Jaffna Tamil code of Thesawalamai (Tambiah, 1954, p. 36): the sons inherited the hereditary property of their father, and the acquired property of both spouses was inherited by the sons and the undowered daughters. The dowries to the daughters were given out of the mother's dowry. Systems of double unilineal descent such as that described by Forde for the Yakō operate in a somewhat comparable way (Forde, 1950, p. 306), though the distinction here is between property passed to men through men (the patrilineal inheritance of land rights) and property passed to men through women (the matrilineal inheritance of movables).

The Moslem preference for patrilineage endogamy likewise resolves the conflict between female rights of inheritance and a patrilineal principle of descent. A declared preference for reciprocal or patrilateral cross-cousin marriage may sometimes have similar implications. Indeed, marriage preferences of this latter type seem to be more or less confined to societies in which a substantial proportion of the inheritance rights are transmitted through women.

Adelphic polyandry, I would suggest, is to be understood as yet another variation on the same theme. If two brothers share one wife so that the only heirs of the brothers are the children born of that wife, then, from an economic point of view, the marriage will tend to cement the solidarity of the sibling pair rather than tear it apart, whereas, if the two brothers have separate wives, their children will have separate economic interests, and maintenance of the patrimonial inheritance in one piece is likely to prove impossible. If the ethnographical evidence is to be believed, polyandrous institutions, where they occur, are deemed highly virtuous and tend to eliminate rather than heighten sexual jealousies (Aiyappan, 1937).

In the lecture under discussion, Prince Peter referred repeatedly to contemporary polyandry among the Kandyan Sinhalese. It seems important that we should be clear what the word 'polyandry' means in this case. Sinhalese law does not recognize the existence of polyandrous marriage and it is not possible for any individual to maintain in a law court that he or she is 'the recognized legitimate offspring' of two different fathers, nor can a woman bear 'legitimate offspring' to two different husbands without an intermediate registration of divorce. Thus, strictly speaking, polyandry in Ceylon is not a variety of marriage,

if marriage be narrowly defined. On the other hand it is certainly the case that there are parts of Ceylon where two brothers often share a common domestic household with one 'wife', these arrangements being permanent, amicable and socially respectable.<sup>3</sup>

Polyandrous households of this type contrast rather strikingly with the more normal pattern in which two or more brothers live together in a single compound each with his separate 'wife.' This latter situation is characterized by marked restraint between the brothers and even complete avoidance between a man and his 'sister-in-law.'

The 'wives' in such cases may or may not be married according to Sinhalese law. In a high proportion of cases they are not so married. In law the children of these unions are then illegitimate. The children, however, have birth certificates and these certificates give the name not only of the mother but also of the acknowledged father, a circumstance which provides the child with a potential claim to a share of the heritable property of each of its parents.<sup>4</sup> The child therefore, although not the *legitimate offspring* of both its parents, is nevertheless a *legitimate heir* of both its parents. If then the principle of legitimacy be here defined in terms of property rights rather than descent it seems quite proper that Sinhalese customary unions should be regarded as marriages.

Is it then possible in this case to have a polyandrous marriage? Legally, no. Since a birth certificate certainly cannot show more than one father, no child possesses the basis for establishing a legal claim to the property of a polyandrous corporation. All the same, it seems probable that in polyandrous households the children do ordinarily inherit jointly the undivided property of the two fathers and that Sinhalese custom recognizes their right to do so. Provided that we are not too pedantic about what we mean by 'legitimate' it does appear that we are dealing here with something that an anthropologist can properly call polyandrous marriage. Even so the issue is by no means clear-cut.

Aiyappan (1945, p. 103), in commenting on the refusal of an English judge to admit the possibility of a woman being simultaneously married to two brothers at the same time, treats the issue as being simply one of a conflict between English law and customary Irava law. But so far as the Sinhalese are concerned the issue is not so simple.

The classical formulation of the former Sinhalese law regarding polyandry appears in Sawers' *Digest* (see D'Oyly, 1929, p. 129):

Polygamy as well as polyandry is allowed without limitation as to the number of wives or husbands—but the wife cannot take a second associated husband without the consent of the first—though the husband can take a second wife into the same house as his first wife without her consent. The wife, however, has the power of refusing to admit a second associated husband at the request of her first husband, even should he be the brother of the first. And should the proposed second associated husband not be a brother of the first, the consent of the wife's family to the double connection is required.

It is clear that two separate rights are here distinguished. First, there is the right in the wife's sexuality which marriage serves to vest partly, but not completely, in the



person of the first husband. The sexual rights of the other husbands are exercised, not by virtue of the marriage, but through the individual consent of the first husband and the joint wife. On the other hand, the ritual of patrilocal marriage—the essence of which is that a man conducts his bride from her father's house to his own (*Report*, 1935, paragraph 168)—serves to establish a relation of affinity between the wife's family as a whole and the husband's family as a whole. The wife's family have no interest in what sexual arrangements pertain unless it is proposed to extend the rights of sexual access beyond the limits of the husband's sibling group.

It is notable that, in this formulation of Sawers, the rights of the children are not mentioned; the ritual procedures of Sinhalese marriage are not concerned with the rights of the potential children. The marriage rite disposes of the woman's sexuality to her first husband; it also has the effect of making a public pronouncement that the woman has been properly endowed so that she has no further claims on her parental property. The status of children arises from quite a different source.

In Sinhalese customary law it was (and is\*) the rule that if a man and a woman are publicly known to have cohabited together and the woman bears a child, then the woman has a claim on the man for the support of the child (D'Oyly, 1929, p. 84). In ordinary rural practice, all of a man's acknowledged children are equally his heirs whether or not he has at any time gone through a ritual of marriage with the children's mother. Likewise all of a woman's children have equal claims on her inheritance.

My conclusion is that in the Sinhalese case, and very probably in other analogous cases, we are dealing with two different institutions both of which resemble marriage as ordinarily understood, but which need to be carefully distinguished. Neither institution corresponds precisely to the ideal type of marriage as defined in *Notes and Queries*.

On the one hand we have a formal and legal arrangement, by which, so far as Ceylon is concerned, a woman can only be married to one man at a time. 'Marriage' in this sense establishes a relationship of affinity between the family of the bride and the family of the first husband, and it gives the disposal of the bride's sexuality to the first husband, subject to the bride's personal consent. On the other hand we have another institution of 'marriage,' which is entered into quite informally but which nevertheless, by virtue of its public recognition, serves to provide the children with claims upon the patrimonial property of the men with whom the woman cohabits and publicly resides. This second form of 'marriage,' although it establishes the inheritance rights of the children, does not establish their permanent status as members of a corporate descent group, and Sinhalese children, as they grow up, have wide choice as to where they finally align themselves for the purposes of affiliation.

If we accept this second institution as a form of 'marriage,' then polyandry in Ceylon is a form of polygamy. If we confine the term 'marriage' to the first institution, polyandry in Ceylon is a form of polykoity. These niceties of definition are worth making because it is important that

anthropologists should distinguish the various classes of right that are involved in marriage institutions.

Of greater importance is my hypothesis that adelphic polyandry is consistently associated with systems in which women as well as men are the bearers of property rights. Polyandry exists in Ceylon because, in a society where both men and women inherit property, polyandrous arrangements serve, both in theory and practice, to reduce the potential hostility between sibling brothers.

#### Notes

\* This paper is based in part upon fieldwork carried out in Ceylon in 1954 with the aid of a Leverhulme Research Award and a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation.

† I use the term 'monopoly' advisedly. I consider that this right *G* is to be regarded as a monopoly control over the disposal of the wife's sexuality rather than an exclusive right to the use thereof. In discussing adelphic polyandry this distinction is important.

‡ It is difficult to accept Prince Peter's claim that in the Ratnapura District of Ceylon polyandry is so common as to be the norm. The *Census* (1946, Vol. I, Part 2) includes figures for 'customary marriages' as well as 'registered marriages.' The *Census* enumerators were required to enter as 'married' anyone who 'claimed to be married according to custom or repute' and there seems no reason why they should have excluded 'polyandrous husbands.' However, in all districts, the overall total of 'married' males is roughly equal to the overall total of 'married' females, which does not suggest that the frequency of polyandry can be numerically significant. For Ceylon as a whole the *Census* gave 389,846 women as 'married by custom' and 843,493 as 'legally married by registration.' While this is evidence that the strict definition of legitimate marriage is unrealistic, it does not follow that the anthropologist must accept the *Census* enumerators' notions of what constitutes customary marriage.

§ The *Report of the Kandyan Law Commission* (1935, paragraphs 199-210) recommends that all children born of non-registered marriages shall be deemed illegitimate and shall be excluded from any share in the entailed property of the father. The *Report* recognizes that this conflicts with the customary law of the pre-British period which did not restrict entailed (*paraventi*) property to the offspring of formal marriages. Ranasinha (1950, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 192) ignores this *Report* and asserts that the highest authorities have held that 'registration was not essential to the validity of a marriage in Ceylon, and the marriage relation could be presumed on adequate evidence of cohabitation and repute.' Certainly in many parts of Ceylon today the children of non-registered 'marriages' are treated as having full inheritance rights in their father's property, but whether this right could now be sustained in a Court of Law I am uncertain.

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## SHORTER NOTE

### The Absence of Haemoglobin C in 104 East Africans Living in Dar es Salaam. By Dr. H. Lehmann, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, and Dr. J. P. Mackey, Medical Laboratory, Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika

A number of variants of normal adult human haemoglobin (haemoglobin A) are now known of which the most widely examined is the sickle-cell haemoglobin (haemoglobin S). It seems that in Africa next of importance to haemoglobin S is haemoglobin C.

Kaplan, Zuelzer and Neel<sup>1</sup> and Itano and Neel<sup>2</sup> found it first in an American Negro with an atypical sickle-cell anaemia who was not a homozygote for the gene responsible for haemoglobin S but a heterozygote for that controlling the formation of haemoglobin S and for one other producing an until then unknown variant which was named haemoglobin C.

Haemoglobin C is characterized by its electrophoretic mobility which differs from that of both haemoglobin A and haemoglobin S, but otherwise it closely resembles haemoglobin A and in particular it does not give rise to the sickling phenomenon. Its presence is determined by a single gene which is considered to be an allele of those controlling the formation of haemoglobin A and haemoglobin S.

The discovery of haemoglobin C in a North American Negro was followed by numerous other reports from the U.S.A., the most extensive being a survey by Smith and Conley,<sup>3</sup> who examined 500 American Negroes in Baltimore and found haemoglobin C in 2 per cent.

Edington and Lehmann<sup>4</sup> reported the presence of this haemoglobin in the Gold Coast where again the examination of an atypical sickle-cell anaemia patient had led them to the discovery of a heterozygote for the genes responsible for haemoglobin S and haemoglobin C. The finding of haemoglobin C in the Gold Coast was not surprising in view of the West African origin of the North American Negro. Shortly afterwards haemoglobin C was found in Algeria by Portier, Cabannes, Massonnat and Duval.<sup>5</sup> Among the members of a few large Musulman families 22 were seen who possessed both haemoglobin A and haemoglobin C and six who were haemoglobin C homozygotes.

No further reports of haemoglobin C in Africa have come forward with the exception of one dealing with a 'Cape Coloured' who was seen by Brain<sup>6</sup> in South Africa. Both in North Africa and in South Africa the finding of the C variant could readily be explained on the basis of importation of West African slaves in the past.

A search for haemoglobin C in Northern Nilotes in the Sudan (Roberts and Lehmann<sup>7</sup>) and another in Uganda by Jacob<sup>8</sup> was unsuccessful. Since then Walters and Lehmann (in the press) have found haemoglobin C again in West Africa in Southern Nigeria. It was present in the Yoruba but not east of the Niger in the Igala. Even in the Yoruba the incidence was only 7 per cent. whereas Edington and Lehmann<sup>9</sup> had found it in the Gold Coast to be

12 per cent. Since then Edington and Lehmann (unpublished) have found even higher incidences in tribes from the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. Between West Africa and East Africa in the Belgian Congo only one person with haemoglobin C was discovered among a large number investigated (personal communication by Dr. J. M. Vandepitte).

It thus seems that haemoglobin C is restricted to the Tropical West of Africa and that it falls in incidence from west to east. However, more investigations are needed to map the occurrence of this haemoglobin variant and to confirm the distribution outlined above. We have recently obtained 104 random blood samples from adult East Africans living in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, and have examined them for abnormal haemoglobins by paper electrophoresis. Though haemoglobin S was found on 12 occasions no haemoglobin C was detected in any of the 104 individuals belonging to a wide variety of tribes (listed below in order of the size of the sample).

Communities	No. of individuals tested from each community	Total numbers
Zaramo . . . . .	21	21
Nyamwezi . . . . .	7	7
Gindo, Ngoni . . . . .	6	12
Nyasa, Rufiji . . . . .	5	10
Yao, Zigua . . . . .	4	8
Jaluo, Luguru . . . . .	3	6
Fipa, Haya, Hehe, Manyema, Nden-gereko, Ngazija, Pogoro, Segeju, Sukuma	2	18
Ambwe, Atumbi, Bena, Chaga, Digo, Doc, Gogo, Kamba, Kwele, Manda, Nyachusa, Nyagatna, Nyakinsa, Rangi, Sagara, Sambara, Sango, Segeju, Teita, Uwemba, Wera, Zaramu	1	22

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> E. Kaplan, W. W. Zuelzer and J. V. Neel, *Blood*, Vol. VII (1951), p. 1240.

<sup>2</sup> H. A. Itano and J. V. Neel, *Proc. Nat. Acad. Sci. Wash.*, Vol. XXXVI (1950), p. 613.

<sup>3</sup> E. W. Smith and C. L. Conley, *Bull. Johns Hopk. Hosp.*, Vol. XCIII (1953), p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> G. M. Edington and H. Lehmann, *J. Clin. Path.*, Vol. VII (1954), p. 171.

<sup>5</sup> A. R. Portier, R. Cabannes, J. Massonnat and J. Duval, *Algérie Médicale*, Vol. LVIII (1954), p. 557.

<sup>6</sup> P. Brain, *Nature Lond.*, Vol. CLXXV, p. 262.

<sup>7</sup> P. F. Roberts and H. Lehmann, *Brit. Med. J.*, Vol. I (1955), p. 519.

<sup>8</sup> G. F. Jacob, *ibidem*, Vol. I (1955), p. 521.

<sup>9</sup> G. M. Edington and H. Lehmann, *Trans. R. Soc. Trop. Med. Hyg.*, Vol. XLVIII (1954), p. 332.



## REVIEWS

## GENERAL

**Numen: International Review for the History of Religions.***Vol. I. Fasc. 1. Subscription 20 guilders a year*

**201** It is too late to welcome the advent of *Numen* and perhaps too early to assess its value. But it is certain that social anthropologists will recognize the value of a serious international journal for the study of ancient and modern religions. It is the organ of the International Association for the History of Religions under the distinguished editorship of Professor Pettazzoni.

In his *Aperçu Introductif* Pettazzoni makes first of all a distinction between those who study religion from the outside and those who may more properly be called the scientists of religion. In the first category he includes archaeologists, ethnologists, sociologists and psycholo-

gists. The contributions of these separate sciences are of considerable value but for him the science of religion is qualitatively different as it studies the inner life of religion and not the relations which it may have with other phenomena. But a further distinction is made between the history of religions which studies their development in their cultural milieux and the phenomenology of religions which concerns itself with their essential structures. The relation between these two branches of the science is necessarily intimate.

The publication of the third number makes the first volume complete. As yet there have been no contributions dealing with modern non-literate societies which might rebut or prove the contention that sociologists can or ought to be content with studying the externals of religion.

R. G. LIENHARDT

## ASIA

**India: Paintings from the Ajanta Caves. U.N.E.S.C.O.***World Art Series. Introduction by Madanjeet Singh. Pp. 10, 32 plates. New York (N.Y. Graphic Soc.). Price £5 10s.*

**202** To review a book of this kind fairly is not simple. The production is irreproachable, the illustrations are superb; it is in fact only the selection that can be open to criticism, and about this, as in all such cases, who is to dogmatize? The declared intention is to give only a broad outline of the art of Ajanta, but is this in fact fulfilled? It is reasonable to suppose that the purchaser of this book would wish to be able to appreciate that, as the introducer says, 'there is a unity so enchanting that the viewer moving along the walls following the narrative of Jataka stories is transported,' and this is just the effect that this book fails to provide. It was in this manner that these frescoes were intended to be viewed, and it was to achieve this effect that the artists at Ajanta worked miraculously by the light of primitive oil lamps. In only five of the 32 plates is the slightest attempt made to bring before the viewer this unity, the masterly composition of these scenes.

No doubt this selection was swayed by some definite personal aesthetic predilection and a desire to emphasize the technique of these artists (detail from large paintings being rather the 'done thing' in all recent art volumes), but the fact remains that with few exceptions these frescoes do not lend themselves to close-ups. Plates 5, 6, 8, 9, 15, 20, 23 and 32, to be specific, might well be dispensed with and replaced by scenes of wider scope such as Plate 2. There are a number of such scenes which find no place here, and the unrelated figures illustrated give no hint of their pictorial magnificence. It is a pity also that we do not get an example of the early work in Chaitya Cave X. True, this has been scribbled on by countless sightseers, but much of the drawing is as fine as the best in the other caves. From the art point of view it must be said that if one cannot visit Ajanta this does not bring a picture of the true splendour of these frescoes to one. There is of course the value of these paintings as a social and historical document of their times as regards dress, weapons and household furnishings to name but a few of the features depicted. By restricting illustration mainly to a series of close-ups little of this valuable information appears.

D. H. GORDON

**Chinese Ancestor Worship in Malaya. By Leon Comber. Singapore (Donald Moore, Malayan Heritage Books) (U.K. agents: U. of London P.). Pp. 41, 20 plates, 8s. 6d.**

**203** Mr. Comber's years of official service in Malaya have given him a great interest in Chinese social life, and in this little book he has put together some of the things he has learned. Since his book is intended to be a popular account and lays no claim to academic status, it would be unfair to submit it to a close scrutiny. But it would be doing Mr. Comber less than due honour for his initiative to pass over some of his statements in silence.

In fact—and in this Mr. Comber has gone astray—the book has little to do with ancestor worship, a religious phenomenon the significance of which the author has not understood. He has not explored ancestor worship and the social organization to which it relates. He is fundamentally mistaken in believing that 'among the overseas Chinese communities . . . of South-East Asia, the clan and the family have always shown a remarkable resistance to change' (p. 36). It is precisely the collapse of the wider agnatic kinship system which has curtailed the institution of ancestor worship among overseas Chinese. The wooden ancestral tablets of which Mr. Comber speaks as though they were commonly found in Chinese homes in Malaya (p. 21) are certainly much rarer than he imagines; and where found they are objects of household devotion rather than ritual foci for collective worship by cult groups of agnatic relatives.

Mr. Comber has some interesting material, however, on coffins, corpse clothing, domestic mortuary rites, geomancy, funerals, and post-funeral rites. If ever he comes to revise this little book or consider writing another on the same subjects he should try to set out what different kinds of Chinese in Malaya do and say in the field of popular religion, and concern himself less with the classical sources of Chinese religion which are not always very relevant. I suspect from what Mr. Comber writes that he is more familiar with the Cantonese dialect than with any other spoken in Malaya; he might consider the variations in religious practices to be found in other dialect groups.

Further titles in the Malayan Heritage Books series are announced. It is welcome news that a publisher in Malaya has taken to putting out well produced little books on the cultures of a too much neglected country.

MAURICE FREEDMAN

## OCEANIA

**Oceanic Art. Photographs by F. Hewicker, text by Herbert Tisdner. London (Thames & Hudson), 1954. Pp. 32, 96 plates. Price £2 2s.**

**204** This very well produced volume consists of twelve pages of introduction, four pages of bibliography, ten pages of catalogue and ninety-six photogravure plates. The introduction comprises a brief survey of the history of European discovery in the Pacific, the native settlement of the islands and the associated migrations;

native technology is briefly mentioned, then Melanesian society is described with special reference to the art objects used in ritual, followed by a similar account of Polynesian society; the effect of introducing metal tools is mentioned, and the introduction is rounded off by a summary of Speiser's theory of Oceanic art styles. Within its physical limits this is a satisfactory essay, but unfortunately there are no references to the plates, which would have added point to the introductory remarks.



The bibliography is excellent for a book of this type. The catalogue is admirable. It usually describes the piece in detail, giving the size in centimetres and inches, and often quoting the museum registration number and supplying an account of its collecting where it is of particular interest.

The plates, which are arranged in an approximately geographical order, show 70 specimens from Melanesia and 24 from Polynesia, but only two from Micronesia. The photographs are excellent, combining an accurate scientific record with an attractive presentation. The specimens are drawn from museums over most of Europe and are excellent pieces. It is unfortunate that two (Nos. 73, 75) of the five Maori items, though interesting, are atypical. No. 75 is technically excellent but is late and very strongly Europeanized with its three-quarter face Maui and the entirely naturalistic fish. The catalogue omits the provenance of the piece although it is known. (It is from the house Rauru, which stood at Whakarewarewa.) The intriguing story of this house might well have been told or at least alluded to (James Cowan, *Legends of the Maori*, Vol. I, p. 259, Wellington, 1930). In view of the title of the book it is unfortunate that almost all the plates are of sculpture.

The book is apparently directed at the increasing public which is interested in tribal art, but sets a very high standard of quality so that the book is also of interest to serious students of Pacific ethnology.

FRANK WILLETT

**Bibliographie de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.** By Patrick O'Reilly. Paris (Soc. des Océanistes), 1955. Pp. x, 361

**205** Père O'Reilly has produced a fine piece of bibliography for which all those who are interested in New Caledonia will be grateful. It is selective and critical, giving some account of the book in nearly every case, but its range is wide: travels, natural history, geography, anthropology, history, economy, medicine, literary works dealing with New Caledonia, local periodical publications, and maps. There are over 4,000 items listed, the rare ones having their location indicated, and there are 21 illustrations of texts printed in Oceania.

FRANK WILLETT

**A Bibliography of Bibliographies of the South Pacific.** By Ida Leeson. London (O.U.P.), 1954. Pp. viii, 61. Price 15s.

**206** This work is intended as an introduction to a series of local and subject bibliographies to be published under the auspices of the South Pacific Commission, some of which have already appeared in the Commission's Technical Paper series. It is divided into three parts: general bibliographies, bibliographies of particular areas, and subject bibliographies (there are in fact five sections, three of which would more logically be grouped together under 'particular areas'), and has an index. Bibliographies the contents of which are covered elsewhere are omitted. It should be of considerable value.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

## CORRESPONDENCE

**Choosing Reviewers.** Cf. MAN, 1955, 102

**207** SIR,—Though unfamiliar with the publications referred to in Dr. Leach's recent letter (MAN, 1955, 102), I am impelled to comment on the two general issues which he raises—editorial policy concerning reviews and the relationship between social anthropology and ethnography.

As to editorial policy, I wholeheartedly concur in the sentiments of your judicious note. From 1912 to 1923 I served as an Associate Editor, from 1924 until 1933 as Editor, of the *American Anthropologist*. According to my experience an ideal reviewer for an important work is extremely difficult to find, hence editors must resort to compromise solutions. To take a concrete case, it would have been unjustifiable to ignore publications so replete with anthropological material as the late Dr. Berthold Laufer's. Yet who in the United States was able to control the Chinese, Sanskrit, Mongolian, and Tibetan sources which he exploited? The solution was to turn to scholars not conversant with the recondite branches of learning cultivated by Laufer, but alive to the culture-historical import of his findings.

Dr. Leach unquestionably points to a real danger, inadequate empathy due to a reviewer's orientation; but there is the contrary peril of choosing a scholar too emotionally involved in the author's mode of thought. An editor cannot but balance undesirable potentialities and then rely on the reader's discernment.

As to the second question, the pejorative reference to ethnography as 'an antiquarian miscellany' of 'quaint manners and customs' is regrettable. It hardly agrees with the statement drawn up by the late Professor Radcliffe-Brown, explicitly for the illumination of American colleagues (*Amer. Anthropol.*, Vol. LIV (1952), pp. 275ff.). In that communication social anthropology is simply represented as a *new* species of the genus Ethnography, the differentia of the neonate being 'some sort of theoretical analysis.'

As an ethnographer I accept the specific character of social anthropology, but must reject the implication. Theoretical analysis is not restricted to the phenomena of social structure. It requires analysis to determine the literary or artistic style of a people. If stress is put on the determination of regularities, no one has proved that they can never be ascertained in other departments than those hitherto favoured by social anthropology.

I suggest that the crucial factor lies in the individual investigator's capacity. Parent-in-law avoidance was a 'quaint custom' until Tylor took it as the springboard for theoretical interpretation,

thereby opening new vistas. The example illustrates the important principle that the accurate recording of fact is useful without a pre-existing theoretical scheme, however helpful that may be in concentrating an observer's attention. Tannier, whom Tylor quotes, was a simple white captive of the Ojibwa Indians, yet correctly noted a taboo among his captors; and this observation, unilluminated by theory, could be theoretically utilized by others. Correspondingly, Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied, though scientifically trained, lived prior to anthropological theories; but his account of Mandan age societies stimulated discussions of some significance.

The advancement of anthropology has led to an unprecedented specialization, so that we can no longer speak of experts on primitive technology, but only on basketry or pottery or metallurgy. Here lies the sound basis for criticizing a 'grab-all' policy of fieldwork. Incidentally, the idea was emphasized by Dr. Clark Wissler 40 years ago and found application still earlier by Professor A. C. Haddon in the organization of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits. But, carried to an extreme, the position becomes doctrinaire and militates against the researcher's duty to science. Over-specialization may distort the picture of the culture as a whole. From a practical angle, the personnel of an anthropological expedition rarely comprises a trained textile expert, a specialist in ceramics, a specialist in folklore, and so forth. Facts of value to fellow anthropologists are irretrievably lost for science if a solitary fieldworker ignores everything but what relates to his immediate interests. Surely no branch of study has become more specialized than linguistics; yet our linguists are grateful for word lists, however naive in their phonetics, recorded among extinct or hitherto unknown tribes.

Since 'scientifically' oriented anthropologists heed the example of the exact sciences, I shall close with a reference to the history of astronomy. Tycho de Brahe was 'not strong on the theoretical side,' yet 'the splendor and number of his instruments, the ingenuity which he exhibited in inventing new ones . . . and his skill and assiduity as an observer, have given a character to his labors and a value to his observations which will be appreciated to the latest posterity' (W. T. Sedgwick and H. W. Tyler, *A Short History of Science*, New York, 1917, p. 209). Pending the arrival of anthropological Newtons, may we not pray for more probable crops of Tychos?

ROBERT H. LOWIE

Department of Anthropology,  
University of California, Berkeley

Professor of Anthropology, Emeritus





# MAN

## *A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science*



Flat Bronze Axes from Jorwe, Ahmadnagar District, Deccan  
(with Plate A and a text figure)

*Professor H. D. Sankalia*

An Example of a 'Mixed' System of Descent and Inheritance

*Barbara E. Ward*

Obituary

Neville Jones : 1880-1954

Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute

Shorter Notes

The Rh Blood Groups among the Greek Population : Multiple-Stem Pipe Bowls

Reviews

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(with Plate D and two text figures)

*Professor Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf*

**The Jaga and their Name for Iron**

(with a text figure)

*G. A. Wainwright*

**Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute**

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## R.A.I. CHRISTMAS CARD, 1955

Orders are now invited for this year's Christmas card, for which (after one from Ashanti in 1953 and another from Wales in 1954) a subject has been chosen from Arabia. It is the beautiful water-colour of a house door at Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia, which was published as a colour plate in the July issue of MAN for 1949 (in honour of the late Sir John Myres's eightieth birthday). It is brilliantly decorated all over with geometrical designs in red, black, blue, yellow, green, and pink dyes, and is an outstanding example of the decorative art of western Asia. The reproduction is eight inches high by about five inches wide, and will appear on the front of a four-page card (the usual greetings and a brief description of the subject appearing on page 3).

The price of the cards (with envelopes) will be 10s. a dozen for the first three dozen and 9s. a dozen thereafter, for orders from within Great Britain. Where they are to be despatched overseas by the printers, purchase tax is not chargeable and the prices can be reduced to 8s. 6d. and 7s. 6d. respectively. Postage is extra and special arrangements can be made for cards to be despatched by air parcel post or air freight (at the consignee's expense) where necessary. Full-colour reproductions are very costly to produce, and the above prices are made possible only by the use of existing blocks, and on the assumption that a sufficiently large number will be sold.

It is regretted that an earlier announcement has not proved possible, but if orders are placed as quickly as possible, there should be little difficulty in executing them in good time. (Supplies of the 1954 card - which bears no date - are still available at the reduced price of 4s. a dozen.) Orders should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary at the Institute.



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(with Plate E and a text figure)

*Alvin W. Wolfe*

Cranial and Cerebral Asymmetry and Handedness  
(with six text figures)

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Obituary

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## CHRISTMAS CARDS, 1955

A sufficient number of cards have been printed to allow for further orders from the United Kingdom, but they should be placed immediately to avoid disappointment. The subject is a reproduction in full colour of the finely painted door from Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia, published in 'Man' for July, 1949. The price, including envelopes and postage within the United Kingdom, is 10 shillings a dozen for the first three dozen and 9 shillings a dozen thereafter.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO 'MAN'

Contributions are welcomed by the Hon. Editor on all branches of anthropology (including prehistoric archaeology) and on related and ancillary fields of knowledge. They may be in the form of articles, illustrated or not, of about 3000 words, shorter notes (including reports of original research, reviews of recent work, and anthropological news), or letters, normally of less than 1000 words, on any anthropological topic, whether arising from articles in MAN or not.

All contributions must be typed in double spacing on one side of the paper only, and notes, references and other matter to be printed in smaller type should preferably be typed in triple spacing, never in single spacing. Notes and references should conform to the normal style of MAN; volume and plate numbers are given in upper-case Roman figures.



# MAN

## *A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science*



### Some Notes on the Peasant Houses of Montenegro

(with Plate F and five text figures)

*I. R. Whitaker*

### Netting Knots and Needles

(with two text figures)

*P. I. R. Maclaren*

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## MAN: ARREARS OF PUBLICATION

The Council of the Institute and the Hon. Editor of 'Man' have greatly regretted the serious arrears in the publication of 'Man' during the past three years or more, which were largely traceable to exceptional secretarial difficulties in the administration of the Institute during that period. Subscribers will, however, have noted an appreciable improvement recently, and arrangements have now been made for three issues (June–August, 1955) to be published during December, 1955, and for publication to be brought up to date during the first half of 1956. It may be mentioned that the arrears have seldom led to material delay in the publication of particular articles, many of which have been published within two months of receipt, as when publication was up to date; some degree of restriction in the length of articles, and especially of book reviews, was, however, necessary in order to make this possible.

## CHRISTMAS CARDS, 1955

*Last orders should now be placed for this year's R.A.I. Christmas Card, a full-colour reproduction of the Arabian painted door illustrated in MAN, July, 1949. Price 10s. a dozen for the first three dozen, 9s. a dozen thereafter.*

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Rock Paintings and Engravings in Raichur, Hyderabad  
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(with Plate J and five text figures)

*The Revd. M. Hermanns, S.V.D.*

**Konkomba 'Osuo'**

*Dr. David Tait*

**Obituary**

**Gerrit Jan Held: 1906-1955**

*Dr. Rodney Needham*

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- (2) They shall be in typescript in English, French or German, and three copies of each essay shall be submitted.
- (3) Essays shall be in literary form and not in the form of bibliographies or catalogues.
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- (8) The winning essay or essays shall be read at the last meeting of the Institute in December or at the first meeting in January of the following year.
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